

**THE  
AMERICAN LABOR  
YEAR BOOK**  

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**1919-20**

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# THE AMERICAN LABOR YEAR BOOK

1919-1920

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ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG

DIRECTOR, DEPARTMENT OF LABOR RESEARCH,  
RAND SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

*Volume Three*

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## PREFACE

The largest portion of the material for the present volume of the American Labor Year Book,—the third since its inauguration,—was almost ready for the printers in the Summer of 1919, when a New York State Legislative Committee made an illegal and unwarranted search of the premises of the Rand School of Social Science, removing from the files and desks of the Department of Labor Research, reports of government bureaus, labor and kindred organizations, and various foreign publications, collected in the course of preparation of the material for the Year Book.

The objects of the raiders were frustrated in the courts but a sufficient amount of annoyance and inconvenience was created by them. The editor was forced to postpone the date of publication, pending the replacement of the removed material and the preparation of new articles. When the losses were repaired, the strike of the New York printing pressmen occurred, which further delayed the publication of the book.

While the editor does not view the Labor Year Book in the nature of a newspaper, which should include accounts of the latest occurrences in the labor movement, he nevertheless considered it advisable, in view of the prolonged delay, to bring a large portion of the material up to date, and to include additional matter concerning important events which took place during the Fall and Winter of 1919. Because of this, it was found necessary to enlarge the book, and the present volume contains 64 pages more than its predecessors. The material in the present volume is entirely new, and a large portion of it is based on articles which appeared in previous editions. It will be almost a necessity for those using this Year Book to secure the preceding two volumes in order to get the background for most of the material contained in this issue.

The book is again divided into six main sections. Part I deals with Labor during the War and is a summary of the economic, political and legal effects of the war on labor. It includes a series of articles dealing with the labor activities of the various governmental agencies established during the war, war-time collectivism, trials and persecutions of Socialist and labor organizations and leaders, civil liberties, war statistics, militarism, and documents concerning labor and the Peace Treaty.

Part II reviews the activities and progress of the American Federation of Labor, and contains an account of strikes and lockouts, with special reference to certain outstanding labor conflicts which occurred during the past two years in different parts of the country. It also contains historical reviews of several labor organizations including the Teachers' Union, and other professional organizations, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and the Industrial Workers of the World.

Articles giving a review of labor legislation, court decisions affecting labor, and the progress of workmens' compensation, health insurance, old age pension and minimum wage legislation, are to be found in the following section. Part IV, entitled Social and Economic Conditions, deals with the cost of living, profiteering, wealth and income, public ownership of railways, with special reference to the Plumb Plan, woman suffrage, prohibition, unemployment, lynchings, and the Non-partisan League. A partial directory of social service organizations is included.

Part V is devoted to a review of the progress of the Socialist, labor and cooperative movements in various parts of the world, arranged alphabetically by countries. The revolutions which occurred in a number of European countries are also treated.

The last part gives an account of the progress of the Socialist movement in this country. The role of the Socialist Party during the war is reviewed. The division in the Socialist Party is treated in articles on the Communist and Communist Labor parties and the Emergency Convention of the Socialist Party. Articles on the Socialist Labor Party, the work of Meyer London in Congress, and of the Socialist delegations in the New York State Assembly and the New York City Board of Aldermen are included. A directory of Socialist organizations and publications is also included.

It was too late to include in the proper sections of the book accounts of the League of Nations Labor Conference, the Special Conference of the A. F. of L., and the National Convention of the American Labor Party. They are brought together in the Appendix. Twice as much space as previously has been allotted to the Index, which should make the different portions of the book readily accessible.

The editor takes this opportunity to express his gratitude to the various contributors whose voluntary aid and ready cooperation make the publication of a reference volume like the Labor Year Book possible. Ludwig Lore editor of the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* was again very helpful in supplying data concerning the progress of the Socialist and labor movements in a number of countries, about which he knows a great deal. Harry W. Laidler, David P. Berenberg, and Benjamin Glassberg aided in the preparation and rewriting of articles. Mildred H. Wolfson, Rosalind Trachtenberg, Charlotte Biber, Benjamin C. Gruenberg and George N. Cohen, helped with reading copy and proofs—a tedious task under all conditions and particularly so in case of the Labor Year Book. Alice Van Tuyll prepared the index. To all these, as well as to many other voluntary workers, who during the year helped with the collection of material, the editor extends his heartfelt thanks. Helpful criticism and suggestions for guidance in preparation of future editions are again solicited.

ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG.

December, 1919.

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

PAGES

PREFACE . . . . .	3
-------------------	---

## PART ONE

LABOR IN THE WAR . . . . .	7-140
----------------------------	-------

Labor in the British Government, 7; Woman Labor in France during the War, 11; Statistics of Woman Labor in England, 17; Working Women of America during the War, 19; The Collapse of War-Time Collectivism, 25; Food Control during War, 28; War Labor Policies Board, 39; The National War Labor Board, 42; The National War Labor Board and the Labor Movement, 54; The U. S. Shipbuilding Labor Adjustment Board, 57; Railway Labor and Government Control, 62; Labor and the U. S. Fuel Administration, 65; United States Employment Service, 70; Labor Laws and Standards in War-Time, 75; Pacifists in America during the War, 79; Conscientious Objectors in America, 83; Academic Freedom, 86; War-Time Restrictions on the Freedom of Speech, Press and Assemblage, 89; The Chicago Socialist Trial, 97; The I. W. W. Trial, 100; The Trial of Eugene V. Debs, 101; The Case of Kate Richards O'Hare, 103; The Masses Trial, 104; The Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman Trial, 105; The Silent Defense at Sacramento, 107; The Prosecution of Scott Nearing and the American Socialist Society, 108; The Prosecution of the Rand School of Social Science, 109; Deportations pursuant to Immigration Laws, 112; War Statistics, 113; Physical Fitness in the United States, 116; Universal Military Training, 120; American "Patriotic" Societies, 123; Report of the Commission on International Labor Legislation at the Peace Conference, 127; Berne Socialist Conference Labor Charter, 128; A. F. of L. Reconstruction Program, 132.

## PART TWO

THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES . . . .	141-209
---	---------

The American Federation of Labor, 141; The 1919 A. F. of L. Convention, 149; The National Women's Trade Union League, 158; Strikes and Lockouts in the United States 1917-1918, 161; The Strike of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, 166; The New York Harbor Strike, 168; The Seattle General Strike, 170; The Lawrence Textile Strike, 172; The Cleveland Cloakmakers' Strike, 173; The Mooney Case, 175; Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, 177; American Federation of Teachers, 185; The Library Employees' Union, 187; Organization of Office Workers, 188; Brotherhood of Metal Workers, 189; Industrial Workers of the World, 191; Eleventh Annual Convention of the Industrial Workers of the World, 198; The American Labor Party, 199; The United Labor Education Committee, 203; The Educational Work of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, 204; Boston Trade Union College, 205; The Rand School of Social Science, 206; Labor Directory, 208.

## PART THREE

LABOR AND THE LAW . . . . .	210-254
-----------------------------	---------

Labor Legislation of 1917 and 1918, 210; Federal Child Labor Legislation, 224; Standards of Workmens' Compensation in the United States, 230; Workmen's Compensation in the United States, 235; Progress toward Health Insurance Legislation, 236; Old Age Pensions, 238-9; The Minimum Wage, 240; Court Decisions Affecting Labor in 1917, 250.

	PAGES
PART FOUR	
SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS . . . . .	255-307
Cost of Living, 255; Cost of Food, 263; Profits of the Meat Packers, 264; Profiteering and High Salaries, 265; Wealth and Income in the United States, 265; Income and Infant Mortality, 266; Individual Incomes in the United States, 269; Public Ownership of Railroads, 274; The Railway Workers' Plan for the Public Ownership of Railroads, 276; The National Nonpartisan League, 280; Progress of Woman Suffrage, 290; The National Woman's Party and the Federal Suffrage Amendment, 293; Progress of Prohibition in the United States, 298; Record of the U. S. Employment Service during 1918, 301; Employment Statistics, 302; Lynchings in 1917 and 1918, 302; Partial Social Service Directory, 305.	

PART FIVE	
THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST, LABOR AND CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT . . . . .	308-399
The Berne International Socialist Conference, 308; The Luzerne International Socialist Conference, 309; The Moscow International Communist Conference, 311; The Manifesto of the Moscow International Communist Conference, 312; The Pan-American Labor Conference, 321; The Pan-American Socialist and Labor Congress, 323; Latin American Labor Notes, 324; Australia, 325; Austria, 329; Belgium, 330; Bulgaria, 331; Canada, (The Winnipeg Strike), 333; Czechoslovakia, 335; China, 337; Denmark, 338; Finland, 339; French Socialism during the War, 342; Germany, 347; Great Britain, 351; The Guild Socialist Movement in Great Britain, 356; Workshop organization and Works Committees in Great Britain, 359; Greece, 362; Holland, 363; Hungary, 364; India, 367; Ireland, 369; Italy, 372; Japan, 374; Norway, 376; Poland, 378; Portugal, 379; Rumania, 379; Russia, 380; The Russian Soviet Bureau in the United States, 383; Serbia, 386; Spain, 387; Sweden, 387; Switzerland, 389; Guild Socialism, 390; Notes on the Co-operative Movement at Home and Abroad, 392; The First American Co-operative Convention, 396.	

PART SIX	
THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES . . .	400-433
The American Socialist Party during the War, 400; The Chicago (Emergency) Convention of the Socialist Party, 409; The Communist Labor Party, 414; The Communist Party, 416; The Socialist Labor Party, 419; Meyer London in Congress, 421; Socialists in the New York Assembly, 427; Socialists in the New York Board of Alderman, 431; Socialist Directory, 433; Partial List of Socialist Publications, 433.	

APPENDIX . . . . .	434-439
League of Nations Labor Conference, 434; A. F. of L. "Bill of Rights," 435; The Chicago Convention of the American Labor Party, 437.	

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS . . . . .	440
--------------------------------	-----

INDEX . . . . .	441-447
-----------------	---------

## PART ONE

### LABOR IN THE WAR

#### LABOR IN THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT

I concluded an article I wrote for this publication last year on this subject with these words: "This statement of the participation of the British Labor Party in the British Government, is admittedly from one who never looked with favor upon Labor sacrificing its political independence and joining a Liberal Tory Coalition, but the writer is confident that the future will amply justify this point of view."<sup>1</sup>

We have not had long to wait for an ample justification of this forecast. The Labor Party has withdrawn from the Coalition and has resumed its political independence. Dissatisfaction with the Coalition Government, and with Labor's participation in it, grew stronger day by day as the uselessness of such an association became more obvious. At the Annual Conference of the Labor Party held in January, 1918, the following resolution was moved:

That this Conference is of opinion that it is contrary to the interests of the working classes for Labor Members of Parliament to remain members of the Coalition Government or any subsequent Capitalist Government.

This resolution was opposed by the Executive. In the course of the debate upon this resolution Mr. Arthur Henderson, who a few months before had resigned from the Government, said that he had had experience as a member of two Coalition Governments and as long as ever he lived he should never be a member of any other Government, whatever its color might be, unless Labor were in control. Although he held and gave expression to these views, he considered that in the abnormal circumstances of the times on the balance of advantages and disadvantages, the balance lay rather in favor of Labor remaining in the Coalition. His main objection to withdrawing from the Coalition at that time appeared to be that such an act might throw the country into a General Election on a register not only stale, but rotten, and he did not believe that this would assist the movement. His supreme concern was the attaining of peace at the earliest possible moment, and he did not think that that object would be attained by the passing of such a resolution at that time. He declared that he would heartily support a resolution pledging the Labor movement not to enter into any capitalist Government where Labor would not be in control. But he could not see his way to supporting any action

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<sup>1</sup> See *American Labor Year Book*, 1917-18, p. 23.

which was likely to break up the Government at that critical moment. The resolution was finally disposed of by moving to pass on to the next business. But the voting on that amendment gave some indication of the views of the delegates upon the main question. The voting for passing on to the next business was 1,185,000 against 722,000.

### THE BREAKING OF THE TRUCE

After this conference matters began to develop rapidly. Two by-elections took place at which local bodies affiliated to the Labor Party put forward candidates in opposition to the Government without the sanction of the National Executive. It ought to be explained that at the beginning of the war, the Labor Party entered into a compact with the Liberals and Tories to observe a political truce during the continuation of the war. Under the terms of this truce, when a by-election occurred, the nomination of a candidate was to be left to the party which had previously held the seat. The action of these local bodies in contesting by-elections without the consent of the National Executive precipitated matters. At a Conference of the Labor Party held in June, 1918, the National Executive submitted the following resolution:

That this Conference of the Labor Party accepts the recommendation of the Party Executive that the existence of the Political Truce should be no longer recognized.

This resolution was moved by Mr. Arthur Henderson who explained that the Executive had been driven to make this recommendation because they found themselves unable any longer to restrain the movement from openly violating the Party Truce. He pointed out that the Executive did not recommend the withdrawal of the Labor Members from the Government, and he advanced the same reasons for that which he had put forward at the previous conference in January. There was no connection, he maintained, between the recommendation to dissolve the Political Truce and the idea of breaking altogether with the Coalition Government. Finally this resolution was carried by a majority of two to one. At this Conference a new National Executive was elected on which the I. L. P. point of view was largely represented.

Dissatisfaction with the Labor Party's association with the Coalition Government continued to grow. There were two reasons for this: firstly, the general dissatisfaction with the subservience of the Labor Ministers to the Capitalist element in the Government, and secondly, the desire that Labor should be entirely untrammelled at the General Election which was rapidly approaching. Matters reached a head in November when a special Election Conference of the Labor Party was held in London. The National Executive had now come to the conclusion that the time had arrived when Labor should dissociate itself from the Coalition Government, and that Labor



Ministers should be called upon to withdraw. At this Conference a resolution to that effect was moved on behalf of the National Executive. Its adoption was a foregone conclusion. The Coalition had by this time become so discredited that it had no friends in the Labor Party apart from the Ministers and the Trade Unions with which the Ministers were associated. The resolution submitted by the National Executive read as follows:

This Conference is of the opinion that in the new Parliament following the coming General Election, the Labor Party should be free to promote its reconstruction policy in the most effective manner that the Parliamentary situation will permit. It meantime declares that a General Election held for the purpose of choosing a Parliament to carry on the business of the country after the war, terminates the conditions under which the party entered the coalition, and it determines that the party shall resume its independence and withdraw its members from the Government at the close of the present Parliament.

This resolution of the Executive was not directly opposed. Mr. Clynes who acted on behalf of the Parliamentary Labor Party, moved an amendment in the following terms:

That in the opinion of this Party in accordance with the agreement entered into, the Coalition Government should be supported until the end of the war, and upon peace being signed, the Party should resume its freedom of action.

The Labor Party had prepared extensive plans for the impending General Election. Labor candidates had been selected in nearly two-thirds of the constituencies in Great Britain. It was manifestly an impossible position for Labor candidates to be opposing the Coalition Government so long as the Labor Party was officially associated with it through the Labor Ministers. Finally the recommendation of the Executive was carried by 2,117,000 votes against 810,000. For sometime after this Conference decision, the action of the Labor Ministers remained in doubt. Mr. George Barnes, the Labor Member of the War Cabinet, had already publicly announced his severance from the Labor Party, and had expressed his determination to remain in the Government. Of the remaining seven members, three eventually agreed to accept the decision of the Labor Party Conference, and in view of this, their candidatures at the General Election were officially endorsed. The other four have defied the decision of the Conference and have been repudiated.

### RESULTS OF PARTNERSHIP

The experiences of the Labor Party co-operating with a Capitalist Government have been very useful. It has demonstrated the uselessness of Labor, while still in the minority, accepting responsibility without power. No advantage whatever has been derived, from the point of view of Labor, from the presence of Labor Members in the Government. On the contrary, the results have been disastrous. This association paralyzed the propaganda activities of the party; it destroyed the initiative and independence of the Parliamentary Labor Party. One would search in vain during the two and a half years during

which Labor had its representatives in the Government for a single instance where their presence has influenced the policy of the Government. With the exception of Mr. Barnes, no Labor Minister has been in a position in the Government to influence the policy, and there is abundant evidence to show that Mr. Barnes was a mere cipher in the War Cabinet. The only Labor Minister who has made anything of a reputation is Mr. Clynes, who was Assistant to the Food Controller, when on the death of Lord Rhondda he was appointed to the position of Food Controller. When Mr. Clynes assumed that position, the organization of the Department had been completed, and during his tenure of office Mr. Clynes' work has been in the main confined to administering regulations which had already been made.

The Labor Members of the Government have upon innumerable occasions had to vote with the Government in opposition to the rest of the Labor Party. There is not on record a single occasion when they have shown any independence of the Government. They have never once in the House of Commons dissociated themselves by word or deed from the policy or proposals of the Government. That was inevitable in the circumstances. There is no doubt that if Labor had remained outside the Coalition it would have exercised far greater influence. Mr. Lloyd George has been extremely anxious to keep Labor bound to the Coalition because he realized that if that could be done Labor would be deprived of the power of independent action. He has destroyed the Liberal Party, and if he could have kept the Labor Party officially associated with the Coalition Government, he would have inflicted a similar disaster upon the Labor Party. The Labor Party's experiment of associating with the capitalist parties in politics should be a warning to the Labor and Socialist parties in other countries. So long as Labor is in the minority it must be independent. It can never become a majority if it adopts any other course. As a minority party in Parliament, independent to oppose or support, its influence is far greater upon the Government and upon legislation, and in that position it is adopting the only policy which will build up a Labor Party which in due time will become the dominant political force.

There is one forecast in the article which I contributed to last year's issue of this publication which must be modified. I stated that the Labor Ministers had disrupted the political labor movement probably beyond the possibility of repair. The revolt of the rank and file of the movement has averted that threatened catastrophe. It is the Labor Ministers themselves, and not the labor movement, who have been destroyed beyond the possibility of repair. The Ministers who remain in the Government have no following and no political influence. The division which the war caused between the Independent Labor

Party and the trade union leaders has been in a large measure healed. This has been done because the trade union side of the Labor Party has come into line with the position of the Independent Labor Party, both upon peace terms and upon the question of maintaining the political independence of Labor.

I wrote last year admittedly as one whose views were not in accord with those of the majority of the officials of the Trade Union movement, but the views I have been able to state this year are those accepted by practically the whole Labor and Socialist movement of Great Britain. The Labor Party has a great opportunity and the experiences through which it has passed during the last four years have had a refining influence, and there is every reason to hope that Great Britain will show to the Labor and Socialist parties of other countries an interesting example of a way in which the emancipation of Labor may be realized by the co-operation of industrial organization and of labor representation in Parliament.

PHILIP SNOWDEN,

*Chairman, Independent Labor Party.*

## WOMAN LABOR IN FRANCE DURING THE WAR

### STATISTICS OF WOMEN WORKERS

The number of working women in France already growing considerably before the war, has since increased tremendously. The number of plants in the chemical industries which before the war employed 13,085 women out of 66,768 workers, employed in July, 1918, 18,439 women out of 77,118 workers. In a number of establishments of the metal trades where before the war the total number of persons employed was 316,071 and the number of women workers was 17,731, there were in January, 1918, 132,012 women workers out of a total of 514,113. An investigation of the metal industry about the middle of 1917, stated that the number of women workers increased 93% since the beginning of the war.

The proportion of women employees to the total working force was in January, 1918, as follows:

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Health .....	47.3
Munitions .....	23.0
Engineering and directing.....	21.5
Marine (State establishments).....	21.2
Railroads .....	14.3
Mines (women and children).....	12.8

Woman has made her way into almost all branches of industry. She is completely absent only in a small number of specialties.

Woman has been employed in work least in accordance with the aptitudes attributed to her, in work demanding strength as well as skill, transportation, loading and unloading, building and similar labor.

Women, although they satisfactorily filled men's places, never received the same pay. When, on account of an increasing lack of men, employers had to call for women, the latter, hounded by need, offered themselves *en masse*. Used to the wretched wages of needle work, depressed by "war-work" having an idea of remuneration falsified by "war-wages," and usually knowing nothing of organization and industrial action, they were ready to consider four or five francs a day pay for a job for which men had been paid seven, eight, nine, or more francs.

Then the unions, reorganized, after losing their youngest and most active forces by mobilization, were roused to the growing danger. The acceptance of reduced wages by women threatened a general depreciation of labor-value.

The Secretary of the Shirtwaist and Underwear Union of the Department of the Seine, felt the necessity of energetic action. An appeal was sent out calling on workers' organizations to face the facts resolutely and to drop discussions over the principle of admitting women into new kinds of jobs. Men were lacking; nothing could prevent employers from replacing them by women. There was only one way of maintaining standards, namely, to keep women from becoming dangerous competitors by fighting for a just wage for them, by letting them know the value of their work, and the duty of keeping working conditions from falling before the return of the soldiers.

Our appeal was heard; the principal unions, big organizations, —even the Printers' Union, which had been anti-feminist—got together to constitute an "Inter-Union Committee on Action against the Exploitation of Women." Organizations joined the group in increasing numbers. An intensive propaganda by means of tracts, posters, district lectures began at Paris and extended into the country. Women, whom it had been almost impossible to attract to union meetings, attended in increasing numbers. Public opinion was stirred. The principle of wage-equality was set forth, approved, and upheld in almost the whole press. It found champions in the Chamber of Deputies; Municipal and Departmental Councils rallied to its support. Even the National Government admitted this principle in a circular published by the Ministry of Munitions February 28, 1916, realizing that the formula, "equal pay for equal work," could be "from several points of view legitimately applied," and that it was inadmissible that "substitution of female workmanship for male should constitute an extra profit for employers."

In theory, the victory seemed complete, but it did not work out in practice.

According to tradition, women rarely did work similar to that formerly done by men. A new division of work—the slightest shift of implements—everything served as a pretext for changing the principle.

Nevertheless, a great step had been made; piece work in

government factories had to be paid for at a fixed rate, whether done by men or women. In private industry, various contracts made between workers' and employers' organizations fixed minimum wages identical for men and women doing the same work, such as underwear cutters, etc.

#### MINIMUM WAGE BY LAW

A law dealing with the wages of home-workers was unanimously voted by the Chamber of Deputies in October, 1913. After a long wait in the Senate, it was finally adopted, again unanimously, July 10, 1915. This law is too limited, affecting only working women toiling at home in the clothing industry (hats, footwear, lingers, dressmaking, embroidery, lace, feathers, artificial flowers, etc.) Several actions, based on violations of this law, have been brought with varying success before the Trade Council and the Civil Tribunal. A suit is pending at present before the Court of Appeals. The more efforts are made to establish the extent of this law, the more its gaps and insufficiencies become apparent. After difficulties caused by the unwillingness of employers to apply minimum wage rates set down in the contracts entered into between employers' and workers' organizations, following strikes, a bill bearing upon shop workers and the wage provisions of the law of July 10, 1915, was presented to the Chamber by Doctor Chassaing, Socialist Deputy, at the instance of unions belonging to the Clothing Federation.

#### PROGRESS OF UNION ORGANIZATION

The extended obligation of work, the need of a wage permitting women to count on themselves alone, and the growing difficulty of existence with the constant rise in the cost of living have caused women to become interested in propaganda campaigns. In numbers, growing month by month, they are entering the unions of their particular occupations, and are proving themselves serious and practical. In the majority of organizations there has been a complete reversal of the proportion of men and women members. A certain union which before the war had but forty women out of 400 members, now has 1,000 women and one hundred men. Women have shown themselves most zealous in attending union meetings. In Paris during the worst days of the bombardment they came to meetings in greater numbers than the men.

#### WOMEN'S STRIKES — 1916-1918

Strikes have caused women to enter the unions *en masse*. None of these strikes were strikes for principles. They all occurred when the hardships of living became so keen that women could no longer accept the wages paid them.

Towards the end of January, 1916, an important strike arose in the needle trade. Economic activity was beginning again, and the working-women refused to continue on "war-wages" in view of the fact that their employers had plenty of orders and were

raising the selling-prices, and when above all, the cost of living was soaring every day. The movement soon spread from shop-workers to piece-workers. The strike ended successfully in March.

In 1917, strikes began again in the needle industry. One of the first houses of Paris sought to impose a Saturday half-holiday on its piece-workers, proportionately lowering the weekly wage. The working-women, who were not able to live on the wages already paid, protested. They wanted a half-day off, and for a long while the *semaine anglaise*—Saturday half-holiday,—had been one of the reforms desired by them, but they did not want to pay the whole price alone. The claims made were for increased wages and a paid Saturday half-holiday. The spread of the movement was rapid,—from the seamstresses to the dressmakers, the flower-makers, the feather-makers, the lingerie and the corset-workers, the laundresses and so forth; then it spread to the employees of the ministries, including war-work, the workers in war factories and others. A conflict settled and solved in one industry arose in another. It was a sort of general strike by stages. Paris witnessed, for more than a month, long processions of women surging forward behind all sorts and varieties of banners. The public, sympathetic with the first smart manifestations, lively with the gay refrains of girls representing the department stores, began to manifest some ill-humor when less attractive masses of factory workers filed by, demanding their "poilu." In some regions they took a more revolutionary character than at Paris.

Strikes arose simultaneously in all corners of France. (Dijon, Toulouse, etc.) In Paris, the Labor Exchange had become too small, and the Trade Union Hall in turn, was soon unable to accommodate the monster meetings. Union organizations, already weakened, were swamped by the invading wave of strikers. It might have been possible, under other conditions, to profit more from the movement, but important results were nevertheless gained. In a few days the Ministry of War gave the workers in the government provision and clothing workshops, raises in wages far superior to those for which workers' organizations had for long months asked in vain. The airplane and cannon bombardments had hindered union activity at Paris. Working women emigrating to other parts of France, did not always follow the advice to immediately join the union of that particular region. A slackening threatened, but Parisian employers furnished, in August, 1918, the means to provoke a re-awakening of activity. Orders slowing down, they expressed the intention of reducing the working-day to eight hours. They thought they could change the fixed minimum day-wage to hour-minimums, lowering wages proportionately to the reduction in working-time, and at the same time exact the same daily production.

But the cost of living continued to rise, and the minimum fixed formerly was already insufficient. The working-women refused to accept the frame-up and new strikes broke out in Paris. The needle-workers demanded an eight-hour day; all the garment-workers with them struck for a raise in daily pay. They obtained an increase of two francs a day as a bonus for the high cost of living, and the government promised to investigate a means to reduce the length of the working-day without lowering wages.

#### STRIKES OF WOMEN HOME-WORKERS

Shop-workers have not been alone in striking. In Paris, in 1917, one of the first groups of strikers was formed by the home-workers of an umbrella factory. This strike was settled soon after in favor of the workers. In December, 1918, a new strike of home-workers broke out among the employees working for an important suspender factory near Paris. The director of this house, who, in 1917, was not afraid to recompense his workers at the rate of less than four cents an hour, had been prosecuted by the French Home Labor Office for violation of the law of July 10, 1915, and condemned before the Trade Council and in appeal. Under the threat of a new prosecution and a stopping of the work, he preferred to give up and grant to his workers a considerable increase and a distribution of nine months' pay which came to about ten thousand dollars.

#### COLLECTIVE CONTRACTS

The solution of each of these conflicts necessitated such numerous and sometimes stormy negotiations between workers' and employers' representatives, that the Minister of the Interior, at that time M. Malvy, had to intervene frequently.<sup>1</sup> In the course of the discussions, the women delegates often showed themselves abler than certain old militants, and were always ready to continue the struggle.

Numerous collective contracts were concluded; certain of them fixed the minimum wage. Unfortunately, these contracts had no guarantee other than the employer's good faith. Many difficulties appeared in their application, which proved the absolute need for a legal obligation.

#### "ENGLISH WEEK"

We were more fortunate about the "English week." A law established it for all the workers in the clothing industries, and in practice it has had a tendency to spread to other industries not originally included.

We cannot confine ourselves to enumerating women's conquests in these long and terrible years of war. It is our duty to show, as well, what they have cost her. Not only has woman suffered and her feelings been hurt as mother, as daughter, as

<sup>1</sup> They have made him pay dear for it. After being acquitted on a charge of treason, he was exiled because he permitted strikes in war-time.

companion, but also society and the state, have not been able to protect her against capitalistic exploitation.

One of our ex-ministers, who once had the honor of affixing his name to certain laws protecting the working-man, did not fear to proclaim at the beginning of the war, "there are no more social laws." He was heard too well. The watchword was to wink at violations of the laws when their application was not completely suspended—for instance, night work and the length of the working-day. The reduction of the number of Inspectors of Labor, facilitated this.

The needs of the National Defense Loans served as justification for worse abuses. "You shall work till you're sick, till you're worn out, till you die," was posted in the medical consultation rooms of certain war factories. That notice was not an empty formula.

Not knowing nor caring for the real national interest, the State as well as private employers, drove the "human machine" to the limit without taking precautions to prevent its wear and tear. All protection of health, all hygienic measures were neglected. The men, mobilized, could not intervene to any purpose; the women, on piece work mostly, and lacking experience, urged by the attraction of more pay, intensified their production to the extreme, greatly injuring their health. They did not even get the immediate profit they counted on, for the employer, as soon as he found that they were getting above the ordinary wage-rate, hastened to lower the piece rate, so that the women were forced to keep up their excessive effort under pain of seeing their wages drop below the level of necessity.

The majority were admitted without physical examination to the most laborious jobs, overdriven, weakened by the intensive and ill-regulated toil; many were turned out of the factory in a short time, ruined for their original occupation—ruined for motherhood—no longer existing as "social value."

An almost general confusion followed. Sewing industries, unable to keep their wages up to par, were deserted for war-work. On the other hand, many women who before the war were housekeepers, and refugee widows, soldiers' wives, etc., went headlong into needle work; so that the number of women trying to earn a living in this profession has steadily grown. What industry will they enter, now that the army no longer employs so many of them in making military garments?

People are being discharged from war factories by tens of thousands; the first working-women who were willing to leave ordinarily got a month's pay. These have some chance of finding a place—but what will happen to those who are to follow? It is estimated that the number of women employed in war factories is 900,000. One of the prominent men of the Ministry of Labor recently estimated that of this number, one-half could be maintained in transformed factories.



What will these women do while waiting? What will the other 450,000 become? We cannot count on a large number of women going back to their homes. Even for those who wish it, it will often be impossible, for the heads of many families have disappeared or lost their jobs, and the frightful rise in the cost of living make women's work necessary.

A government scheme, luckily abandoned now on account of the opposition of working-women's organizations, looked toward the creation of needwork apprentice shops for women discharged from factories, without realizing that the number of women who reckoned on making their living in this industry, had already reached too high a number.

No general plan has been outlined to remedy the serious unemployment which will necessarily result from the discharging of so great numbers of people.

No solution can be effective unless it be national. Every day the discrepancy between the supply and demand for women's work is emphasized. There will be a lack of work just at the time when the cost of living has reached such a level, that the highest nominal wage will be an insufficient real wage.

GABRIELLE DUCHENE,  
*Secretary White Goods' Union.*

### STATISTICS OF WOMEN LABOR IN ENGLAND<sup>1</sup>

According to government figures, the number of women workers engaged in gainful occupation as reported on April, 1918, were as follows:

	<i>Females Employed July, 1914</i>	<i>Increase April, 1918</i>	<i>Females Directly Replacing Males</i>
Industries .....	2,176,000	537,000	531,000
Government Establishments .....	2,000	197,000	187,000
Gas, water, electricity (under local authorities) .....	600	4,000	4,000
Agriculture, in Great Britain (per- manent labor) .....	80,000	9,000	40,000
Transport .....	17,000	78,000	79,500
Tramways (under local authorities)..	1,200	18,000	17,000
Finance, banking .....	9,500	63,000	59,500
Commerce .....	496,000	354,000	352,000
Professions .....	50,500	57,000	22,500
Hotels, public houses, cinemas, theatres, etc. ....	181,000	25,000	44,500
Post office .....	60,500	59,500	64,000
Civil service .....	5,500	99,500	89,000
Other services under local authorities	196,200	31,000	26,000
	3,276,000	1,532,000	1,516,000

Occupations in which there have been the highest percentage increases are those in which comparatively few women were

<sup>1</sup> For an exhaustive account of Woman Labor in England during the War see *American Labor Year Book*, 1917-18, pp. 23-28.

engaged before the war. The largest numerical increases have, however, been in industry, which has drawn in over 500,000 additional female workers, and in commerce, which has drawn in 352,000.

The numbers of females employed in industrial concerns and in government establishments in April, 1918, were:

Munitions .....	701,000
Other Government Work in Industry.....	774,000

The number of females employed as permanent work-people in agriculture in July, 1914, was 80,000, and it had grown to 113,100 in July, 1918.

Women workers upon the land are mainly employed in milking, dairy work, and cattle tending, and in gardening and light general farm work, but they are frequently reported to be working with horses and even occasionally to be plowing and shepherding. Tractor plowing schools have been established in different parts of the country, and the work done by members of the Women's National Land Army with tractor plows, disk harrows and cultivators, though not as yet great in extent, is highly commended by farms. It is evident from the comments sent in from all over the country that the work of women on the land has become an accepted and welcome fact.

The number of women employed as casual work-people in agriculture was 65,200. The increase in the number of women employed and the extent to which replacement has taken place are:

	<i>Employed July 1914</i>	<i>Increase in April 1918</i>	<i>Number Replacing Males April 1918</i>
Drapers, clothiers, etc.....	132,000	35,000	41,000
Grocers, bakers and confectioners.....	80,000	101,000	92,000
Butchers, fishmongers and dairymen....	42,000	27,000	30,000
Stationers, booksellers, etc.....	34,000	13,000	16,000
Boot and shoe shops.....	13,500	9,000	8,000
Chemists shops .....	10,000	14,000	12,000
All commercial occupations.....	496,000	354,000	352,000

Of the 50,500 women employed in July, 1914, in the professions, 14,500 were employed on the staffs of accountants, architects, solicitors, etc., 33,000 in hospitals, and 3,000 in other professions. Of the 33,000 employed in hospitals in July, 1914, 27,000 were employed in civil hospitals, and this number has remained almost the same; but the number of women in government hospitals has risen from 700 in July, 1914, to 13,600 in January, 1918, and the number employed in hospitals under the Red Cross Society has risen from 5,300 to 28,600 in the same period.

In July, 1914, there were only some 1,500 women employed in banks, and there are now 37,600. Before the war there were about 7,000 women employed by insurance companies, now there are 32,300.

The number of women employed by municipal tramway departments has increased during the war from 1,200 to 18,800; those employed by private tramway companies from 200 to 5,800, and those employed in the omnibus service from 300 to 4,300. Women employed by railway companies have increased from 12,000 to 65,000.

## WORKINGWOMEN OF AMERICA DURING THE WAR

Just at the time when it seemed that war needs were about to make great demands on the women workers of America, the armistice was signed. Yet the nineteen months of America's participation in the war, even though it did not affect the women of this country as much as more than four years did their European sisters, was sufficient to bring about some interesting developments in the work of American women. Much confusion of public opinion was evident in statements made at the time of America's entrance into the conflict. In some quarters it was assumed that a demand for women workers would arise at once as great as that in England after three years of war. Persons familiar with employment conditions stated, however, that when the United States declared war there was more unemployment among men than among women wage-earners. For several months the Department of Labor maintained that additional women workers were not necessary as plenty of men were available. It was not until September, 1918, that an official call for women workers was made. At that time Bernard Baruch, chairman of the War Industries Board, stated the need of more women workers to bring war industries to their maximum production and to fill vacancies left by the third draft. In October, 1918, the United States Employment Service announced a campaign to replace men by women in every position a woman could fill, and early in November, the Department of Labor announced that all unoccupied women ought to seek regular positions in war industry.

## PEACE-TIME STATISTICS OF WOMAN LABOR

The entrance of women into war work, and to some extent into positions formerly held by men, was then getting under way, though on this point also, some exaggerated views are probably current. Persons not familiar with the subject of women in industry fail to realize that 8,075,000 were found in gainful employment as long ago as 1910, and 1,650,000 in the manufacturing industries alone in 1914. Allowing for the normal increase of 100,000 a year, it is likely that nearly 2,000,000 American women were at work in factories when the United States entered the war. The proportion of women in clerical occupations and in trade had been increasing for several years before war and the proportion in women's traditional occupation of "domestic and personal service" had been declining. The

number of women workers outside the home increased 50 per cent between 1900 and 1910, whereas the increase in the number of men was but 30 per cent. The gainful employment of married women increased most rapidly of all. According to figures compiled for the American Association for Labor Legislation by the Census Bureau, the number of gainfully occupied married women was 769,477 in 1900 and 1,890,626 in 1910, or 123 per cent greater. One-tenth of all married women were at work outside the home in 1910, making up about a quarter of all adult workingwomen. Beginning a year or two before the war, when the pressure of the high cost of living began to be noticeable, a still more rapid increase in married women workers was apparent to many observers. Though seven years after the last census is a difficult time to make estimates, it is probable that the total number of women gainfully employed in all occupations at the beginning of 1917, was not far from 10,000,000.

#### WOMEN WORKERS IN WAR INDUSTRIES

It is unfortunate that, unlike England, the United States did not collect figures showing the changes in the number of women workers during the war. However, some interesting estimates were made in October, 1918, by Miss Marie Obenauer, chief woman examiner of the National War Labor Board, and long a close student of the problems of women in industry. She set the increase in the number of women workers since the beginning of 1915, at about 1,000,000 of which 400,000 entered manufacturing and 500,000 clerical occupations.

Much higher estimates of the increase fail to allow for a large amount of shifting to war industry by women already employed. Many domestic servants, for instance, and girls from non-essential industries changed to the more highly paid war jobs, and it is said that 100,000 teachers left the schools for clerical and other positions in war work. The Women in Industry Service of the United States Department of Labor cites a war plant in which 65 per cent of the women came from other factories, 30 per cent from domestic service, restaurants, and laundries, and only 5 per cent had not been previously employed. An interesting feature was the shifting of many colored girls from domestic service into lines of factory work previously closed to them. Though opinions as to their efficiency were on the whole favorable, they were often paid less than white women on the same jobs, and the signing of the armistice closed most of the new doors of opportunity.

#### EMPLOYMENT IN OTHER OCCUPATIONS

It was in clerical occupations that a considerable part of the additional workers, especially in the government service, were, no doubt, girls who had never worked before. The wives and mothers of soldiers, influenced in some cases by patriotic mo-

tives and in others by economic necessity, formed a third source of a few additional war-time workers.

From the war-time increase in the total number of women-workers should be distinguished two other figures frequently confused with it, namely, the number of women engaged in making war supplies, and the number of women who replaced men in various activities. The first of these groups was estimated by Miss Obenauer in January, 1918, on the basis of an industrial survey of fifteen states, to number 1,266,000. Most of these women were engaged in the same lines of work in which their sex had been widely used before the war—food preserving, and making uniforms, tents, shoes, and underwear with the aid of power machines. In New York City thousands of women were employed in a large new plant manufacturing gas masks, but in most cases existing factories merely changed from civilian to war orders. The group of 100,000 munition makers was the chief example of women who entered new forms of work.

Aside from this last figure, statistics are not available on the number of women holding positions formerly occupied by men. It is only possible to give an idea of the chief lines of work women have entered for the first time. Though public interest caused much emphasis to be laid on women substitutes for men and though the third draft would probably have caused the replacement of many additional men by women, up to October, 1918, the change was undoubtedly confined to comparatively few workers and groups of occupations.

Most of the women munition-workers were employed in machine shops, which formed one of the principal fields for the substitution of women for men. Women entered munition plants in New England and the Middle States, automobile factories in Detroit, and railway repair shops throughout the country. Besides inspection and assembling of small metal parts, they were used on many of the lighter machines, such as small drill presses, milling machines, and lathes. Women made shells in the United States as well as in England. Employers were generally favorably impressed by the output and teachableness of the women and paid them the same piece-work rate as men.

Another field in which a good many women replaced men was the transportation industry. Of the railroads the Pennsylvania was a pioneer in increasing the employment of women. For a time women were used rather indiscriminately, in section gangs and in the loading of heavy freight, for instance, as well as in ticket-selling and other more suitable work. The creation of a "Women's Service Section" in the Railroad administration gave promise of a more careful policy. In December, 1918, the manager of the section stated that between January and October of that year, the number of women employed by steam railroads had increased from 60,000 to 100,000. The section had secured

the transfer of women section hands, freight truckers, and train crew callers to other lines of work.

#### WOMEN AS "CONDUCTORETTES"

The problems of what was suitable work for women and of men's right to preference of employment in occupations which women had first entered during the emergency centered around the woman street-car conductor, who appeared in New York, Newark, Cleveland, Detroit, and several other large cities. Should she, or should she not, hold this position? After investigation of the situation in New York the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics stated that a street-car was one of the last places where women should be forced to work. The Bureau pointed out that hours were excessive and night work common, that the nervous strain was great, and accommodations for women at the car-barns not always adequate. The union concerned, the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees, is reported, at first, to have gone on record against admitting women to membership, but later to have voted in favor, provided women were not given any special privileges. But in general male trade unionists were not particularly favorable, to the "conductorettes."

The Women's Trade Union League held that women should not be excluded from this occupation, but rather that suitable working conditions should be provided. When the War Labor Board agreed to the demands of the men's union and ruled that the Cleveland Street Railway Company should replace its women conductors by men, the League championed the cause of the women and obtained a rehearing of the case. The women were discharged March 1, but the final ruling of the Board on March 18, ordered their reinstatement. The company stated that it intended to keep to its agreement with the men's union and to refuse to re-employ the women, while the women threatened legal proceedings unless their jobs were given back. In a second controversy in Detroit, the Board allowed the women to keep their jobs.

Up to March, 1919, the only special legal regulations affecting women conductors were those made by the Wisconsin Industrial Commission, which established an eight-hour day and forbade night work.

#### THE EFFECT OF "WORK OR FIGHT" ORDERS

The "work or fight" order of the Provost Marshal General caused women to be substituted for men in certain cases also. In May, 1918, he ruled that men of draft age could not secure deferred classifications if they were employed in a number of occupations, including work as passenger elevator operators, ushers in theatres, clerks in mercantile establishments, waiters, doormen, and attendants. The result was a considerable shifting of women into such places. In the professions, opportunities for women were considerably enlarged. Better opportunities in

business and banking and as draftsmen, more openings for women in industrial laboratories, and in civil service, both national and local, were among the changes. A fair number of women took up farm-work also during the summer of 1918, the "Land Army" with its "units" supplying most of this demand. In the eastern part of the country some criticism was heard that the wages undercut the current rate for farm labor, but it was promised that they would be adjusted to this during the season of 1919.

### WOMAN LABOR STANDARDS

The war, which ushered in a concerted attack on protective labor legislation for women, ended by demonstrating more clearly than ever before the scientific basis of such restrictions and their necessity in the maintenance of efficiency and output. America's entrance into the conflict was seized by the old time enemies of labor laws as an excuse for temporary suspension. One of the bitterest attacks occurred in New York, where a vicious measure, allowing any of the woman or child labor laws to be set aside during the war, was killed only by the governor's veto. However, friends of labor protective statutes rallied to their defense, receiving encouraging aid from many federal and state officials. President Wilson, in answer to an inquiry from the governor of Pennsylvania, stated that he believed that it would be "most unfortunate" for any of the labor laws to be set aside. Such action was finally permitted in four New England states alone, and in only one of them, Massachusetts, was the law actually suspended for limited periods in a few establishments.

The campaign for proper standards for women workers did not stop, moreover, with the maintenance of existing standards. Distinct gains in the protection of women workers were recorded. Results of the War Emergency Conference, called in the State of Washington, August 28, 1918, and of the War Board formed by the Kansas Industrial Welfare Commission, were especially noteworthy. Among the recommendations of the War Emergency Conference were a war time minimum wage of \$13.20 weekly and equal pay for equal work where women replaced men. General principles were laid down that women should not be employed in occupations "injurious to their health, their morals, or womanhood, or which are unavoidably disfiguring," or in those "for which men in general are better fitted by temperament, training, or custom, and for which men are available." A list of forbidden occupations included section work on railroads, "certain work" in ship building plants, lumber and shingle mills, work as bell-boys in hotels, underground, with molten metals, and in shooting galleries. The employment of women two months before and six weeks after childbirth was also forbidden.

The attitude of the Kansas War Board was also favorable

to the maintenance of labor standards and the protection of women workers.

Rulings covering hours, minimum wages, and sanitary conditions in factories and telephone offices were the chief contributions of the board up to November, 1918.

The attention paid to women's working conditions by the federal government is another interesting feature of the movement. On November 15, 1917, the Ordnance Bureau issued its memorable "General Orders No. 13," recommending to all contractors high labor standards. For women, no night work was to be allowed, and the eight-hour day was to be preferred even when nine or ten hours was legal. Advanced standards for sanitation and weight-lifting were also established. A Woman's Division in the Industrial Service Section of the Ordnance Bureau, to look after the interests of women munition makers employed on government contracts, was created early in 1918. Later in the year the war reorganization of the Department of Labor included a bureau of Women in Industry.

The war-time awakening to the scientific basis for protective labor laws does not, to be sure, mean that labor standards for women workers are anywhere complete or adequate. In many states the ten-hour day for factory women is still legal. The latest scientific opinion, as expressed by the British Health of Munition Workers Committee, unites with the testimony of enlightened employers in calling such a period too long. Frequently the existing law fails to regulate the new occupations which women have entered since the war. In New York, in 1918, when women were frequently working fifteen hours a day on elevators and twelve and fourteen on street-cars, the Legislature failed to pass conservative bills to limit hours in these occupations. Throughout the United States, scientific attention to such matters as the regulation of weight lifting and the prohibition of especially unsuitable employments has hardly begun. No state has yet ventured on any plan of maternity insurance to aid the hard-pressed working mother or of general health insurance to provide an income during illness and proper medical care for all women workers.

Under the circumstances it is not surprising that women war-workers have often toiled under dangerous and unhealthful conditions. In some cases, to be sure, the bringing of women into a shop for the first time caused a general house-cleaning. We hear of one machine shop proprietor who even had his machinery painted white. But far more frequent were conditions such as an official committee found at Niagara Falls while investigating the manufacturers' appeal to be allowed to employ women at night. Women were exposed to abrasive dusts and poisonous fumes; they were lifting heavy weights without mechanical devices, and proper light and ventilation was lacking.



Another difficulty in the crowded centers of war industry was the lack of proper housing accommodations for the women. At one Jersey war plant it is said that some of the women spent four hours a day in traveling to and from their work because they could not get near-by boarding places. Girls on the night shift finished their work at four o'clock on chilly winter mornings and had a long wait in the darkness for an over crowded trolley or jitney and then a lonely walk before finally reaching home. A few of the large private corporations such as the DuPont Company, built dormitories for their women workers, but government housing plans were little more than under way when the end of the war arrived.

With proper protection lacking woman's wages were rapidly falling by March, 1919, although the cost of living was scarcely lower than when the armistice was signed. Women dismissed from a gas-mask factory where they had been earning \$18 or \$20 a week could find work only at \$9 or \$10. Operators on uniforms were sent home for a few days when the contracts were finished and were taken back at a wage-scale several dollars lower.

A flood of tributes to the woman worker and no doubt a real increase in recognition of the value of her services were features of the war. At its 1919 session, we find the New York Assembly adopting a glowing resolution of praise to the women of the state for "discharging laborious duties zealously, accomplishing great tasks modestly, attempting unknown hazards cheerfully, doing a man's work courageously, and doing a woman's work gently and sympathetically," but apparently the woman worker is expected to be satisfied largely with words of praise instead of protection for the new jobs and improved wages she has secured. The lack of an American reconstruction movement is nowhere more evident than in the absence of plans to carry women workers from war contracts to peace-time occupations without unemployment and suffering.

MARGARET A. HOBBS.

### THE COLLAPSE OF WAR-TIME COLLECTIVISM

From the commencement of the European war until the signing of the armistice, the United States increased, month by month, its control over the industrial life of the country.<sup>1</sup> On November 11, 1919, the date of the signing of the armistice, the telegraph and telephone systems, the express service, and to a far greater extent, the railroads, were controlled, though not owned, by the Government. About that time the cables were seized by government order. The Shipping Board operated a government-owned merchant marine of more than three and a half million dead-weight tons, had in addition under construction close to 11,000,000 tons, and was supervising a large number

<sup>1</sup> For an account of the rapid growth of this collectivism until the beginning of 1918 see the *American Labor Year Book*, 1917-1918, pp. 28-42

and more extensive shipyards than were possessed by any other government in the world. The War Risk Insurance Bureau of the Treasury Department had grown within a few months to be "the largest health and accident insurance company, the largest disbursing organization, and comparably the largest life insurance company in the world," having issued by the latter part of November nearly forty billion dollars worth of insurance to more than four million members of the army and navy. In the slack month of October, immediately prior to the armistice, it had, in fact, underwritten more than six times as much insurance as the largest commercial life insurance company in the world during the entire year of 1917.

There was the Food Administration, which included, among other features, a \$50,000,000 Wheat Corporation, the Fuel Administration, with its ever closer control over the production and distribution of coal, the steadily growing Employment Service of the Department of Labor, the War Industries Board, the War Trade Board, the War Labor Board, the War Labor Policies Board, the Housing Bureau of the Department of Labor, under whose mystic wand, whole towns were springing into being, and the various other organizations which were, directly or indirectly, exerting a powerful control over manufacture, commerce, and the relations between the worker and the employer. Many there were who felt that the Government at Washington was destined to lead America right into the collectivist state—a collectivism not without its Burlesonian bureaucracy, and its generous support, through interest on government bonds, of an army of former stockholders, but an industrial order, nevertheless far removed from Spencerian individualism. And many were the dreams of the great period of reconstruction on the basis of war-collectivism, which was bound to come after the war. The armistice was signed, and all eyes were turned to the White House for the program which would lead America into the promised land. On December 2, the "little father of the White House" spoke, but alas, he made little mention of any problem except the problem of the railroads, and on this he had "no confident judgment." He did refer in general to the rather vague scheme vaguely proposed by Secretary Lane, of granting land to the soldier, and then harked back to the outgrown doctrine of *laissez faire*.

Soon thereafter the dream of state capitalism began to fade into thin air. The War Trade, and the War Industries Boards were rapidly demobilized. The Food and Fuel Administrations emptied their offices and locked their doors. Bills began to be introduced to stop the operations of the Housing Bureau;<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Some 24 towns containing about 6,000 houses and 64 apartments and dormitories and representing a collective value of \$25,000,000 were scheduled for completion under the direction of this Bureau by the summer of 1919.

appropriations for the Employment Service were slashed unmercifully, and the largest proportion of busy branches were ordered closed down. On midnight of July 31, 1919, telephone and telegraph companies passed completely back to the control of private enterprise. In June, the United States Shipping Board reported in favor of private ownership and operation of the United States merchant marine, under federal charter, and on July 31, the first sale of 100 steel steamships—probably the largest fleet ever sold at one time—was effected to a firm representing French and Italian holders.

The Government is still running a huge insurance business. The railroads are still under public control, with big business demanding a return to private enterprise under certain government guarantees, but with the workers on the railroads demanding public ownership, and management by a board representative of the public, of the management, and of the rank and file of workers. There have been certain enlargements of governmental departments that will undoubtedly remain permanent. The Department of Justice, for instance, is striving to keep up its force for other purposes than that of spying out pro-Germans, but for the rest, war-collectivism has become largely a memory.

It is at this date impossible to evaluate this collectivism. The industries operated by the Government during the war were operated with one goal in mind—that of winning the war. Speed was the one important consideration. Economy scarcely figured in the game. The control which led to the greatest amount of criticism was that of the wires, in charge of Postmaster-General Burleson, whose attitude toward labor and toward freedom of the press is told elsewhere in this volume. After carefully weighing these criticisms, however, Mr. Burleson has nothing but praise for the conduct of the wires under his direction, and quotes the National Independent Telephone Association as characterizing the government's control as "wise, just and impartial." He declares also, that "the greatest living wire expert," stated in the latter's report to the stockholders of his company, representing nearly 80% of the telephone service of our country, that the co-operation of the postmaster "has resulted in the maintenance of the service at the highest possible standard under the extremely arduous conditions," and that the property would be returned in as good physical condition as if it had not been out of their possession.

The public press has likewise been filled with criticisms of the government administration of the railroads—particularly inveighing against its cost of operation. On the other hand, the Railroad Administration, in its first annual report, claimed a reduction of \$4,614,889 in the aggregate of the salaries paid to the more responsible officials, the reduction of \$1,500,000 in the expenses of the law departments; a saving of \$23,566,633 as a

result of consolidation of separate ticket offices, the saving of nearly 50,000,000 miles a year in passenger trains through the elimination of unnecessary routes, and extensive savings in the shortening of freight routes. During a 60-day period, for instance, the rerouting of 9,000 cars in a certain western district, according to the report, effected a saving of nearly 200 miles travelled by each car.

War-collectivism has undoubtedly indicated in many ways the absurd wastes and inadequacies of private competition. It has also brought sharply to the attention of labor the grave dangers of bureaucracy attendant on government ownership as long as labor fails to control the government, and as long as no method is devised for genuine democratic control.

Public ownership with democratic management worthy of the name is bound to come in this country, but it will come only after strong organized economic and political pressure from the masses, not as a result of the good-will of a few liberal politicians.

HARRY W. LAIDLER, PH. D.

## FOOD CONTROL DURING THE WAR

The endless waste and destruction of life, machinery, and natural resources wrought by the war, have forced the governments to take a hand in the matter of food supply. The fallacy of the capitalist system based on exploitation and on private ownership of means of production, has nowhere better been demonstrated than in the production and distribution of food.

Therefore, all belligerent and most neutral governments have tried to abolish competition, to requisition stocks, to allocate available supplies, to fix prices, and to fix dealers' profits, to guarantee certain minimum supplies of rationed food stuffs to every consumer at a fixed price, and even to undertake the production of some foodstuffs. The latter measure is rather the exception.

Workers should not think for a moment that the war emergency measures of capitalist governments are steps towards Socialism. All these measures were designed to keep down profiteering only to such a degree as to ensure a national contentment and to strengthen the grip of the capitalist class as a whole over the people. They have established complete dictatorship in production and distribution. Every state has been turned into a prison camp with the great portion of the population under rations set by the government. The ruling classes do not want to change the existing social order. The food controllers mean to strengthen it.

Of course, quite contrary to the desires of the master class, the capitalist system of production is daily becoming more ripe for Socialism, in so far as the productive powers are being centralized and standardized. But the turning of the capitalist

system with its "fair" and "reasonable" profits to every dealer and to every exploiter of labor into the co-operative commonwealth can never be accomplished by the ruling class.

In so far as the war emergency measures are teaching the workers to what good use the state powers can be put even by the enemies of the working class, they are worthy of study.

These war measures also tend to show better where the profits are made and how they are figured than under the competitive order of things during peace. The elements of production are laid bare before the workers during war as never before. The importance of labor in the matter of food supply of the whole nation is becoming obvious even to the uninformed.

### SUMMARY OF FOOD LEGISLATION

The main features of all food control measures may be summed up briefly as follows:

1. Prior to the war the existing government agencies tried to aid the dealer and the farmer. Various boards of trade, official and voluntary, protected the dealers, while the departments of agriculture and bureaus of markets tried to help the farmer to get as much as possible for his stuffs. The consumer at large, and labor especially, had no protection, except their voluntary consumers' co-operatives. When the war came, the price-fixing authorities consulted the dealers and the farmers, not the consumers, and the latter had to pay what they were told.

2. Many of the food control schemes aimed to stimulate production. Liberal profits were allowed to growers in order to safeguard against curtailment of production. Even state subsidies were provided to dealers to keep up their profits under fixed prices of food stuffs.

3. Voluntary food saving devices broke down everywhere: the rich got all the supplies needed by them, and the poor had to go without if they did not have enough money to pay exorbitant prices.

4. Rationing of all consumers in foodstuffs whose supplies were scarce was finally resorted to by many countries. The prices of all rationed food articles were fixed and delivery on cards guaranteed.

5. Gradually the state took a hand in the production by commandeering vacant lands, by appointing agricultural supervisory committees, and by erecting food shops, national kitchens, government slaughter houses, cold storage houses, etc.

6. Almost all food control systems began as police and administrative schemes. Gradually the local population was asked to co-operate through consumers' councils, co-operatives, and labor representatives on local food committees which were charged with the enforcement of the numerous food orders.

7. Government attempts to abolish monopolies and trusts and to revive competition failed most miserably everywhere. Trust and corporation agents were appointed to high offices and monopolistic organizations of traders, exporters, importers, distributors, were encouraged or made compulsory by the various governments. The late Lord Rhondda (Sir Thomas), the Food Controller of Great Britain, was the recognized head of the British Coal and Iron Trust.

8. Gradually the food control brought about government control over related industries, such as feeding stuffs, live stock trade, slaughter houses, cold storage, refrigerated steamers, refrigerator cars, etc.

9. Federal governments have wrested authority from state governments under war emergency acts in Australia, in the United States, and in Switzerland.

#### SEQUENCE OF STEPS IN FOOD CONTROL

No hard and fast rule can be laid down as to the sequence of the various government measures in different countries with respect to each commodity. But the following measures may be traced in several countries:

1. Licensing of dealers, wholesalers, and retailers. 2. Compulsory organization of dealers under government control. 3. Requisitioning of available stocks or crops by food ministries or by local food administrators or by food committees. 4. Fixing of uniform wholesale and also retail prices for certain basic foods. (Bread, sugar, meat, potatoes, butter, fats, etc.); also the fixing of allowable "fair" or "reasonable" profits for growers and dealers. 5. Apportioning of available and forthcoming supplies among dealers. 6. Rationing of certain foods (bread, meat, sugar, potatoes, butter.) 7. Government purchase and distribution of all imported foods. 8. Government control of all export foods and feeding stuffs. 9. Government control over feeding stuffs, live stock markets, and abattoirs. 10. Government control over local wholesale produce markets. 11. Actual production of some food stuffs (meat products, bread) by the government. 12. Government control over farming, threshing, canning, etc.

*Licensing of dealers* began only with the creation of special food ministries in some countries. In other countries licensing by the police or by tax commissioners had been an old practice. Licensing is meant to be a means of enforcing the various food regulations. Suspension or revocation of the license threatens the violator of the food controllers' rules and regulations. Licensing is also a means of checking up the turnover of the dealers, because each licensee has to render certain periodical reports to the food control authorities. He must state his customers before he can obtain his supplies; also he must show his profits. Unfortunately the enforcement divisions of the food controllers are not always up to date with the tabu-

lation of those reports, nor are all licenses revoked at once for the violation of the rules. It is an open secret that about one-third of the licenses of the U. S. Food Administration have failed to render complete reports.

*Compulsory organization of food dealers* grew out of the necessity of allocating existing and imported or other forthcoming food supplies. As the British government, for instance, acted as the sole purchaser of wheat, butter, meat, etc. abroad during the war, it had to distribute the imported supplies in the most economical fashion. It was found best to organize Importers' Societies and make them act as government agents. These societies (as the London Meat Importers, Inc.) distribute the imported stocks at a fixed percentage or commission (1 per cent if direct from ship, 2 per cent if from a storage house or depot) among registered wholesalers who were permitted, in turn, to sell to registered retailers only.

Likewise, the Dutch Government has permitted the organization of an Importers' trust which obligated itself to see to it that none of the imported foods would go to the enemy or would benefit the enemy. The *Suisse Societe de Surveillance Economique* has the same function in Switzerland.

*Requisitioning.* The power to requisition food stuffs and certain other war essentials was first lodged in the commanding generals at the front and in occupation areas. In the rear it was conferred upon the military governors and other police authorities. Requisitioning was almost everywhere the first military measure taken by the belligerent governments to ensure the provisioning of the armed forces.

The prices paid for requisitioned food stuffs at the beginning of the war were rather high, and the civilians had to pay even higher prices for what was left them. Almost in every belligerent country the civilian population was first treated as a public nuisance. Only the growing discontent among the essential war workers in the shipyards, in munition plants, in mines, etc., compelled the governments to take notice and to take some steps to improve the food supplies of the civilians. The governments began to realize that after all, the political factor is in war even more important than the military decision.

Requisitioning by military authorities has given place now to the requisitioning by food ministries or by local food committees. In every national provisioning scheme requisitioning must have a place. The farmers and other food growers are just as eager to profiteer at the expense of the average city consumer as any speculator.

The clamoring for \$2.50 per bushel of wheat by the American farmers is but a parallel to the demand for higher prices for foodstuffs by the Australian and British farmers.

The Russian Soviet Government felt itself compelled to enact in May, 1918, a drastic decree on requisitioning of food from

the well-to-do farmers. This decree threatens with ten years imprisonment all farmers hiding stocks of food beyond the allowable maximum for self-suppliers and for seeding purposes.

The British Government has requisitioned the entire potato crop of 1918, through its 20 zone committees and potato control committees in order to insure an equitable supply of potatoes. All rationed foodstuffs: meat, butter, sugar, margarine, fats, may be requisitioned by the local food committees in Great Britain.

*Price fixing.* Price fixing came almost simultaneously with requisitioning. First presidential and ministerial decrees fixed prices of certain products. Then this power was gradually extended to prefects, mayors, and to local food committees, or to area or provincial committees in some instances.

The first effects of price fixing were rather precarious. Scarce goods disappeared from the market if their prices were fixed "too low" from the dealers' point of view. Excessive prices were charged in illicit trade for the same articles. Then again, these prices were first fixed arbitrarily with no regard to actual costs.

Later price fixing became a science. Numerous cost investigators were set at work. The British Ministry of Food had a special "Costings Division." The Federal Trade Commission acted to a certain extent as the cost accountant for the Food Administration and for the Army and the Navy in the United States. But all these cost findings become obsolete before they are completed. A new wage scale, a railway rate adjustment, disarrangement of transportation, scarcity of some supplies, etc., threaten to upset the most scientific cost findings. All capitalist price fixing agencies allow "fair" profits. Their price fixing theory is based on "cost plus fair profits," whatever they regard as fair and reasonable profits. Hence, price fixing can never do away with capitalism, nor can it abolish exploitation. Inasmuch as the price fixing boards, on whose recommendations prices have been fixed, (for wheat, bread, potatoes, meat, butter, etc. in several countries) have been always composed of dealers' and farmers' representatives with a few government agents, these prices have invariably been too high. The consumer at large has been caught between two mill stones: the food-grower and the food-dealer.

Only the strong protest and strikes of British Labor gave the workers' organizations a fair representation on local consumers' advisory boards, on local food committees, and on the National Consumers' Council. The following table shows the rise of the price of beef in various countries during the years 1914-1918. No price-fixing agencies have been able to stop it, although Great Britain and Australia have been hit less hard owing to their thorough food-control.

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<sup>1</sup> *The National Food Journal* (Great Britain), September 11, 1918, p. 4.



RISES IN THE PRICE OF BEEF (PER POUND)<sup>1</sup>

	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918
	<i>cents</i>	<i>cents</i>	<i>cents</i>	<i>cents</i>	<i>cents</i>
Austria-Hungary .....	18	48	72	144	162
Germany .....	20	28	68	72	75
Norway .....	16	34	36	33	110
Denmark .....	16	20½	30	22	48
Holland .....	—	18	29	23	48
Switzerland .....	17	21	21	35	40
Sweden .....	15	19	26	27	92
France .....	21	29	32	34	62
Italy .....	13	17½	21	28	60
United States .....	24	23	25	28	32
Canada .....	23	24	26	34	37
United Kingdom .....	16½	21	25½	29	32

These are "representative" prices, *i. e.*, not in all cases the prices actually paid, but prices computed with regard to all the relevant conditions as giving a fair average of the prices ruling during the various years in each country taken as a whole. In all countries there are local variations and occasional abnormal quotations, due to special conditions. These factors have been duly considered in drawing up the above table.

The above table deals with wholesale prices and the quotations given there are moderate, indeed, if compared with the actual consumers' prices. According to this compilation of the British Ministry of Food, prices have gone up in the United Kingdom exactly 100 per cent during the four war years, in the United States 33 per cent, in Canada 60 per cent, in Germany 270 per cent, in Austria-Hungary 800 per cent, in Holland 166 per cent, in Denmark 200, in Switzerland 90, in Norway 600, and in Sweden 300.

Efforts to regulate the prices of pork in Bavaria failed utterly for the lack of adequate supply. Likewise, the efforts of the British government to fix the prices of green vegetables have not been crystallized into definite orders, because the supplies of green vegetables are local and seasonal and are subject to daily variations. The price-fixing of onions was contemplated by the British Ministry of Food, while the prices of potatoes have been fixed for the entire 1918 crop.<sup>1</sup> Potatoes seem to be the only vegetable to which effective price-fixing has been applied. The British scheme provided for the taking over of the entire crop by the government through its zone committees and potato control committees. The country was divided into twenty zones, some of which had a surplus and some of which had deficit in potatoes. All growers were paid by the government according to the appraisal of a travelling government committee composed of potato-dealers and government experts. All potatoes were sold at uniform prices in two grades throughout Great Britain; the first grade potatoes were sold to the consumers at 2½ cents per pound, and the second grade at 2 cents per pound with a probable increase of ½ cent per pound later.

<sup>1</sup> *The National Food Journal*, August 28, 1918, pp. 653-655.

The defects of price fixing are manifold even when the scheme is at its best.

1. The fixing of the price of one basic commodity necessarily forces up the prices of other related commodities with unfixed prices. By way of illustration, consider what the fixing of the wheat price at \$2.50 per bushel has done to the corn, oats, barley, and rice prices. All of them have gone up to such an extent that the wheat substitutes now cost more than pure wheat, simply because their prices were not fixed.

2. If prices are fixed high enough to permit even the least efficient manufacturer and dealer to continue his operations, then the profits of the rest of them are excessive. And even "fair" profits are often excessive. But fixing prices lower than the inefficient manufacturer can stand, means curtailment of production and lessening of supplies. The divergency in the costs of production even in such standard basic foodstuffs as bread and potatoes forced the British Government to resort to government subsidies to the poorer or less efficient manufacturers. The bread subsidy for 1918, was likely to amount to some \$180,000,000. It enables, however, the consumer to buy a 4-pound loaf at 4½ cents a pound, thrice cheaper than in this country. A small potato subsidy may be needed to carry out the uniform potato prices. A live stock subsidy to farmers was also contemplated to compensate those live stock-raisers whose costs of production were higher than the "dead meat" (dressed meat) or "live weight" prices fixed by the Food Controller allowed the live stock auctioneers and valuers to pay them for the cattle and pigs.

3. The fixing of prices of one commodity necessarily requires the fixing of a long series of other commodities which either precede or follow in the course of production. Thus the fixing of wholesale prices of meat in Great Britain led to the fixing of retail prices of meat, also of prices of meat products, or hides, of live stock, and even of cattle feeding stuffs, which led to the appointment of live stock commissioners, provincial feeding stuffs committees, etc. If the chain is not made complete, the consumer is likely to suffer,—the unfixed commodities may go up.

4. It is hard to distinguish between quality in fixing maximum prices. It results in maximum prices being paid even for the poorest grades of goods. In cattle the British Government distinguishes four grades, but in meats there is only one grade for each cut or joint.

Any attempt to set a price for each grade leads to abuse. For instance, the fixing of shoe prices at from \$3.00 to \$12.00 per pair by the U. S. Government will inevitably force up the prices of low grade shoes and eliminate the better shoes from the market altogether.

5. The fixing of "just," "fair," or "reasonable" margins of

profit for the producer, the wholesaler, the retailer, and the broker or jobber is a most difficult task. The higher these margins, the more profiteering is encouraged.

6. The enforcement of the numerous food control orders becomes a very difficult matter. But right here is where their usefulness from the Socialist point of view begins. This enforcement inevitably leads to the setting up of local food control committees, composed of representatives of various interests: dealers, consumers at large, women's industrial clubs, labor unions, government officials.

Inevitably a clash of interests ensues over every detail of enforcement. The food question affects everybody most vitally. The workers are beginning to see light. From the regulation of distribution, from price-fixing, etc., they will be brought to the control of production and ultimately they will see the fallacy of private ownership of the means of production.

Thus price-fixing of foodstuffs has come to stay. It has demonstrated the utter fallacy of the supply and demand theory. It is also showing the workers that even under capitalism the uniformity of prices of foodstuffs is within the range of possibility.

The British milk order is very instructive in this respect. The maximum winter price to the milk producer of milk sold wholesale during the winter months, i. e., from October 1, 1918, to April 30, 1919, was fixed by the Food Controller at 54 cents per gallon, the maximum prices for milk sold retail were set at 18 cents per quart from October 1, to November 21, and 20 cents per quart from November 22, to April 30, 1919. These prices were subject to variation by local food committees.<sup>1</sup> The Food Ministry states that it is satisfied that under existing circumstances it is impossible for administrative purposes to have varying producers' prices for milk throughout the country, but prices must be established in relation to the average cost throughout the country.

This standardization of costs of production brings quickly to issue the dispute over rising prices. At the Labor Conference at Grosvenor House, September 19, 1918, J. R. Clynes, the Food Controller, (also the President of the General Workers' Union and a member of the Labor Party) emphatically declared himself against the proposed "meat subsidy" designed to maintain the existing level of meat prices. Clynes argued that the average British worker's family could easily afford an additional increase of six pence per family per week in respect of meat prices. Despite Clynes' popularity with the workers who voted him unanimous thanks, the Conference declared itself in favor of retaining the present lower prices and paying to the retail meat dealers a state subsidy out of the treasury to enable them to sell at that price.

<sup>1</sup> *The National Food Journal*, September 25, 1918, p. 35.

There was also much criticism of the Food Controller's policy. He was accused of having permitted the "interests" to take hold of the Ministry of Food. Mr. Clynes denied these charges. He explained that the higher prices of meat were due to the fact that "in the matter of meat prices we were driven almost now to a single market—that of North America, which was the *dearest market in the world*. In other words, to make the most effective use of our shipping, it was necessary to leave most of the good and cheap meat in Australia and New Zealand, because the journey from North America was so much shorter."

To pacify the critics, Mr. Clynes announced that "it was recognized that labor, women, and co-operative representatives on the local food control committees should be increased, and that they proposed to definitely increase the number of labor and women representatives attached to those committees."<sup>1</sup>

#### IMPORT AND EXPORT REGULATIONS

Scarcity of tonnage and the dangers of ocean voyage owing to the U-boats, have concentrated all import and export trade in the hands of government departments. Numerous embargoes, export and import licenses, priority schemes, unfair lists under the trading with the enemy acts, merely strengthened the governments' grip on the trade in foodstuffs. And the British Government went even further. It purchased not only all essential food supplies itself abroad, but it requisitioned also refrigerated space in steamers, in cold storage warehouses, and finally took over all shipping facilities. All its imports have been either sold direct to wholesalers, or distributed through incorporated importers' organizations (pools). These importers have to sell to designated or registered dealers, and those in turn sell to retailers in quantities of their pre-war requirements. The "butter pool" is a good example of such a scheme.

"Since December, 1917 all butter coming into Great Britain, including butter coming from Ireland, has been imported by the Ministry of Food; importation on private account is prohibited. Competition in the markets abroad has thus been eliminated, and full control of all supplies of imported butter ensured. Where possible, contracts have been made for the exportable surpluses in producing countries abroad, notably Australia, New Zealand, and Argentina, while large quantities have been purchased in the U. S. through the Allied Provisions Export Committee in New York. The export of butter from Ireland is prohibited except under license, the Ministry having set up a Committee in Dublin to issue licenses for shipment of the exportable surplus to what is known as the 'Pool.' The cost of all imports from the various countries is averaged, and the butter is sold at a flat rate throughout Great Britain.

"Arrangements have also been completed for bringing as much

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<sup>1</sup> *The National Food Journal*, September 25, 1918, p. 28.

British-made butter as possible under the direct control of the Ministry of Food. Much of this is produced in small quantities by farmers and cannot very well be brought into 'The Pool,' but rules have now been laid down which ensure that these local supplies will be fully taken into account in allocating supplies of government butter. A good deal of British butter is, however, made and collected by firms licensed as blenders under the government butter distribution scheme, and the retention of the licenses has been made conditional on the sale of all such butter to the Ministry of Food. It is then resold to the blenders and distributed as Government butter."<sup>1</sup>

### RATIONING

After the vain attempts to save food through expensive publicity campaigns, volutary curtailment of meals, and through meatless and wheatless days, most governments felt themselves compelled to introduce compulsory rations. The latest rationing orders of Great Britain<sup>2</sup> apply to sugar, butter, and margarine, meat and lard. The prescribed quantities are (per person):

<i>Meal</i>	<i>Sugar</i>	<i>Butter and Margarine</i>	<i>Lard and Edible Fats</i>
Breakfast .....	None	1/5 oz.	1/4 oz.
Luncheon, including midday dinner.....	1/7 oz.	1/5 oz.	1/4 oz.
Dinner, including supper and meat tea or fish tea.....	1/7 oz.	1/5 oz.	1/4 oz.
Tea .....	None	1/5 oz.	None

In addition to the edible fats allowed under the foregoing scale, salad oil may be served at table at any meal.

Of the lard and edible fats authorized, not more than one-third may consist of lard.

A food committee may give instructions: (a) reducing the total quantities of rationed foods and edible fats which may under this order be used in or by any catering establishment within their district or, (b) limiting the quantity of any food which may be used in any such establishment, provided that any instructions given by a food committee under this clause shall be reported to the Food Controller within seven days and be subject at any time to review by the Food Controller and shall be withdrawn or varied as he may determine. All persons concerned shall comply with any such instructions given by a food committee.

The above regulations are fairly typical and apply to almost every important order of the Food Controllers. Detailed provisions apply to householders, to catering establishments, to institutions, residential establishments, to general establishments

<sup>1</sup> *National Food Journal*, September 25, 1918, p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> The Rationing Order: Directions relating to the amount of rationed food, July 29, 1918 (N961).—*The National Food Journal*, August 14, 1918, pp. 628-630. The Rationing Order, July 17, 1918 (N918), *Ibid.*, pp. 619-624; The Rationing Order: Directions for general butchers and their customers, July 29, 1918 (N960), *Ibid.*, p. 628.

to ration books and coupons, and to miscellaneous matters (statements, returns, etc.).

Detail weights of uncooked and cooked meats, with and without bone, are prescribed. On one meat coupon not more than 3 ounces of cooked meat without and 4 ounces with the usual bone may be sold. Sausages are limited to 16 ounces per coupon, meat pies to 3 ounces, etc.

Of course, the prices of all rationed articles are strictly fixed both for wholesale and for retail trade for each individual joint (cut) and these prices are amended from time to time. Likewise the prices of all edible offal derived from carcasses are fixed.

The Butter Order, July 31, 1918, (N976)<sup>1</sup> fixed the wholesale price of butter sold in rolls, bricks, prints, or pats of 1 pound weight or less at 51 cents per pound and in any other case at 50 cents per pound; the retail price was set at 56 cents per pound.

It is easily conceivable that during peace times the food rations may be substantially increased. Uniformity of consumption may eventually lead to uniformity of duties towards the state and society. This will ultimately resolve itself into the rations being determined by the quantity of the collective work performed by the members of the social organism.

#### CONTROL OVER PRODUCTION AND DIRECT PRODUCTION BY THE GOVERNMENT

Cultivation Committees have been set up in England and in France with powers to requisition or commandeer vacant lots and abandoned farms for the purposes of food production. Threshing has been done by the government in France, likewise the rehabilitation of areas devastated by the enemy.

In addition, the Australian state governments have built meat canning works, freezers, and cold storage plants, also government abattoirs. The state trading concerns (saw mills, brick works, shipping lines, meat works, and meat sales agencies), have increased their activities during the war.

Great Britain has established a National Meat Products Company for the manufacture of offal and sausage (black puddings) and the establishment is run with great success. The company is owned by the Treasury which also furnished the operating capital and takes all profits. There is also a municipal pigery in London with some 800 pigs fattening from the city offal.

But perhaps the most interesting government experiment in the matter of food supply was afforded by the National Kitchens of Great Britain, Australia, Germany, and Austria. The 600 and odd national kitchens of Great Britain have proved highly successful food distributors both for consumption on the prem-

<sup>1</sup> *The National Food Journal*, August 14, 1918, p. 630.

ises and for carrying home. Their prices were exceedingly moderate and their food good.

Still the local governments were making profit out of the national kitchens, as the returns of the New Bridge Street kitchen of London show.<sup>1</sup>

In Bavaria and in Vienna the national kitchens were little better than free lunch counters which were patronized by the people only during times of the greatest stress and misery.

Even at best the government regulation brought the workers nothing but beggars' rations, misery, and ultimate starvation, while the traders, farmers and manufacturers were assured eternally "fair" and "reasonable" profits under the lasting shadow of capitalism.

J. G. O.

### U. S. WAR LABOR POLICIES BOARD

When the War Labor Administration was established early in 1918, the need for a board representing those agencies dealing with the labor problems of the various producing arms of the Government, was recognized in the creation of the War Labor Policies Board. This Board represented, in short, the federal government in its capacity as an employer. In the words of President Wilson, the Board was "the voice of all the industrial agencies of the Government." Unlike the National War Labor Board, it was not judicial in function or power. Its purpose was expressed by the Chairman, Mr. Felix Frankfurter, as follows:

"To secure the maximum uninterrupted production required effective administration of industrial relations. The various labor agencies of the Government must, therefore, be focused to a single direction. Unification of effort and uniformity of conditions must be secured. The grave abuses of labor turnover, resulting in inefficiency and discontinuity of employment, must be stopped at once, and this can be done only by creating stabilizing conditions."

The representatives of the different industrial service agencies of the various departments met weekly. They included representatives from the Labor Department, War Department, Navy Department, Department of Agriculture, War Industries Board, Fuel Administration, Shipping Board, Emergency Fleet Corporation, Food Administration, and the Railroad Administration. Various sub-committees dealing with such labor problems as contract clauses affecting labor, living conditions of war workers, the relation of military to industrial man power and workmen's compensation, and composed of Board members, representatives of departments interested and members of the Board's staff were maintained.

<sup>1</sup> *The National Food Journal*, September 25, 1918, p. 30.

## CONDITIONS LEADING TO ESTABLISHMENT OF BOARD

The state of affairs that brought into existence the War Labor Policies Board was characterized by serious labor problems which threatened the productive program of the Government as well as of industry in general. The attack upon this situation, it was seen, must be aimed at eliminating those factors in industry which prevented steady and increasing production and stable labor conditions. The factors which were most prominent included the following:

1. An excessive labor turnover in industry.
2. A shortage of labor.
3. A lack of uniformity on the part of the various Government departments in dealing with labor matters.
4. A threatened lowering of standards of employment in industry.

All these were heightened by

5. Competition between various arms of the Government for labor without any coherent attempt to work out a common program.

The War Labor Policies Board immediately attacked these outstanding difficulties by definite statements of policy enforced through the departments concerned and backed by the united support of them all.

First of all, central recruiting of labor was made a reality by the organization of the U. S. Employment Service with its administrative staff, its state advisory boards, and local community board. Recruiting of unskilled labor through this agency was requested of all employers beginning August 1, 1918, and since that time the nation has had an instrument for measuring more accurately the needs for, and supplies of, labor. The community labor boards made extensive surveys also of all local labor needs and supplies and interpreted these local conditions to the national organization.

## THE LABOR STANDARDS

In the effort to stabilize conditions of labor, the Board adopted a series of clauses affecting labor matters for inclusion in government contracts. These claims were aimed at prohibition of child labor and of prison labor, at the adoption of a basic eight-hour day, and at the establishment of a definite and continuous means of settling labor disputes. The Board has also adopted the principles as enunciated by the War Labor Board, *viz.*, the right of the workers to organize into trade unions and to bargain collectively with their employers; the continuance of existing union standards and the right of the workers to obtain improved conditions, wages and hours of work; equal pay for equal work performed by women; the right of all workers to a living wage.

The provisions were enforced through the various producing agencies of the Government as represented on the War Labor Policies Board. The Child Labor Division of the Children's



Bureau of the Department of Labor was specifically entrusted with the task of enforcing the child labor clauses and also in each state an official was charged with the responsibility for enforcing the various labor laws of the state so far as they affected government contractors. A conference of these officials was held with the War Labor Policies Board on Sept. 30 and October 1, 1918, at which the war labor program was discussed and various questions of enforcement were taken up for uniform treatment.

Apart from the working conditions concerning which the Board had legislated as described above, no small part of the labor unrest leading to an excessive turnover was found due to unsatisfactory conditions of living in the industrial centers largely affected by war needs. Poor housing, lack of adequate eating places and of recreational opportunities very early caused dissatisfaction, discontent and wastage of labor. The Board met this situation by action leading to the creation of the Commission on Conditions of Living of War-Workers in the Bureau of Industrial Housing and Transportation. This Commission devoted its time to the problem of creating satisfactory living conditions in industrial centers and the development of a normal and healthy community life.

The man-power needs of the army had to be met first of all of necessity; but the War Labor Policies Board was able to present a program whereby those workers essential to their industry were given a deferred classification and at the same time developed a program for increase of production by increasing the productive powers of those who are not ordinarily called into industrial service, or, at most, are employed as unskilled or partially skilled workers. To this end, the Committee on the Relation of Military to Industrial Man-power presented a plan to the Board (which was subsequently adopted) creating machinery for assisting the district service boards in passing upon the status of those individuals whose services were needed within the community. The plan included the establishment of advisory committees which were qualified to speak for the industrial needs of the district. The program was adopted by the War Department and the machinery established for administering it. The plan for extending civilian vocational training to supply industry and agriculture with skilled and semi-skilled workers, also increased productive powers.

Such problems as the standards to be established for women in industry, physical examination for workers and the development of the standardization of wages on the part of the various wage fixing agencies of the Government all received the study and attention and ultimate action on the part of the Board. The aim in legislating on these matters was to work out an equitable policy to prevent industrial disturbance or a possible lowering of working standards with the consequent menace to steady production.

Apart from these specific measures which resulted from the legislative enactment of the Board, the War Labor Policies Board aided the various departments in creating a common outlook upon their labor needs and has been a means of co-operation in meeting these needs. It supplied a medium for the exchange of facts and ideas concerning the industrial situation which confronted the departments and the industries concerned. It employed its staff and resources with the aim of eliminating the causes of labor wastage and ineffectiveness and of increasing the productive power and the industrial forces of the nation. At the close of the war, it was giving its fullest attention to the work of establishing within industries a means for working out and solving the problems which affect them.

JOHN MERRIMAN GAUS,  
*War Labor Policies Board.*

### THE NATIONAL WAR LABOR BOARD<sup>1</sup>

The National War Labor Board was established on April 8, 1918, by proclamation of President Wilson, to serve as a voluntary supreme court for the adjudication of labor disputes to the end that there should be no strikes or lockouts during the war and that maximum industrial production should be maintained. In his proclamation the President urged "upon all employers and employees within the United States the necessity of utilizing the means and methods thus provided for the adjustment of all industrial disputes," and requested "that during the pendency of mediation or arbitration through the said means and methods, there shall be no discontinuance of industrial operations which would result in curtailment of the production of war necessities."

The creation of the Board may be viewed as the climax of the "Wilson labor policy" during the war. This policy may be summarized under two heads: the preservation of all ordinary economic processes in complete freedom of operation up to the point where the national interests were menaced; and the effort to work so far as possible through established voluntary agencies and organizations. The Administration made an exception to this policy in its dealings with the I. W. W., which it regarded, at first unofficially and later officially, as outside the law or in opposition to the law. In effect it established friendly relations only with the recognized trade unions, most of them affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and with the officers of the Federation. These it accepted as the qualified representatives of all American labor, organized and unorganized. It endeavored constantly to bind these organizations to agreements which for the period of the war should have the force of law.

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<sup>1</sup> See article on The National War Labor Board and The Labor Movement.

Early in the war the Government established quasi-contractual relations with the established trade unions, and such relations it extended and consolidated from month to month, through the many commissions, committees, and industrial service sections created in the various departments. It carefully refrained from denying any of the traditional trade union claims, such as the right to strike, and in general granted the unions their full demands in return for a binding promise not to strike for the period of the war. Beginning in the direct contract work of the Government, it extended its methods to sub-contract work (by stipulating labor conditions in its contracts) and finally sought to use its influence in industries not subject to its control. In the course of this experimental policy, it enunciated a number of principles, in general and in detail, of a highly liberal and progressive character, which came to be recognized as a "government labor policy" and were incorporated almost *in toto* into the "principles and policies" of the National War Labor Board.

Having had substantial success with its labor policy in its own departments, the Administration, in November, 1917, felt strong enough to attempt to give it nation-wide effect. In this month, the President, speaking before the Buffalo Convention of the American Federation of Labor, pleaded for a "no strike" policy, and offered in return "instrumentalities" which should guarantee to organized labor all its essential demands (save the closed shop) for the period of the war.

One of these "instrumentalities" was the National War Labor Board. This was created in characteristic fashion. The National Industrial Conference Board, a voluntary advisory body sitting in Washington to consider problems of production, and the American Federation of Labor, officially accepted as the representative of the whole American working class, were each requested to appoint five representatives who should agree, if possible, upon a set of principles upon which all industrial disputes could be equitably adjusted. It was understood that the representatives should then prevail upon their respective constituencies ("capital" and "labor") to accept the principles thus agreed upon. The representatives of each side selected a representative of "the public" to serve as one of the two joint chairmen. Impartiality was not required or expected of the joint chairmen. The Board was thus bi-partisan in character, and its decisions were expected to have the more weight because they represented the joint agreement of contending parties.

The men appointed in this way were first named as a National War Labor Conference Board, and later, after they had submitted their mutual program to the Secretary of Labor, were constituted (with one exception) the National War Labor Board, with the following personnel:

William Howard Taft, former President of the United States, chosen by the Employers' representatives to represent the public; joint chairman.

Frank P. Walsh, formerly Chairman of the Industrial Relations Com-

mission, chosen by the labor representatives to represent the public; joint chairman.<sup>1</sup>

Loyal A. Osborne, New York, Vice-President of the Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company; Chairman of the Executive Committee of the National Industrial Conference Board.

Charles F. Brooker, Ansonia, Conn., President of the American Brass Company.

W. H. Van Devoort, East Moline, Ill., President of the Root and Van Dervoort Engineering Company.

L. F. Loree, New York, President of the Delaware and Hudson Company, Chairman of the Board and Executive Committee of Kansas City Southern Railway Company, President Hudson Coal Company, Northern Iron and Coal Company, Schuylkill Coal and Iron Company, etc.

C. Edwin Michael, Roanoke, Va., President of the Virginia Bridge and Iron Company.

Frank J. Hayes, President of the United Mine Workers of America, Merchants' Bank, Indianapolis, Ind.

William L. Hutcheson, President of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, Carpenters Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.

Wm. H. Johnston, President International Association of Machinists, Washington, D. C.

Victor Olander, Representative International Seamen's Union of America, Chicago.

T. A. Rickert, President United Garment Workers of America, Chicago.

#### POWERS OF THE BOARD

The Board as constituted was a purely voluntary, extra-legal, agency. It had no legal power to compel observance of its decisions. It had not even power to arbitrate save on the express request of both parties to the controversy, although it had power to look into any matter it chose upon the instance of either party, or of the Secretary of Labor, and to make public its recommendations. The actual power of the Board derived from the executive support given to it by the President of the United States. This was exercised in three instances: that of the Western Union Telegraph Company, which refused to obey the Board's recommendation that it reinstate employees discharged for trade union affiliations and which was taken over by the President with the consent of Congress; that of the Smith Wesson Company of Springfield, Mass., which refused to accept an award calling for collective bargaining, and was taken over by the War Department; and that of the Bridgeport, Conn., machinists, who struck against an award by the Board denying trade classification and were threatened with a virtual economic boycott on the part of the Federal Government if they refused to return to work. The Board, therefore, in spite of the fiction of "voluntary co-operation," actually possessed autocratic powers to compel the acceptance of its decisions.

The fundamental purpose of the Government in creating the Board seems to have been to attach the American trade unions to the Government and its war program, much as Alexander Hamilton attached the financial classes of the early states to the new Constitution by guaranteeing the redemption of paper money at

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Walsh resigned sometime after the conclusion of the war and Basil Manly was designated in his place.

its face value. In this, the Government was unquestionably successful. The mass of the organized workers, even though luke-warm or vague concerning the issues of the European war, were firmly convinced that their interests lay in close co-operation with the Federal Government. There can be no doubt but that they reaped substantial immediate rewards and advantages as a result of their policy of co-operation.

The War Labor Conference Board adopted the following statement of functions and of principles which served as the written constitution of the War Labor Board:

### FUNCTIONS, POWERS, AND DUTIES OF THE BOARD

The functions and powers of the National War Labor Board are as follows:

To bring about a settlement, by mediation and conciliation, of every controversy arising between employers and workers in the field of production necessary for the effective conduct of the war.

To do the same thing in similar controversies in other fields of national activity, delays and obstructions in which may, in the opinion of the National Board, affect detrimentally such production.

To provide such machinery, by direct appointment or otherwise, for the selection of committees or boards to sit in various parts of the country where controversies arise, to secure settlement by local mediation and conciliation.

To summon the parties to the controversy for hearing and action by the National Board in case of failure to secure settlement by local mediation and conciliation.

If the sincere and determined effort of the National Board shall fail to bring about a voluntary settlement and the members of the board shall be unable to unanimously agree upon a decision, then and in that case only as a last resort, an umpire appointed in the manner provided in the next paragraph shall hear and finally decide the controversy under simple rules of procedure prescribed by the National Board.

The members of the National Board shall choose the umpire by unanimous vote. Failing such choice, the name of the umpire shall be drawn by lot from a list of ten suitable and disinterested persons to be nominated for the purpose by the President of the United States.

The National Board shall hold its regular meetings in the city of Washington with power to meet at any other place convenient for the board and the occasion.

The National Board may alter its methods and practice in settlement of controversies hereunder from time to time as experience may suggest.

The National Board shall refuse to take cognizance of a controversy between employer and workers in any field of industrial or other activity where there is by agreement or Federal law a means of settlement which has not been invoked.

The place of each member of the National Board unavoidably detained from attending one or more of its sessions may be filled by a substitute to be named by such member as his regular substitute. The substitute shall have the same representative character as his principal.

The National Board shall have power to appoint a secretary and to create such other clerical organization under it as may be in its judgment necessary for the discharge of its duties.

The National Board may apply to the Secretary of Labor for authority to use the machinery of the Department in its work of conciliation and mediation.

The action of the National Board may be invoked, in respect to controversies within its jurisdiction, by the Secretary of Labor or by either side in a controversy or its duly authorized representative. The Board may, after summary consideration, refuse further hearing if the case is not of such character or importance as to justify it.

In the appointment of committees of its own members to act for the

board in general or local matters, and in the creation of local committees, the employers and the workers shall be equally represented.

The representatives of the public on the board shall preside alternately at successive sessions of the board or as agreed upon.

## PRINCIPLES AND POLICIES TO GOVERN RELATIONS BETWEEN WORKERS AND EMPLOYERS IN WAR INDUSTRIES FOR THE DURATION OF THE WAR

*There should be No Strikes or Lockouts During the War.*

*Right to Organize:*—The right of workers to organize in trade-unions and to bargain collectively through chosen representatives is recognized and affirmed. This right shall not be denied, abridged, or interfered with by the employers in any manner whatsoever.

The right of employees to organize in associations or groups and to bargain collectively through chosen representatives is recognized and affirmed. This right shall not be denied, abridged, or interfered with by the workers in any manner whatsoever.

Employers should not discharge workers for membership in trade-unions, nor for legitimate trade-union activities.

The workers, in the exercise of their right to organize, shall not use coercive measures of any kind to induce persons to join their organizations nor to induce employers to bargain or deal therewith.

*Existing Conditions:*—In establishments where the union shop exists, the same shall continue, and the union standards as to wages, hours of labor, and other conditions of employment shall be maintained.

In establishments where union and non-union men and women now work together and the employer meets only with employees or representatives engaged in said establishments, the continuance of such conditions shall not be deemed a grievance. However, this declaration is not intended in any manner to deny the right or discourage the practice of the formation of labor unions or the joining of the same by the workers in said establishments, as guaranteed in the last paragraph, nor to prevent the War Labor Board from urging, or any umpire from granting, under the machinery herein provided, improvement of their situation in the matter of wages, hours of labor, or other conditions as shall be found desirable from time to time.

Established safeguards and regulations for the protection of the health and safety of workers shall not be relaxed.

*Women in Industry:*—If it shall become necessary to employ women on work ordinarily performed by men, they must be allowed equal pay for equal work and must not be allotted tasks disproportionate to their strength.

*Hours of Labor:*—The basic eight-hour day is recognized as applying in all cases in which existing law requires it. In all other cases the question of hours of labor shall be settled with due regard to governmental necessities and the welfare, health, and proper comfort of the workers.

*Maximum Production:*—The maximum production of all war industries should be maintained and the methods of work and operation on the part of the employers or workers which operate to delay or limit production, or which have a tendency to artificially increase the cost thereof, should be discouraged.

*Mobilization of Labor:*—For the purpose of mobilizing the labor supply with a view to its rapid and effective distribution, a permanent list of the number of skilled and other workers available in different parts of the nation shall be kept on file by the Department of Labor, the information to be constantly furnished:

1. By the trade-unions.
2. By the State employment bureaus and Federal agencies of like character.
3. By the managers and operators of industrial establishments throughout the country.

These agencies shall be given opportunity to aid in the distribution of labor as necessity demands.

*Custom of Localities:*—In fixing wages, hours, and conditions of labor, regard should always be had for labor standards, wage scales, and other conditions prevailing in the localities affected.

*The Living Wage*:—1. The right of all workers, including common laborers, to a living wage is hereby declared.

2. In fixing wages, minimum rates of pay shall be established which will insure the subsistence of the worker and his family in health and reasonable comfort.

It will be noticed that these principles give, on the whole, the weight of advantage to organized labor, which surrenders none of its essential demands except that of the closed shop, and on the other hand receives explicit protection in the recruiting of new members and a tacit, if not an actual, approval of the eight-hour day. The provision for collective bargaining was a measure which might work to the advantage of either side, by creating "company unions" to be tools of the employer, or by spreading the idea of organization to be exploited later by the unions. In practice, the advantage seems to have been wholly on the side of the unions. The provision for a minimum "living" wage was in part a reflection of the popular humanitarian ideology of the war period. To what extent the advantage reaped by labor from these principles was a result of the unions' strike power, or "nuisance value," future sociologists must decide. It may be noted, however, that the few months preceding the organization of the Board had been marked by serious strikes throughout the country, which had given currency to the idea that labor could demand and get substantial concessions.

#### SUMMARY OF THE BOARD'S WORK

The aggregate results of the Board's work are extremely difficult to estimate. Much of its influence was indirect. Many of the awards were made in general, not in specific, terms. In the rush of work no adequate statistics were kept.

Up to December 1, 1918, 896 disputes had been submitted to the Board, in one manner or another. Of these 107 had been decided by direct awards of the Board; thirty-seven had been settled by friendly mediation; 225 had been referred to other agencies having primary competence or settled by departments of the Government; and 527 were still pending on the Board's docket. These cases were of all sorts, ranging from the complaint of half a dozen men in a village shop, to the struggle of the 27,000 employees of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation. Secretary of Labor Wilson estimated in November, 1918, that 2,500,000 workers had been affected directly and indirectly by the Board's decisions.

It cannot be said that the Board, in the first eight months of its existence, effected any decrease in the number of strikes, which, according to the statistics of the Department of Labor, were nearly doubled over the corresponding period of the previous year. However, these strikes were noticeably smaller in duration and numbers affected, and it seems clear that the total number of work-days lost during this period was materially reduced, at least cut in half, partly as a result of the Board's

work. There is evidence, also, to show that the Board succeeded in increasing production in the industries over which it took jurisdiction. Unrest in the general sense, it certainly did not quell, for its decisions looked so good to workers that they were stirred to instigate a large number of disputes for the purpose of securing the good offices of the Board. Such disputes were, however, not generally of a sort to affect production adversely. On the whole, the Board seems to have had a stabilizing effect upon the nation's industrial life and to have provided a standard of agreement between labor and capital which was voluntarily accepted in many instances in lieu of industrial warfare.

### SUMMARY OF DECISIONS

The written "constitution" of the Board as given above did not limit the nature of its awards, which in many instances went further and created new principles by precedent. The elaborate system of instituting collective bargaining under the direction of the Board's own examiners was applied, for example, in every instance where no stable union organization existed, but nothing of the sort appears in the Board's principles beyond a blanket approval for the method. Again, the principles avoid any clear-cut statement on the eight-hour day, yet in practice the Board established frequently the basic eight-hour day and in some instances the absolute eight-hour day.

### UNION DISCRIMINATION

The Board consistently adhered to its rule forbidding the discharge of employees for legitimate union activities. In the Western Union case the whole dispute hinged on this question, and when the Government took over the wires, it expressly ordered the reinstatement of the discharged men with full pay for time lost. The individual contract, one of the chief weapons against unionism, was ordered abolished in the case of the Pittsfield, Mass., plant of the General Electric Company and in other cases. It is interesting to note that a minor court accepted this ruling as a legal precedent for the period of the war. The wearing of union buttons was expressly protected in the case of the Columbus, O., Railway Power Company.

The efforts of the Board to protect employees against molestation because of union activities were not wholly successful. Employers protested almost uniformly that men were discharged not for union activities but for incompetence and it was frequently difficult to establish the truth. In a large proportion of instances the men so discharged had obtained other jobs by the time the award was handed down. Reinstatements were often followed by charges of later discrimination, providing new matter for controversy. Frequently the Board's authority was only indirect. The Brooklyn Rapid Transit Company, not being a voluntary party to the proceedings, rejected the Board's "recommendations" on the subject completely, until the time of a seri-



ous wreck, due to the employment of strike-breakers. Thereupon it announced its acceptance of the recommendations, but their execution was still outside the jurisdiction of the Board. Following the taking over of the Western Union Company by the Post Office Department of the Government, there were persistent charges made by the union of refusal on the part of the authorities to reinstate all the men previously discharged.

On the whole, however, the Board firmly established the principle for the period of the war, that union affiliations were not to be subject to discriminatory action on the part of employers. It is unquestionable that this action by the Board protected effectually the growth of the unions and was a direct means of increasing their membership in very large numbers.

#### RECOGNITION OF UNIONS

The Board, in pursuance of its principles, refused in the case of the St. Joseph Lead Company of Herculanum, Mo., and in other cases, to order the recognition of existing unions not recognized by the employer previous to the war. At the same time, in all such cases, the Board made it mandatory that the employer should deal with freely elected representatives of *his own employees*, whether such representatives were union men, or were elected on a "union ticket," or not.

#### MINIMUM WAGE

The Board followed consistently its principle that "minimum rates of pay should be established," but was frequently in dissent over the interpretation of the qualifying clause, "which will insure the subsistence of the worker and his family in health and reasonable comfort." One faction of the Board insisted that any wage on which workers had actually lived was a living wage. The workers' faction pointed out that this wage was frequently supplemented by private or public charity. The studies of the Board's staff led to the consolidation of budgets of two types: one a "minimum subsistence" budget of about \$1,380 per annum for the support of the worker, his wife, and three children of school age; and the other a "minimum comfort" budget, allowing for small savings and a reasonable amount of amusement, of \$1,760.50. The former, on a basis of 300 working days in the year and eight hours a day, would come to about 58 cents per hour; the latter, on a similar basis, to about 72 cents per hour. It seemed out of the question to establish such rates arbitrarily, because of their probable effect on business. In most cases a compromise was effected on a basis of 40 to 42 cents per hour, which on a ten-hour basis (which was actually obtained in most industries) would almost approximate the required total, at least if overtime were paid. In a large number of street railway decisions the minimum was set at from 38 to 42 cents per hour, according to the size of the city. In Bridgeport, 42 cents was set; at Herculanum, \$4.00 per day, etc. Special minimum

rates were set for women, presumably on the theory that they were partially supported otherwise, but actually, perhaps, because the Board was unwilling to upset existing wage scales too violently.

#### LENGTH OF THE WORK-DAY

The Board enforced, as a matter of course, the eight-hour day or the basic eight-hour day, where required by law or existing agreement. In other cases, the Board was usually unwilling to specify the length of the work-day, except in cases of peculiarly dangerous or exhausting employment, when it sometimes ordered an additional payment for time worked over eight hours. An attempt was made to provide a species of overtime payment on excessive "swing runs" in street railway work, the overtime payment beginning after fourteen hours. The most definite of the Board's pronouncements on the work-day was made by an arbitrator, Judge Walter Clark, of the Supreme Court of North Carolina, in a memorable decision in the case of the molders *vs.* The Wheeling Mold and Foundry Company. He ruled that because of the dangerous and exhausting character of the work, the existing eight-hour agreement should be interpreted as an absolute eight-hour agreement, and that in no case should overtime be permitted except in case of an emergency declared by a joint committee of employer and employees. In the case of the machinists of the same company, Henry Ford, acting as arbitrator, granted the basic eight-hour day.

#### WAGE INCREASE PREDICATED UPON COST OF LIVING

The Board showed an increasing tendency to base its wage decisions upon the cost of living in two ways: to bring the wages of the underpaid employees up to the dead level of subsistence without regard to the percentage of increase thus ordered; and to increase other wages proportionately to the increase in the cost of living over the cost during the spring of 1915. Under the former principle the percentage of wage increase was sometimes strikingly high; the common laborers of the Waynesboro, Pa., machine shops were receiving 22 cents an hour and asked for 30 cents an hour, and were awarded 40 cents. Underpaid street railway workers received sometimes large increases.

Investigations of the Board's staff, weighted with those of other agencies, showed an increase in the cost of living, between the spring of 1915 and the summer of 1918, of about 65%. This served as a general basis for all wage increases above the subsistence level, regard being had for previous increase in wages. It was further provided in all awards that wage adjustments might be effected at intervals of six months, if the official curves showed an intervening increase in the cost of living of 10% or more.

## ATTITUDE TOWARD CORPORATION FINANCES

The Board was early faced with the plea that corporations would be financially unable to pay the wage increases ordered. It ruled in general that such inability was not the primary concern of the Board and would not deter it from fixing just wages, but that on the other hand it was willing to recommend increases in rates or prices to the proper agency, when it had reason to believe that such increases were necessary to make possible the payment of increased wages. Thus it recommended to the War Department an increase, *at its discretion*, of the contract price of war materials ordered of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation. It likewise urged, in the case of all the street railway companies in respect to which awards were rendered, that the legal rates of fare be raised, either through federal action or through the local public service commissions. It stated as a general principle that corporations unable to pay a living wage had no right to exist.

## FEUDAL PRACTICES

The Board discovered astonishing remnants of feudal practices in industries in certain small towns. In the case of the Sloss-Sheffield Steel and Iron Company, of Birmingham, Ala., it discovered a practice of deducting 20% from advance pay paid to employees for work already done. In another place it found that though the employees paid through monthly contributions for a "company doctor," the company appropriated 10% of the doctor's salary. These and all similar practices were ordered discontinued. The company was also faced with numerous charges of the unfair use of the selective draft, through the connivance of the local draft boards, to intimidate men suspected of union activities. These charges, into which the Board did not take time thoroughly to inquire, were referred to the War Department.

## WOMEN WORKERS

The Board applied consistently, to the best of its ability, its provision for equal pay for equal work and its provisions prohibiting the employment of women on tasks beyond their strength. It did not, however, prevent the employment of women on lower grades of work at rates lower than those paid to the men. Some of the minimum rates set for women were: Bridgeport, 32 cents per hour; Schenectady, 30 cents per hour; Pittsfield, \$15.00 per week. Scrubwomen at the Schenectady plant of the General Electric Company were granted a weekly minimum of \$10.50. Certain provisions as to age or period of service were attached to these minimum rates. In general the Board made every effort to secure proper sanitary and moral conditions for women workers.

## BONUS SYSTEM

The Board was many times faced with the intricacies of the

so-called "bonus system," and found in nearly every case that it tended to hamper production and cause unrest. This was due primarily to the mystification that attends all complicated systems of pay, and to the universal belief that all bonus systems are manipulated and revised to the disadvantage of the workers. The Board found itself totally unable to understand the operation of the much-heralded bonus system of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, and ordered it revised or totally eliminated. No provision was made, however, for a wage scale to take its place, this being presumably left to "joint agreement" between the employer and the shop committee. In the case of one of the General Electric Company's plants, the bonus system was abolished and previous bonus payments ordered continued as wages. The Board recognized the grave possibilities of abuse inherent in every bonus system which it examined, but was not always able to offer a substitute.

#### CLASSIFICATION

One of the most puzzling problems which the Board faced was that of the classification, with definite rates of pay of skilled workers. The question was the more complicated because of war-time "dilution," whereby many unskilled workers had been introduced into simplified portions of the skilled trades and the old trade standards had totally collapsed. The strike of 5,000 Bridgeport machinists against an award of the Board, was caused by the refusal of the Board's arbitrator, Otto M. Eidlitz, to attempt the solution of this critical question. It, like the Bethlehem bonus system, was eventually and optimistically left to the operations of "joint agreement." In general the Board bolstered up the tottering classifications of the machinists' trade, but kept its hands off the more difficult cases.

#### COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

On the whole the Board sought to leave detailed questions to collective bargaining, making its awards in general terms but devoting much effort, through its staff, to insure the initial institution of the collective bargaining arrangement on a free and just basis. Shop elections were held, under the presidency of an examiner of the Board, sometimes by open meeting outside the shop, sometimes by Australian ballot within. Only *bona fide* wage-earners were allowed to participate and undue pressure on the part of the employer was in most cases successfully eliminated. Large shops were divided into sections, each section with its shop committee, usually on a basis of one delegate to each 100 workers. Unions were in no way discriminated against and in a large proportion of cases union men were elected. In Bethlehem a general "works committee" elected by the shop committees and representing the whole plant, was provided for. In Bridgeport a central "Board of Mediation and Control" representing all of the 66 machine shops and industries of the

city, and chosen by the elected delegates, was established to serve as a sort of supreme court of industry for the city. On this board were three representatives of the men and three representatives of the city's employers, presided over by a voteless representative of the Secretary of War. Other important industries in which collective bargaining was instituted by the Board, are the General Electric Company's plants in Lynn and Pittsfield, Mass. Many other industries, including the Midvale Steel Company, voluntarily instituted systems of collective bargaining, purporting to be similar in form and purpose to that of the Board.

The Board consistently refused to accept substitute schemes of collective bargaining, all savoring of the Rockefeller scheme, submitted by employers as alternative to its own. There is no doubt that the employers greatly disliked the Board's method, the Smith & Wesson Company giving it as its reason for rejecting the award. At this writing, the armistice having brought the war to a virtual close, the Bethlehem company, which resisted the original award of the Board for some weeks, has announced that it feels itself no longer bound to the Board's method and that it will proceed to put into effect a scheme of its own.

On the whole the institution of collective bargaining, educating alike the unorganized workers and the public at large to the advantages of labor organization, seems to be the most substantial achievement of the Board.

#### PERMANENT RESULTS

It is impossible to estimate with any certainty the permanent results of the Board's activities. They seem, however, to have accomplished something lasting in accustoming the public to certain concepts of industrial justice, such as the living wage, equal pay, and collective bargaining. If war time labor conditions were continued indefinitely there could be no doubt but that the labor organizations would achieve vastly increased power as a result of the Board's work. The wage increases granted helped to strengthen the working class for future struggles. Much more important is the gross increase in union membership directly or indirectly traceable to the Board. The street railway unions, it has been estimated by union officials, increased their membership by 100,000 under the Board's protection. Other estimates give the gross increase in membership of all unions as 1,000,000 for the period of the war, of whom 250,000 to 300,000 can be traced pretty directly to the work of the Board. The national drive for the organization of the steel industry was much aided by the attitude of the Board. Both in Bethlehem and in South Chicago, the plants were rapidly organized well above 50%. At this time, however, there is no way of estimating how many of the gains can be preserved through the post-war period of industrial upheaval.

Finally, the Board was unquestionably successful in attaching millions of wage-earners to the Administration and its policies, and welding their interests into those of American business and the Federal Government. "Enlightened employers" have been led in a large proportion of cases to abandon their old policies of antagonism to organized labor in favor of some form of co-operation and the mutual sharing of the fruits of industry. This tendency may have a substantial influence on the future American labor movement.

HIRAM K. MODERWELL.

### THE NATIONAL WAR LABOR BOARD AND THE LABOR MOVEMENT<sup>1</sup>

Authority and responsibility within the American labor movement have to a very great degree passed over from the executive offices of the international unions and the executive offices of the American Federation of Labor to the meetings and local councils of the rank and file. We have international unions stronger in numbers and in financial showing than ever before, and we see the American Federation of Labor gathering in hundreds of thousands of new members, with scarcely an effort as compared with the days before Europe went to war. But the initiative and the power of action on the industrial battlefield has slipped from the national leaders' hands. The Seattle labor movement, the Bridgeport labor movement, the Chicago labor movement—these are living, functioning masses of workers, who have gained a new self-confidence and self-respect since April, 1917.

During the first twelve months after the Government of the United States declared war, the labor movement was in confusion. It tried to meet the rapidly increasing cost of living by local protest, by appeals to the executive officers of the A. F. of L., by demands for assistance from the international unions. Fundamental industrial changes were under way. The old authorities in the movement could not meet the situation with old machinery. The Department of Labor and the Council of National Defense tried to calm the unrest by kind words and suggestions of hope. Strikes answered them from hundreds of towns, east and west. In January, 1918, the War Labor Conference Board was created, by act of the Secretary of Labor, to draft a plan of conciliation of labor disputes in war industries. On April 8, 1918, the President proclaimed the appointment of the members of this board as a National War Labor Board, with instructions from him under the war power given him by Congress, to deal with industrial quarrels in accordance with the Conference Board's plan of organization of a tribunal, its principles and policies. The plan of organization had been drafted by William Howard Taft, spokesman and joint chair-

<sup>1</sup> See article on The National War Labor Board.

man for the five employer members of the Board. The set of principles and policies had been drafted by Frank P. Walsh, spokesman and joint chairman for the five labor members.

From the moment that the National War Labor Board commenced its hearings, the American labor movement passed into the stage of semi-governmental protection. The first principle of the Board determined that point in this language:

"The right of workers to organize in trade unions and to bargain collectively through chosen representatives is recognized and affirmed. This right shall not be denied, abridged, or interfered with by the employers in any manner whatsoever."

Organization then became a matter of local willingness, and no longer a case for national or international trade union strategy. The desperate need of sanction and assistance and guidance from "headquarters" was gone. In the metal trades, the munition plants, the street railway industry, the textile industry—in every line which was not already protected by an agreement such as the seamen and the shipyard workers had, the trade union membership grew rapidly, the local unions became powerful, and the fact was impressed upon them that it was the local unions that must go to Washington and argue their demands before the War Labor Board.

International officers generally attended the hearings, gave advice, did their best to secure an award in favor of their members. But their good will and aid had ceased to be essential to the winning of a fight. The man on the job was the man who was heard; his demand was his own; his gains were won by himself and his local. So long as the war conditions should last, the War Labor Board was to him a symbol of his own importance in his industry.

There were international officers of labor organizations who sat as members of the War Labor Board who sensed this change in the seat of power. Some of them welcomed it, and at the same time worked for craft unity by following up every complaint. Let a delegation of mechanics from a Detroit automobile plant come in and tell a story of discrimination, false promises, hopes inflated by Four Minute speakers, and ultimate collapse of confidence in the boss, and promptly an organizer for that class of men was sent to Detroit by the International Association of Machinists. In one instance two thousand men were enrolled in that union at one meeting, as the result of a simple follow-up of a complaint. This attention to the field explains the phenomenal growth of the Machinists in 1918.

Unfortunately, the great majority of international officers of labor organizations did not watch for these opportunities. Many thousands of men were given the right to collective bargaining long before the trade union gospel had been preached to them. Hundreds of thousands already in the ranks of unionism were so confident that their internationals would do the job that they

neglected the personal effort which would have brought their shop-mates into the locals. Award after award was handed down by the Board, and it appeared that the millenium of trade unionism was at hand—collective bargaining, the universal eight-hour day, a wage sufficient for the comfort of a family, and the wiping out forever of discrimination against union agitators. Employers put up a brave show of complying with the awards, while actually delaying recognition of the shops committees that were elected to deal with them.

Armistice day came. Employers dropped their pretense of willingness to enforce the awards of the Board. Strike agitation was resumed. The War Labor Board had on hand many hundreds of cases awaiting hearing or settlement. Gradually it became apparent to both sides that the work of the Board was done. It might linger for many months. It might remain alive for years, like some helpless cripple. But its real force was spent when the war ended on the Western front.

Then it was that the permanent change in the structure of the American labor movement made itself felt. There was a strike among the employees of the General Electric Co. in four cities, in sympathy with a handful of men in one plant who had been discriminated against. The international unions had not sanctioned the strike. They were not consulted about it. All the union men in the employ of this corporation walked out, in cities far apart, at the call of their own organization, which was created as the result of an award which they had themselves won from the War Labor Board. Laws of the internationals and of the A. F. of L. were ignored by this new local power.

Seattle had its shipyard strike—called when the machinery of adjustment within the industry had failed. The Seattle Metal Trades Council and Central Labor Council recommended to the entire labor movement at Seattle that a general sympathetic strike be called. Many of the local unions violated their contracts with employers, but they walked out, and Seattle furnished the United States with its first proof that a general walkout can be complete and good-humored and effective.

New York had its Marine Workers' Affiliation. International unions were understood to have authority over the calling of strikes such as that which tied up the port of New York in January, and that which again paralyzed traffic in the harbor in March. But the strike was conducted without reference to the desires of international officers. The American Federation of Labor Executive Council kept out of the dispute. Authority and initiative had passed to the local unions. The American labor movement had ceased to be a skeleton machinery, revolving about an official centre. It has become a localized mass, responsive to the local spirit of protest, and assured that henceforth it was unconquerable so long as it stood ready to defend the charter of liberties which the War Labor Board proclaimed.



It is too early to say that the movement toward local unification of the labor movement will rapidly succeed in every section of the country. In the cities where general awards have been made by the Board, the old lines of cleavage between crafts have lost their meaning. Union men think in terms of the advancement of the movement, not in terms of the advancement of their craft alone. True, in cities, untouched by these awards, the old distinctions are still sharply drawn. Trade nationalism still resists the shift of authority from headquarters to the membership, from separate crafts to the local movement. But the new application of labor's power to improve labor's world is gaining ground.

If international officers are no longer the necessary General Staff of labor's battles, and if the executives of the American Federation of Labor no longer hold the fate of local strikes in their hands, what is to be the future of these elected and trained servants of the movement?

They will stimulate local organization. They will attempt to speak for labor in their industries when national or State legislation is sought. They will perform the technical service of labor members on boards that deal with public affairs in which the labor movement claims a voice. Honors will be paid them, and good salaries. But power will not rest in their hands again until the common membership has tried its own ability to fight and grow and rule.

For all this the War Labor Board principles and awards must be given credit. Employers may have thought that they had found a way to ruin the labor movement when the Board made local action its law. Trade union theorists may have agreed with this conclusion. Local action has given new blood, new heart, new purpose to the movement. Democracy has advanced, thanks to the War Labor Board.

LAURENCE TODD.

## THE U. S. SHIPBUILDING LABOR ADJUSTMENT BOARD

### CONSTITUTION OF THE BOARD

The shipping problem early assumed primary importance among the government war activities. Consequently the earliest steps taken by the government in the direction of collective agreement with labor occurred in activities directed by the Shipping Board. Such agreement with the Longshoremen and Seamen preceded slightly the establishment of machinery of adjustment for shipyard labor. But the activities of the latter will probably prove more important in the general history of the labor movement.

The first joint agreement was signed on August 25, 1917, by the executives of the Navy Department, Shipping Board, and Emergency Fleet Corporation, and by officials of practically all organized crafts engaged in the shipbuilding industry. All

parties agreed to submit such differences as might arise to an adjustment board of three persons representing, respectively, the Emergency Fleet Corporation and the Navy Department, the public, and the American Federation of Labor. The President was to nominate the representative of the public and Samuel Gompers the representative of labor. Pending the decision of this board no strikes or lock-outs were to occur. The agreement carried provision for periodic readjustments at six month intervals, and for the appointment of local examiners to serve during such periods as intermediaries between the various districts and the board. It specified that the wages and hours of July 15, 1917, in the respective yards should be taken as basic standard terms. This early agreement carried also provision for the appointment of two labor members of the board, one from the metal trades and one from the trades primarily concerned in the construction of wooden hulls, either one to sit according to the trades primarily concerned in the matter at issue. In addition a local employer and a local labor representative were to sit in each case as associate members of the board. Both these matters of representation were eliminated from the revised agreement of December 8, 1917. Thereafter, the wooden trades had no representative on the board and the fact that they were not party to the new agreement furnished very real basis for the strike of the carpenters early in 1918, which brought Mr. Hutcheson, the President of the Carpenters' Union, into sharp conflict with the administration.

The board, as finally constituted, consisted of V. Everitt Macy, one of the largest stockholders of the Standard Oil Co., representing the public, as chairman, of Louis A. Coolidge, treasurer of the United Shoe Machinery Company, representing the Emergency Fleet Corporation, and of A. J. Berres, Secretary-Treasurer of the Metal Trades Department, the A. F. of L. Professor Henry R. Seager of Columbia University, as Secretary of the Board, was an influential factor in the decisions.

#### THE AWARDS

The attention of the board was first called to the demands of labor on the Pacific Coast. The first award, dated November 4, 1917, covered the coast from San Francisco Bay north, immediately affecting about 50,000 workers. In the introduction to this award the board attempted to establish a new relationship between employers and employees, as follows:

"The owners of the shipyards are, during the duration of the war, merely agents of the government. Practically the whole shipbuilding industry of the country is being carried on for the benefit of the government. Employers and employees in the shipyards must realize that the war has changed their relation to each other. They are now working together for the preservation of their common country."

The significance of the board's work can be brought out more clearly by following the evolution of certain policies than by detailed discussion of the separate awards. Further discussion

of the Pacific Coast award will, therefore, be found under the sub-heads which follow.

After the Pacific Coast the awards were handed down in the following order: (2) for the Delaware River District, February 14, 1918; (3) for the South Atlantic and Gulf Shipyards, March 4, 1918, revised on April 6, 1918; (4) for the Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Co., March 7, 1918; (5) for the North Atlantic and Hudson River Yards, April 6, 1918,—this award establishing uniform rates, with certain exceptions, for the entire Atlantic and Gulf coasts; (6) for the shipyards of the Great Lakes, April 19, 1918, practically uniform with (3); and finally (7 and 8) practically a blanket award for all shipyard workers in the country, published as two awards, one for the east and other for the west, October 24, 1918.

#### THE BOARD'S ACTION IN THE MATTER OF WAGE RATES

The revised agreement practically accepted union rates as the basic standard terms. As a matter of fact rates for the Pacific Coast had already been established and were tacitly accepted as standards in all the other districts.

From the start, that is, in the Pacific Coast Award, the board set out (1) to prevent shifting of labor by equalizing rates in the various regions, and (2) to adjust wages to the higher cost of living resulting from the war.

The Pacific Coast award set a general mechanic's rate of \$5.25 for an eight-hour day. Certain important mechanics were given \$6.00 and \$6.50 a day, while a rate of \$3.25 was set for the unskilled laborer. The Seattle workers were dissatisfied with these rates. They presented new claims, and the officers of the Emergency Fleet Corporation added a 10 per cent "war service payment" to be paid to all men working six days a week. After February 1, 1918, this became part of the regular pay.

The Delaware River award set a general mechanic's rate of \$5.60 for an eight-hour day. In general the rates approximated those on the Pacific Coast. An elaborate piece price schedule appeared as a new feature in this award. These prices were the product of a series of meetings between employers and employees. The award ordered notices to be posted conspicuously in all the yards, guaranteeing that these prices would not be lowered during the duration of the war and urging employees to remove all limitations on output.

With certain exceptions in the awards for the series of yards extending from Newport News to Texas, the remaining wage scales represent a slow approach to a uniform national wage scale for shipyard workers. The decisions handed down on April 6, 1918, made the rates for mechanics uniform for the entire Atlantic and Gulf Coasts, aiming thereby to check the shifting of labor. The two awards down on October 24, 1918, mark the culmination of this policy. With the exception of cer-

tain unskilled occupations the shipyard workers in all parts of the country received a uniform wage scale. The basic mechanic's rate was raised to 80 cents an hour or \$6.40 for an eight-hour day. In this award there persisted what the Seattle workers considered unfair treatment of their rates. Dissatisfaction developed later into the Seattle strike.

Two tendencies in the board's influence upon rates stand out in these last awards: (1) the tendency to decrease the gap between the rates for skilled and unskilled workers, an application of the theory that the burden of a rising cost of living falls most heavily upon low paid occupations; (2) the tendency to make the rates not minimum but flat rates. At first this was due largely to the fact that employers looked to the Fleet Corporation for compensation for extra wages paid. But these last awards stated that no intermediate rates for occupations included in the decision were to be paid.

#### THE BOARD ACCEPTS THE INFERIOR STATUS OF NEGRO LABOR

In the awards for shipyards from Newport News southward, the board set a special lower scale of rates meant to permit the southern employers to pay Negro labor less for the same work than they paid white labor. At first, all southern labor was awarded an hourly rate five cents less than that set in the north; also permitting the employer when competent mechanics were not available to hire "less skilled" men at a rate of 10 cents an hour below the established rate. Unanimous protest from the skilled trades of the South brought quick revision and an equalization of rates over the whole eastern coast. But the really important discrimination persisted in the rates set for unskilled labor. The employers urged that to pay the "nigger" a white man's rate would disorganize the entire Southern labor market.

In the Southern award the laborer's rate appeared as 35 cents per hour. But the board discovered another class called "common labor" for which it set a rate of 30 cents. The same distinction appeared in the Newport News decision. In addition the rivet heaters of the north were termed "heater boys" and awarded 25 cents, while a new "second class helper" was discovered and awarded 37½ cents an hour.

In the final awards of October, 1918, the situation was unchanged, as will appear from the following comparison taken from the rate table in the decision:

<i>White</i>	<i>Colored</i>
Rivet heaters...50 cents	Heater boys (Newport News).....30 cents
Passers .....36 cents	Passer boys (Newport News).....25 cents
Laborers .....46 cents	Common laborers (S. Atlantic and Gulf)...36 cents

#### SHOP COMMITTEES FOR THE ADJUSTMENT OF GRIEVANCES

Shop committees as a method of dealing with local grievances appeared for the first time in the Pacific Coast award as part of an agreement on working conditions between the employers

and employees of the Columbia River district. The board incorporated this brief constitution almost verbatim into the later awards. In the decisions handed down on October 24, 1918, the system is most completely outlined. It was substantially as follows:

The employees of each craft in a shop or yard had the right to select by secret ballot three of their number to represent them as members of a shop committee. The chairmen of these shop committees formed a joint shop committee for the entire works. They selected an executive committee of five to represent them in conference with the superintendent or higher officials of the company. Grievances affecting one craft were taken up by the craft committee, first with the foreman or general foreman, and, failing settlement with the higher officials. A grievance affecting more than one craft was handled by the joint shop committee, first with the superintendent, and then failing settlement with the higher officials. In dealing with the superintendent or higher officials the committees had the right to call in the assistance of an outside representative chosen by themselves. The district examiner, subject to the approval of the board, was the final court of appeal. Members of such committees were protected against arbitrary discharge.

#### HOURS, CONDITIONS, ETC.

In all its awards the board established the eight-hour day. In the Delaware River award it established a forty-four hour week. Elsewhere the Saturday half-holiday was established for the summer months only. The Delaware River award established also a maximum working day of ten hours not to be exceeded except in emergency. In later awards this was changed to twelve hours with a maximum working week of sixty hours.

The board directed employers to provide medical first aid, adequate and sanitary toilets, washing facilities, and pure drinking water, properly cooled in the summer months. Assessment for insurance, medical attendance, or other benefits, was prohibited. And in the Southern award it was ordered that no employee be required to sign, as a condition of employment, any waiver of his legal rights.

Discrimination either on the part of employers or employees between union and non-union men was prohibited in all awards.

In the final awards special learners' rates were established to be paid for maximum periods ranging from two weeks for bolters-up to four months for the most highly skilled craftsmen.

#### RIGHT OF UNIONS TO SUPPLY SKILLED CRAFTSMEN

The strength of the Seattle unions secured certain recognition, in the Pacific Coast award, of the right of the unions to supply the skilled craftsmen needed as the industry expanded. The award urged, furthermore, co-operation with the Federal Employment Service. This subject was not mentioned in the

other awards. It remained a bone of contention in the east where the workers were not well enough organized to secure this recognition. On the Pacific Coast labor turn-over was greatly reduced, while in the east, practically in such yards as Submarine Boat and Hog Island, it remained excessively high and was accompanied by inefficiency sometimes entailing loss of life.

LELAND OLDS.

## RAILWAY LABOR AND GOVERNMENT CONTROL.

### WAGES BEFORE GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION

For a considerable period prior to the war there had been no important advance in the wages of railway employees in the United States. The men attributed this to the predominant influence of the great banking institutions that controlled the financial policy of the railroads. In this connection the Railroad Wage Commission makes the following statement:

"It has been a somewhat popular impression that railroad employees were among the most highly paid workers. But figures gathered from the railroads dispose of this belief. Fifty-one per cent of all employees during December, 1916, received \$75 per month or less. And 80 per cent received \$100 per month or less. Even among the locomotive engineers, commonly spoken of as highly paid, a preponderating number received less than \$175 per month, and this compensation they have attained by the most compact and complete organization, handled with a full appreciation of all strategic values. . . .

"The greatest number of employees on all roads fall into the class receiving \$60 and \$65 per month. . . ."

### THE EIGHT HOUR LAW

In 1916 certain demands of the Railroad Brotherhoods, particularly for an eight-hour day with punitive overtime, were rejected by the conference committee of railways representing more than 90 per cent of the business done by the railroads of the United States. In order to avert a general strike President Wilson intervened but was unable to effect an agreement. As a result he asked Congress to establish an eight-hour day as the legal basis for work and wages for railroad employees engaged in operating trains in interstate transportation. Congress passed the law in September, 1916. A commission appointed by the President to observe the working of the act submitted a report on December 29, 1917. By this time the eight-hour day as the basis for compensation of certain classes of railroad employees had become a fact, no longer contested by the roads.

### GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION

During the years 1916-17 the competition of war industries in the labor market forced the railroads to make considerable advances in wages to certain classes of labor. But, according to the Wage Commission: "The situation had been dealt with as pressure made necessary and naturally those who, by organization or through force of competition, could exert most pressure fared best." Such irregular advances created dissatisfaction.

The Commission adds: "Things came to a head just before the Government took over the railroads. Another three months of private management and there would have followed an unfortunate series of labor disturbances."

With the first of the year the Government took over the railroads, assured the employees that the matter of wages would be promptly taken up and that awards would be retroactive to January 1, 1918. In order to eliminate the precedent of antagonism the Director General on February 9, 1918, created the Division of Labor and appointed as Director, W. S. Carter, President of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers. This department adjusted grievances affecting approximately a million employees whose interests were not looked after through working agreements with their respective companies.

#### THE MATTER OF WAGES

The Railroad Wage Commission had already been created to make a thorough investigation of the compensation of railroad employees with a view to raising the general standard of wages to meet the increased living expenses incident to the war. Acting upon the recommendation of this commission the Director General on May 25, 1918, ordered an advance in the wages of railroad employees formerly earning \$250 a month or less. These advances, calculated upon the wages paid as of December 31, 1915, ranged from 43 per cent in the case of employees drawing the lowest monthly wage to nothing in the case of those receiving as much as \$250 a month. The report of the commission advised that no change in working hours should be made during the continuance of the war. The Director General felt, however, that justice demanded recognition of the principle of the basic eight-hour day in railroad service.

Following the completion of the work of the Commission a Board of Railroad Wages and Conditions was created to take up any phases of the general problem relating to any classes of employees or any part of a class of employees which might justly call for further consideration. Upon its recommendation the Director General issued a series of supplements to the general wage order mentioned above. Effective August 1, 1918, the wages of employees in the mechanical department of railroads under Federal control were advanced. A basic minimum of 68 cents per hour was established for all mechanics with four years or more experience, except that carmen and 2nd class electrical workers received a minimum of 58 cents. The rate for helpers was set at 45 cents. This award meant an advance of approximately 13 cents an hour. The order established an eight-hour day with time and a half for overtime. Effective September 1, 1918, the wages of clerks, stationary enginemen, boiler-washers, power transfer and turn table operators, laborers in shops, roundhouses, stations, etc., and of all maintenance of way employees were advanced approximately \$25 per month or 12 cents

per hour. An eight-hour day was established with pro rata overtime up to ten hours and time and a half thereafter. Effective October 1, 1918, the wages of telegraphers, telephone operators, towermen, levermen, train directors, block operators, staffmen, and agents were advanced.

On April 10, 1919, Director General Hines ordered a further advance to firemen, engineers, conductors, and brakemen, bringing the total increase in the annual pay roll under government control to approximately \$910,000,000. The following from a table published in the *New York Times* will put the matter graphically:

RISE IN AVERAGE GENERAL EARNINGS OF RAILROAD EMPLOYEES		
	<i>Train Crews</i>	<i>Other Employees</i>
1914.....	\$1,253	\$711
1917.....	1,470	900
1918.....	1,870	1,200
1919.....	2,020	1,325

#### RAILROAD BOARDS OF ADJUSTMENT

Railroad Boards of Adjustment Nos. 1, 2 and 3 were established on March 22, May 31, and November 13, 1918, respectively. They were bi-partisan boards to handle controversies growing out of the interpretation or application of provisions of wage schedules or agreements as well as other grievances and disputes not promptly settled in the usual manner, *i.e.*, between general committees of employees and the officials of the road. Board No. 1 concerned itself with controversies affecting conductors, engineers, trainmen, firemen, and enginemen. Board No. 2 handled controversies affecting workers in the mechanical departments. Board No. 3 dealt with disputes involving telegraphers, switchmen, clerks, maintenance of way employees, etc. The establishment of these boards followed agreements between the organized employees and the regional directors.

#### WOMEN'S SERVICE SECTION

On August 28, 1918, the Railroad Administration established a section to insure fair treatment and suitable working conditions for women employees. On January 1, 1918, 60,556 women were employed by the railroads—by October this number had increased to about 100,000. An investigation showed that over three-fourths of the women were in occupations in which women are customarily found in other industries.

The Director General issued a sweeping order that women's pay "when they do the same class of work as men, shall be the same as that of men."

#### ATTITUDE TOWARD OTHER PROBLEMS

Contrary to precedent it was ordered that all negroes employed by the railroads should be paid the same wages as white men for similar work.

The administration had in mind the establishment of uniform and equitable compensation of injured employees or the depend-



ents of employees killed in the service of the railroads, as well as arrangement for old age pensions, and for the purchase by employees of life, health, and old age insurance at reasonable rates.

#### ORDER PROHIBITING POLITICAL ACTIVITY

An order dated August 31, 1918, practically prohibited employees of the railroads from taking any active part in politics, *i. e.*, from membership in political committees or conventions, from assuming the conduct of a campaign, and from becoming a candidate for political office (later modified to except local and municipal offices). This regulation was strenuously protested by the brotherhoods as a curtailment of their rights as citizens. It was the chief basis for their opposition to extension of federal control.

#### RAILWAY EMPLOYEES FAVOR GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP

In February, 1919, Glenn E. Plumb, representing fourteen organizations of railway employees, nearly two million workers, presented before the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee a plan for the future of the national railway system in which the title would rest with the government, with the administration in the hands of a board of directors, of which a third would be chosen by the operative employees, a third by the salaried officials and a third, representing the public, appointed by the President of the United States.<sup>1</sup> Thus a conviction that the solution of the railway problem lies in something akin to guild Socialism is the fruit of the experience of the workers during the past few years. Mr. Garretson stated to the Committee that the majority of the men had been private ownership men, but that their experience with government operation as compared with private operation had induced them to change their minds.

LELAND OLDS.

#### LABOR AND THE U. S. FUEL ADMINISTRATION

Since the industrial revolution, fuel has been the main source of power and the basic need of all industries in the highly developed industrial civilizations of the West. The character of the modern machine war as a gigantic industrial undertaking made it evident early in the course of the war that the economic powers as well as the man power of all the nations engaged would have to be mobilized and concentrated to a degree which was not possible under the *laissez faire* principles of the past, and the governmental control of food-stuffs was followed in all the countries by governmental control of fuel, for the purpose of stabilizing prices, increasing production to meet the rapidly increasing needs of the war industries, and distributing the burden of shortage due to the strain on the transportation system and the decreasing man power in the coal fields.

<sup>1</sup> For a detailed account of the so-called Plumb Plan for the control and operation of the railroads, see article on the subject.

To meet this need the Lever Act, providing broad powers for the governmental control of the three F's, "Food, Feed, and Fuel," was introduced into Congress on May 10, 1917, but its passage was delayed by Senators still wedded to the ideas of individualistic competition and *laissez faire* policies until August 10, 1917, and the Fuel Administration could not be established by presidential proclamation until August 23, 1917, with the appointment of H. A. Garfield, President of Williams College, formerly a coal operator in Ohio, as United States Fuel Administrator.

The labor policy of the Fuel Administration in the anthracite and bituminous coal fields must be treated separately because of the wide differences of conditions obtaining in these two fields.

#### ANTHRACITE LABOR CONDITIONS

The anthracite production field is a highly centralized industry confined to a very limited area with the control concentrated very largely in eight companies, having considerable interlocking interests, and dominated by three men. Because of the restriction of the field in which anthracite deposits are found, the anthracite coal industry is for all practical purposes a natural monopoly.

No serious disturbance has occurred in the anthracite coal fields since the award of the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission, which settled the coal strike of 1902. The basic features of this award were: (1) the creation of a permanent joint committee called the Board of Conciliation, consisting of three representatives of labor appointed by the organizations representing a majority of the mine workers in each of the three divisions of the anthracite fields, and three representatives appointed by the operators in each of the districts. Provision was made for the appointment at the request of the Board of an umpire by one of the circuit judges of the Third Judicial Circuit of the United States in case of a failure to reach a decision by the Board, and it was agreed that no suspension of work should take place by lock-out or strike pending the adjudication of any matter taken up for adjustment; (2) an increase of ten per cent was granted over and above the rates paid in the month of April 1902, on the earnings of contract miners and all other employees with a reduction of the basic day from ten to nine hours after April 1, 1903, without any reduction in the weekly or monthly rate of wages; (3) provision was made for a sliding scale of wages based on the average price of coal, whereby, for each increase of five cents per ton in the price of coal, all miners and mine-workers would receive an increase of 1% in their compensation. The agreement was made at first for three years, but was found so satisfactory that it was renewed for further periods of three years on May 7, 1906, and April 29, 1909. On May 20, 1912, the agreement was renewed for four years when

contract rates and wage scales for all employees were increased 10% and the provisions of the sliding scale were abolished by mutual consent. On May 5, 1916, the agreement was again renewed for a period of four years, ending March 31, 1920. The contract rates were increased 7% and the working day was changed from nine hours to eight hours with the same rates of daily wages as under the nine-hour agreement, plus an increase of 3%.

#### BITUMINOUS LABOR POLICIES

The bituminous fields are extended over wide areas with very little organization and with many mines on the margin of profitable production depending upon the price of coal. About 3,500 of the bituminous mines are situated on railroad sidings and are known as railroad mines, with a large percentage of the production. In addition to these, however, there are about 21,000 so-called "wagon-mines" or "snow birds" which are located from a quarter of a mile to two miles away from railroad sidings and which ordinarily produce only a very small percentage of the total bituminous production, but which may be stimulated into activity when the price of bituminous coal rises sufficiently high.

At the time the Fuel Administration was created, the loss of production in bituminous coal due to labor conditions was more than 19 per cent per week. Mr. Garfield selected promptly as two of his advisers, Mr. Rembrandt Peale, representing the bituminous coal operators, and President John P. White of the United Mine Workers of America. Through the efforts of these men, strikes which had broken out in many parts of the bituminous coal fields were immediately settled and the loss of production due to labor shortage was rapidly reduced from 19 to 2 per cent. A number of basic agreements of which that for the Maryland and Upper Potomac coal fields, adopted May 6, 1918, is typical, were submitted by the mine workers, accepted by the mine operators and approved by the United States Fuel Administration. In these basic agreements the mine workers offered not to force upon the operators during the life of the agreement recognition of the union, but maintained their right to exercise their persuasive powers in order to induce the operators to treat with their organizations. The basic agreements state that they are framed with a view to:

1. An increase of output through the continuous operation of all mines.

2. The establishment of fair and equitable machinery for the prevention and adjustment of grievances and disputes that may arise in and about the mines.

3. The promotion generally of amicable relations between the operators and employees and the furtherance of well-being of operators and their families.

They provide for the election of mine committees, composed of three employees from each mine elected annually by sealed ballot,

who should have the right to appeal to an umpire to be appointed by request by the U. S. Fuel Administration by the Judge of the United States District Court of Maryland after the mine committees have endeavored but have been unable to adjust differences with successively, the superintendent, the mine foreman and the manager. The members of the mine committees were protected against the possibility of unjust treatment through the right of appeal to the umpire, and the employees' right to join any union or society they may choose without being discriminated against for having joined such organization was affirmed. The employees were given the right, also, to employ checkweigh-men, and provision was made for equitable distribution of cars. The so-called penalty clause which was insisted upon by the Fuel Administration as an essential part of all basic agreements consisted of three articles as follows:

If any mine worker or group of mine workers in any way interrupts the operation of the mine, or causes a strike, the employer shall deduct from the earnings of each employee, except those who continue at work, the sum of one dollar per day or fraction thereof that such mine worker fails to report for work.

If the mine is closed or the men locked out by an operator, without just cause, the umpire provided herein will impose and collect from such operator, a fine at the rate of one dollar per day for each mine worker affected.

All questions arising under the clause are subject to review by the umpire and any and all fines collected shall be paid to the American Red Cross Association through the umpire.

#### PUBLIC OWNERSHIP OF THE MINES

The movement for the nationalization of coal mines has gained an immense impetus as the result of the experience gained during the war and now has the powerful support of organized labor in the United States, as in the case of the similar problem in England. At the convention of the United Mine Workers of America at Indianapolis, Indiana, on March 20, 1919, the following report was adopted by the Policy Committee:

1. Recognizing that unemployment is a constant threat and menace to the security, happiness, and prosperity of the miners of the United States, which unemployment is created by the overdevelopment of the mining industry, we concur in the recommendation of President Hayes and declare for a six-hour workday, five days per week, and recommend that the full power and influence of the United Mine Workers of America be used to attain that end.

2. We concur in the recommendations of President Hayes that all the mine workers of the country receive a substantial increase on all existing tonnage, day work, yardage, and dead work prices, and that to secure the same shall be one of the future aims of our organization.

3. We concur in the recommendation of President Hayes and declare for the nationalization and democratic management of all coal mines in the United States.

4. We recommend that the three resident international officials be empowered to draft or to have drafted for presentation to the special international convention when convened, a tentative draft of bill to be presented to Congress and providing for nationalization of all coal mines.

5. We recommend that the international officials be authorized to wage an extensive and intensive campaign of organization in the anthracite districts and in the sparsely organized and non-union bituminous districts.

The rapidity with which this movement makes headway will depend in part, of course, upon the decision in regard to the public ownership of the railroads, as the railroads use about 25 per cent of the total coal production and it would be most inadvisable to have such an important national undertaking as government owned railways dependent for its essential fuel supply upon private enterprise. Nationalization would eliminate at once the evils of cross-hauling and cross-routing which have resulted in such economic waste in the past. It would stabilize also the employment situation in the coal mining industry, eliminating the sudden changes due to chance placing of orders, at times throwing whole mining communities out of work shutting down some mines and starting up others in a most arbitrary manner. It would result in a tremendous saving to the consumer because under the competitive system the price must be high enough to enable the most inefficient and poorly equipped mines to operate and this means in practice, profits amounting in some cases to a dollar or more per ton upon coal-mined from the well equipped or more favorably situated mines. Much of this profiteering could, of course, be eliminated by a pooling system, whereby the Government would take over the product of the mine at the mouth of the mines at the cost of production plus a reasonable profit, say 25 cents per ton, and then sell the product to the consumer at an average standard price. This device would only be a transition step, however, due to the difficulty of dealing with an industry so unorganized as the bituminous coal industry. The anthracite coal industry is already sufficiently organized and centralized, so that it would be easy for the government to take over the whole industry and run it efficiently. The principal production is controlled by eight companies with a well-organized system of interlocking directorates, and for practical purposes the control of the whole anthracite industry is in the hands of three men. In the bituminous industry, however, there are thousands of isolated mines and successful nationalization would involve a development and extension of the system of zoning into production fields, and the appointment of district representatives for these fields along the lines carried out so successfully by the Fuel Administration during the war.

If the growth of the movement for nationalization of the mines in England may be interpreted as throwing light on the probable developments in America, the most powerful force making for nationalization will be the necessity of increasing production. Production is primarily a problem of labor psychology, and in the long run labor will never be satisfied with a system which permits profiteering in one of the fundamental necessities of life and of an industrial civilization, nor in the

autocratic control of an industry which vitally affects the daily life of so many million workers.

GEORGE NASMYTH, PH. D.,  
*Executive Secretary, U. S. Fuel Administration,*  
*August, 1917-April, 1918.*

### THE UNITED STATES EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

The rise and decline of the United States Employment Service, the history of which is compressed in the period of fifteen months from January, 1918 to April, 1919, is the story of a great and futile effort by the Department of Labor to lessen class antagonism in the United States.

Established under the pressure of war necessity and functioning during 1918, as an important part of the nation's war machinery, the basic aim behind the Federal Employment Service was always one of permanent service to both employer and wage worker. The end sought by the national officials was that of harmonizing labor and capital; behind every office that was established was the ideal of a laboratory where workers and jobs could be adjusted under scientific administration. In general, the work of the service was an earnest effort to solve the problems of industrial relationship without any disturbance of the existing social order. This effort failed.

There were several reasons for this failure. The overt act was, of course, the refusal of Congress to grant the Employment Service a single dollar for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1919, on the grounds that authority was lacking to perpetuate machinery established for war purposes on a permanent peace time basis. The most powerful influence was a continuous campaign exerted by many commercial bodies and fee charging employment agencies to put out of existence an organization pledged to a program of assistance and fair dealing for American labor. Coupled with this was the natural antipathy of many reactionary Congressmen to support anything which savored even remotely of state Socialism. Again, the inexcusable failure of Secretary of Labor Wilson to bring the matter to a clear cut issue by pressing a bill providing for the perpetuation of the Service in peace times was a contributing issue.

Many thoughtful employers joined in the almost universal action of labor bodies in protesting to Congress against the elimination of the Employment Service. The outcome of the matter is a clear demonstration that special privilege in this country has not learned enough from the war to support an honest effort of the government to widen opportunities for the American wage worker.

The official figures of the Department of Labor show that in the 14 months from January, 1918 to March 1919, inclusive, in which the Employment Service was in uncurtailed operation, an immense amount of work in actual placements was accomplished:

Registrations in this period.....	5,302,066
Referred to employers.....	4,861,589
Recorded placements .....	3,778,808

In other words seven out of every ten men and women who registered with the Federal Employment Service were directed to work.

The great majority of these placements were made naturally during the war period, when the demand for workers of all kinds was intense. Since the armistice the ratio of placements to registrations has fallen perceptibly, the first eight weeks of 1919, showing 679,513 recorded placements as against 1,090,124 registrations.

In the face of stagnant industry and nation-wide unemployment, a public employment service can only offer remedial assistance.

Moreover, it must be remembered that the Employment Service, since its origin, has been largely confined to a policy of strict war service. Limited by niggardly appropriations,—but five and one-half million dollars for the present fiscal year,—little has been done in the expensive work of distributing labor to fill local shortages from local surpluses elsewhere. A few large interstate transfers were made during the war to war plants in dire need of men, but with the armistice, the scheme of national allocation had to be almost entirely abandoned.

The work of the Federal Employment Service falls naturally into three periods: 1. organization as the national labor supply machinery of the Government; 2. activity during the period in which recruiting of all labor for war purposes was vested in the Service; 3. concentration relocating demobilized soldiers, sailors, and war workers after the conclusion of the war.

#### ORGANIZATION OF THE SERVICE

1. An impossible situation resulting in the first few months of war from the independent and unregulated labor recruiting of the vast war industries practically forced the establishment of a federal employment service on the Government. War plants everywhere were actively engaged in stealing each others' labor forces, turnover was soaring and the private employment agencies were making fortunes.

In January, 1918, Secretary of Labor Wilson, with the support of his war advisory council, directed the establishment of the United States Employment Service to provide machinery for the efficient recruiting and distribution of the necessary war labor supply. The petty nucleus of a public employment system existing then in the bureau of immigration was made the basis of operation. The new service was established as a separate branch of the Department of Labor and John B. Densmore, then Solicitor for the Department, was chosen as Director General with instructions to proceed immediately to

the establishment of a nation-wide organization of free employment offices.

This work was carried on with breathless rapidity, resulting in many cases in the appointment of utterly inefficient officers in charge of many important phases of the work and in the subordination of the Service in many districts, particularly Pennsylvania and the cities of New York and Boston, to the control of political groups. Later an earnest effort was made by Densmore and his aides to clean out the weak spots, but this was not done in time to prevent the enemies of the Service from having an effective weapon at hand when the opportunity to strike came round.

#### DEVELOPMENT OF THE SERVICE

2. The Employment Service was well established by July, 1918, as a national institution and ready to play a larger part in the national war program. Nearly 500 branch offices were functioning, a majority of them newly established, and the remainder, former state and municipal offices, taken under the federal jurisdiction.

In the meantime, the effect of over a year of war had been to make the outstanding industrial problem one of acute labor shortage. Enlistments, the draft, and the mushroom development of mammoth war industries were absorbing millions of men. As early as April, 1918, it became evident that there were not enough workers to go round. Yet there was no power to limit the heavy drains on the labor supply demanded by the so-called "non-essential" industries.

In the development of the United States Employment Service, the Government saw the lever with which labor supply could be controlled for the prosecution of the war. In mid-June, the War Labor Policies Board, representing all branches of the Government engaged in war production adopted a resolution giving the Employment Service mandatory powers in the recruiting and distribution of labor engaged on war contracts. On August 1, President Wilson backed this resolution with a decree placing the recruiting of unskilled labor for war production exclusively in the hands of the Employment Service.

From that time until the end of the war the prohibition against private recruiting of common labor for war work was pretty rigidly enforced. On several occasions this prohibition was about to be extended to the recruiting of skilled labor, and also of women workers. The war ended, however, before these steps became necessary.

That the policy of the Employment Service was always to work hand in hand with capital and labor, preaching to both sides the doctrine of co-operation for the national welfare, has already been emphasized. With their heavy responsibility of maintaining war labor supply the officers of the Service conceived the idea of calling in representatives of both classes to



serve as local administrative boards in carrying out this program. Thus, the Community Labor Boards were established.

#### COMMUNITY LABOR BOARDS

These boards, of which over 1,500 were quickly rushed into being, were volunteer bodies located in every important industrial district of the nation. They were composed of one representative of the Employment Service as *ex-officio* chairman and one representative each of local employers and employees, both groups being supposed to have authority to name their own men. Wide discretionary powers were vested in these boards in carrying out the local war labor recruiting and distribution program. Co-operating with the branch offices of the Service, they came to act not only as clearing houses and placement bureaus, but also to a large degree as advisory boards on local industrial problems. In theory, there were elements of the Soviet philosophy in the Community Labor Boards. Time and again the representatives of capital, generally influential officers of the local Chambers of Commerce, protested against the appointment of labor representatives who were regarded as too radical. On the executive staff of the Employment Service there was no man truly representative of labor and almost always these protests were heeded and a hand-picked "labor man" substituted. In Pennsylvania, for instance, the whole state organization of Community Labor Boards was held up for weeks because the Employment Service officials and Secretary Wilson, feared the influence of James H. Maurer, President of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, and deemed the duly chosen labor members revolutionary. To the knowledge of the author of this article, who held a position with the administrative offices of the Employment Service for seven months, not a single representative of capital ever had his appointment questioned.

Another marked defect in the Community Labor Board organization was the denial of representation to women, although the destinies of women workers were handled by the boards in exactly the same manner as for men. Pressure within and without the Employment Service, most notably perhaps the influence of the Women's Trade Union League, overcame finally the prejudice, and a month before the armistice was signed, orders were given to add two women, one representing management and one labor, to each Community Labor Board. This democratic development was fought to the last by reactionary elements in the administrative headquarters of the Employment Service, headed by a wealthy powder magnate who was director of the field organization division of the Service.

#### THE POST-WAR PROBLEMS

3. With the end of the war the Employment Service had to shift immediately from high gear to reverse operation. Two new problems confronted it overnight: firstly, to unscramble

the mass of civilian war workers and restore them to their old or similar occupations as war contracts were terminated; secondly, to find suitable jobs for the demobilized soldiers and sailors.

For the first problem the same machinery of branch office registration, application by employer, and card index matching to secure appropriate placement was easily adaptable. For the second problem it was necessary to organize new units.

Working in co-operation with the Council of National Defense and the federated soldiers' and sailors' welfare organizations, approximately 2,000 special bureaus for the placement of returning troops were quickly established by the Employment Service in industrial and rural centers. In addition registration offices were located at the demobilization camps, and early in March, representatives of the Service sent to the embarkation depots in France arranged with army officials for the registration of all returning troops while aboard the transports bound to this country.

Registrations at the camps are forwarded to the State Director of the Employment Service in the state where the discharged soldier signifies he wishes to find employment. The local agencies then match available jobs with applications and wire opportunities to the camp registration officers.

Promptitude and decision marked the handling of this vital phase of reconstruction work by the Employment Service, and it is to be deplored that Congress should have cut off all funds just as the work was getting into full swing. From December 1 to March 1, actual placements of 125,019 demobilized soldiers and sailors were recorded by the Service officers. While this figure does not seem large in contrast with the total of 1,500,000 men demobilized in that period, it must be remembered that every one of these placements was a man thrown on his own resources, with no prospect of a ready made job awaiting his return.

An interesting social sidelight is shown by the records of the Employment Service that 95 per cent of the soldier registrants looking for work in the country and towns under 5,000 population are placed immediately, while in the cities of over 100,000 only about 40 per cent can be found jobs.

The effect in the employment field of the transition from war to peace conditions was an almost immediate change from large labor shortage to dangerous labor surplus. This meant a decided alteration in the procedure of the employment work, wage-earners being no longer supplied in quantities and the desirability of carefully matching worker and job being the outstanding factor. On the whole, this has led to increased efficiency, and a greater effort to get the individual employer interested in the Service. Schools in employment management for

the instruction of its employees were opened by the Service immediately after the signing of the armistice.

On March 22, the failure of Congress to make up the \$1,800,000 deficiency of the Employment Service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, resulted in an 80 per cent curtailment of the organization's activities. The number of branch offices operating on federal funds was cut from 750 to 56 and the whole schedule of public service curtailed in proportion, the work of placing discharged soldiers being in the main taken over by the War Department. Fortunately public sentiment has been so aroused by the overthrow of this important machinery at a crucial time that state, municipal, and private funds have rallied to maintain a number of branch offices which would otherwise have gone out of existence. But at the best the work has suffered a very serious blow.

#### SUBSIDIARY WORK OF THE SERVICE

There were subsidiary activities of the Employment Service, most of which have now been lopped off or cut to skeleton for lack of money. Among this list should be mentioned the work of the Junior Section, devoted to giving intelligent vocational guidance to boys and girls between 16 and 21; the Handicap Section, dealing with the placement of workers handicapped by age or physical disability; and the Professional Section, designed to bring highly trained technicians and executives in speedy contact with positions for which their education and experience fits them.

In addition no résumé of the Employment Service work would be complete without mention of the special and successful efforts made to supply farm labor in quantities during the vital harvest seasons of 1917 and 1918. For the first time in the nation's history concentration on this work led to a systematic and scientific handling of the farm labor problem in the middle western grain belt and was undoubtedly responsible for saving hundreds of tons of foodstuffs which would otherwise have been wasted. One of the five major divisions of the Employment Service was devoted to farm labor supply.

Undoubtedly there have been many defects in the work of the Employment Service, and pressure brought on it continually by organized capital has at times caused temporary local surrender of such basic principles as the refusal to supply men as strike breakers. On the whole, however, the Service has run a clean course and stuck by its determination to do nothing to lower existing labor standards.

FELIX MORLEY.

#### LABOR LAWS AND STANDARDS IN WAR-TIME

Attempts to break down the legal safeguards established for labor after decades of effort on the plea of emergency, seem

to have worn themselves out in the first year of American participation in the world conflict. During the period from September 6, 1917, where the chronology published in the *American Labor Year Book, 1917-18*,<sup>1</sup> stopped, to the signing of the armistice, the tendency was almost entirely to sustain and even to extend legislative or administrative provisions for industrial safety and health. Contrary to this tendency were the decisions declaring unconstitutional, the Alaskan Eight-Hour Law and the Federal Child Labor Law, but these decisions had no connection with the state of war and would have been handed down in the same sense had the country been at peace.

Important items during the last fourteen months of the war are as follows:—

### 1917

*September 10:*—Secretary Baker issued order to make conditions in army forts and posts conform to standards laid down by Federal Child Labor Act.

*September 13:*—Board of Control submitted to Quartermaster General new form of contract for army clothing, which required all work to be done in full compliance with all state labor laws; failure of contractor to comply entitling Government to cancel contract.

*September 18:*—Secretary of War Baker, addressing War Convention of American Business under auspices of Chamber of Commerce of the United States, warned against allowing urgent demands of the war to lower laboriously built-up standards safeguarding labor.

*September 25:*—Bill prepared by American Association for Labor Legislation, upon official request, introduced in Congress to restore to longshoremen and other workers in marine employment the protection of state workmen's compensation laws of which they had been deprived by United States Supreme Court's decision in Jensen case.

*October 6:*—Congress passed bill establishing for soldiers and sailors the most liberal government system of accident, health, and life insurance ever adopted by any country for its enlisted men.

*November 12:*—President Wilson, addressing American Federation of Labor, said, "We shall see to it that the instrumentalities by which the conditions of labor are improved are not blocked or checked."

*November 15:*—Chief of Ordnance and Quartermaster General issued orders setting forth excellent memorandum of standard for wages, hours, and conditions of work that should be maintained for labor's protection on war contracts.

*December 7:*—Bill introduced in Congress, upon official request, by American Association for Labor Legislation, to create a public Employment Service, as an urgent war measure.

*December 8:*—Official legislative commission in New Jersey unanimously reported in favor of universal health insurance as a war measure.

*December 22:*—Supervising Inspector Feehan of Pennsylvania Department of Labor and Industry, in answer to inquiries, issued statement that all state labor laws would be enforced during the war "particularly those regulating the hours and conditions of employment for women and minors."

*December 24:*—Commissioner of Labor Bryant, of New Jersey, in annual report, said: "The physical worth to the Government of the nation's workers, the essential services they are called upon to perform at this time of national peril, have brought home the need for enforcement of every safeguard with which the state has sought to shield the men and women employees within its borders."

*December 27-29:*—"War Emergency Measures" for protection of health and safety of labor and for effective distribution of the industrial army

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 15-21.

were urged at Eleventh Annual Meeting of Association for Labor Legislation."

*December 31:*—President Wilson declared in a letter to National Child Labor Committee, that protective labor laws for women and children should be upheld and strictly enforced.

*December 31:*—Announcement made that at a joint meeting of the Council of National Defense and Advisory Commission of organized labor, provisions were adopted "for maintaining labor standards" in any "war emergency" that may require the Council to ask a state for temporary suspension of labor laws. These provisions, in line with those urged last April by the Association for Labor Legislation, call for public hearings, reasonable notice through full publicity to those interested, limitation to the sections directly involved, definite time limit for permits, re-hearings for justifiable extensions, and restriction of permits to individual plants.

### 1918

*January 9:*—President Wilson approved a program for centralized labor administration in war time and appointed the Secretary of Labor as War Labor Administrator.

*January 12-14:*—Conference of working women, newly enfranchised voters of New York State, under auspices of Women's Trade Union League, unanimously pledged efforts and ballots in behalf of maintaining protective labor standards and equal pay for equal work for both organized and unorganized working women.

*February 6:*—Secretary of Labor Wilson in a telegram urged the Wisconsin Industrial Commission against permitting any extension of hours of working women beyond the ten hours specified by law.

*February 16:*—Secretary McAdoo announced that the United States Public Health Service of the Treasury Department had taken steps to preserve the lives and health of workers in war industries with particular reference to the poisonous, explosive, trinitrotoluol, to the effects of which workers are exposed in shell-loading processes.

*February 23:*—General orders No. 8 of Railroad Administration stated that all acts of Congress to promote safety, including hours of service, safety appliance and inspection laws, would continue in force.

*March 1:*—President Wilson telegraphed Col. Disque, federal mediator who brought about agreement between spruce producers and lumber workers of the Pacific Northwest on an eight-hour day basis: "I am sincerely glad to hear of the action of the lumber-men in instituting the eight-hour day. I think they will find this an act not only of wise policy but also of good sense from every point of view."<sup>1</sup>

*March 23:*—Alaska universal eight-hour law of 1917, declared unconstitutional by territorial court on ground that it did not exercise reasonable classification of those to whom it applied.

*March 30:*—Walter S. Gifford, of the Council of National Defense, wrote to the Federal Children's Bureau: "The Council of National Defense unites with the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor in urging that laws relating to the hours and conditions of labor of women and children should be rigorously enforced."

*April 8:*—President Wilson proclaimed the creation of the National War Labor Board, outlining its broad powers and duties as a court of last resort for the settlement of labor disputes.

*April 8:*—War Labor Board announced as a national policy that "the established safeguards and the regulations for the protection of health and safety shall not be relaxed." Women on men's work were to be given equal pay for equal work, and were not to be given tasks disproportionate to their strength.

*April 10:*—New York Assembly killed a bill to permit women to work in restaurants until 1 A. M. instead of 10 P. M.

*April 11:*—Rear Admiral Bowles, in a report to the Senate Commerce Committee on improvement of conditions in the Hog Island ship yard, said, "Night work was reduced to a minimum and also Sunday work, which hitherto had been proceeding as on week days. This resulted in a marked improvement in the individual efficiency of the workmen."

*April 17:*—Women's Committee of Council of National Defense ap-

proved General Orders No. 13 of the Ordnance Bureau as to standards for women in industry.

*May 12:*—Massachusetts law effective, regulating hours of elevator girls.

*May 21:*—New York law effective, regulating hours of messenger girls.

*June 3:*—Federal Child Labor Law of 1916, declared unconstitutional as unauthorized use of Congressional power to regulate interstate commerce.

*June 10:*—Order of Wisconsin Industrial Commission effective, regulating hours of women on street cars.

*June 27:*—President Wilson approved bill providing for vocational rehabilitation of disabled soldiers and sailors.

*July 2:*—President Wilson vetoed the legislative, executive and judicial appropriation bill because of a paragraph changing labor standards "unfavorably" by increasing the hours of work of government employees in Washington from seven to eight hours a day. He said, "It seemed to me at the outset, as it seems to me now, that it is of the highest importance that the advantages that have been accorded labor before the war, should not be subtracted from or evaded."

*July 13:*—War Labor Policies Board (appointed by Secretary of Labor as War Labor Administrator) issued public statement announcing Government's policy with regard to necessary replacement of men by women in occupations to meet war emergency, to discourage entrance of women into occupations unfitted for them, either on physical or moral grounds, to encourage employment of older men, hitherto regarded as "superannuated," who constitute a "largely unused labor reserve," and to insist upon the maintenance of protective standards as to hours, wages, and working conditions.

*August 14:*—Industrial Board of the Pennsylvania Department of Labor and Industry adopted resolution calling for all possible safeguards around the employment of women, "our last line of defense," warning against the tendency to employ women in tasks beyond their strength, and urging a thorough utilization of the supply of able bodied men before women are accepted for the heavier forms of labor.

*August 20:*—War Labor Policies Board announced that "all future contracts given out by government departments" would include "certain requirements, such as: the restriction of child labor, convict labor, and the observance of all state factory laws," and that arrangements would be made for federal-state co-operation in enforcement of state labor laws on government work.

*September 3:*—Report of Director General of Railroads McAdoo to the President stated, 'that the policy pursued under government operation was that women employed by a railroad should be paid the same wages as men when engaged in similar work and that they should not be permitted to occupy positions unsuited to their sex or allowed to work amid conditions that are unfit; also that the basic eight-hour day had been established in railroad service.'

*September 4:*—Bill introduced in Congress (by Representative Bankhead, H. R. 12880, and by Senator Hoke Smith, S. 4922, on September 11) to provide for vocational re-education of industrial cripples and their replacement in useful occupations.

*September 10:*—Employment of women in occupations harmful to health, morals or womanhood, unavoidably disfiguring or in which men are customarily employed and for which they are better suited and available, forbidden in Washington state, following a war emergency conference called by the Industrial Welfare Commission.

*September 18:*—Acting as an umpire in the National War Labor Board in the Wheeling ironmolders' case, Chief Justice Walter Clark of the North Carolina State Supreme Court, made a far-reaching award in favor of an eight-hour day. Eight hours should be not the "basic" but the actual workday except in cases of emergency, according to this decision, and the question of what constitutes an emergency shall be decided by a joint standing committee of two employees and two representatives of the employer. The assent of at least three members of this committee shall be necessary for permission to work more than eight hours in any twenty-four.

*September 24:*—United States Steel Corporation announced a basic eight-hour day affecting 275,000 wage earners.

*October 1:*—Conference at Washington of federal and state officials charged with enforcement of labor laws adopted resolution opposing any lowering of labor standards or relaxing of protective labor laws unless specifically recommended by federal authority of competent jurisdiction.

SOLON DE LEON.

## PACIFISTS IN AMERICA DURING THE WAR

During the war the peace movement in the United States has undergone a complete evolution. As the war advanced, the older and more conservative American peace societies gradually became more and more inactive. In their place, newer and more radical organizations, which had all sprung into existence since the outbreak of the European conflict, came to the front in the struggle for peace. Starting with a rather negative program of anti-preparedness and keeping America out of the war, these "pacifist" groups gradually developed the more positive demands for a negotiated and democratic peace and an international federation of peoples, and finally came to look beyond the war and the peace to the coming of an entirely new social order. Persistently misunderstood and misrepresented as they have been, it is worth while examining the origins of these new organizations and tracing the various stages of their development.

The first of the new organizations in America to become nationally important was the *Woman's Peace Party*. In January 1915, five months after the outbreak of the war, American women meeting in Washington, D. C., organized the Woman's Peace Party with Jane Addams as chairman. In April and May of the same year they sent some forty delegates to the *International Congress of Women* at the Hague where an *International Committee of Women For Permanent Peace* was formed, of which the Woman's Peace Party became the American Branch. In Europe the women visited the different capitals doing what they could to bring about a peaceful understanding between the countries engaged in the war. In America they formed some 200 local branches throughout the country and became one of the strongest forces opposing the entrance of the United States into the war.

The next organization to become prominent was the *Anti-"Preparedness" Committee*. Organized in January 1916, it rapidly became the most active of all the groups trying to stem that drift towards militarism in America which passed under the name of "preparedness". By June 1916 it had increased its scope and became the *American Union Against Militarism*. With its public hearings before the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, with its flight of speakers through the country, with its model of the "armored dinosaur" and its anti-war exhibitions and posters it showed itself extraordinarily resourceful and ingenious in counteracting the militant propaganda of the National Security League.

Meanwhile, at the end of 1915 and at the beginning of 1916, the *Henry Ford Peace party* had sailed abroad and had organized in Stockholm as the *Neutral Conference for Continuous Mediation*. Partly as an outgrowth of this movement, there was organized in America the *Neutral Conference Committee* in June 1916 which was active in various efforts of American mediation, believing that America could best serve the world by remaining neutral and helping bring about a general peace.

As soon as the German submarine crisis of February 1917 made an American declaration of war seem imminent, there sprang into existence out of this group the *Emergency Peace Federation*. Its frankly stated purpose was: "to keep America out of the war and its attendant consequences." Almost immediately, by the organization of a series of mass meetings and the distribution of quantities of literature throughout the country, it became the most conspicuous and the most audacious of all the pacifist organizations. During the two months before America's entrance into the war it was unceasing in its efforts. Three large delegations to Washington were organized; one on Lincoln's Birthday, one on Washington's Birthday, and one in April on the very eve of the declaration of war.

After the entry of the United States into the war in April 1917, these organizations naturally changed their comparatively negative purpose of keeping America out of the war into a more constructive purpose of establishing world peace. The same month that had brought the American crisis had brought the revolution in Russia. The formation of Russian Soldiers' and Workmen's Councils and the publication of their demands for peace on the basis of no annexations, no indemnities, and self-determination of peoples, stimulated the desire for a similar council in America working for a similar peace. Various attempts were made to bring the various pacifist organizations together. Finally on May 24 at the Hotel Astor in New York, a meeting was held of the different pacifist, Socialist and labor leaders and a call was sent out on the basis of the Russian peace formula for a general conference to be held at the end of the month.

On May 30 and 31, 1917, the *First American Conference For Democracy and Terms of Peace* was held at the Madison Square Garden Theatre in New York. Comprehensive resolutions were developed by committees on Terms of Peace, on American Liberties, and on Industrial Standards; and at a great mass meeting of 15,000 citizens in Madison Square Garden on the night of May 31, these resolutions were enthusiastically adopted. On the basis of this program an organizing committee was formed in order "to organize a permanent delegated People's Council."

A *Second Conference on Democracy and Terms of Peace* was held in Chicago on July 7 and 8 and others were held in Philadelphia, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Salt Lake City, and Seattle,



all adopting with slight modifications, the same resolutions and all preparing the way for the formation of the *People's Council*.

Early in the summer of 1917, a call was sent out for delegates to the *People's Council of America for Democracy and Peace*. The objects stated in that call, already anticipating many of the difficulties that later arose, were as follows:

#### TERMS OF PEACE

1. To demand that our government shall announce immediately in concrete terms its war aims, and shall seize every opportunity to achieve those aims through negotiation unhampered by the ambitions of other governments.

2. To strive for an early, democratic, and general peace in harmony with the principles outlined by Free Russia: (a) No forcible annexations; (b) No punitive indemnities; (c) Free development for all nationalities.

3. To urge international organization for the maintenance of world peace.

#### AMERICAN LIBERTIES

1. To defend our constitutional rights of free speech, free press, peaceful assemblage, and the right to petition the government.

2. To secure democratic control of foreign policy, and a popular referendum on all questions of war and peace.

3. To work for the repeal of conscription laws.

#### ECONOMIC POLICIES

1. To safeguard labor standards.

2. To meet the cost of war by the taxation of wealth.

3. To reduce the high cost of living.

During the summer of 1917, in the face of the Conscription Act and the Espionage Law and in spite of every effort on the part of the reactionaries to stifle freedom of speech and freedom of the press, the organizing committee succeeded in uniting hundreds of Trade Unions, Socialist Locals, Single Tax groups, Workmen's Councils, etc. into the movement, representing in all over two million members. Finally on September 1 and 2 the *First Constituent Assembly of the People's Council* was held in Chicago. Reactionary forces had forbidden the meeting at Minneapolis and at one or two other cities suggested, and the Governor of Illinois sent troops to break up the meeting in Chicago, but not until the People's Council had held its chief sessions and appointed its standing committees and state delegates.

Two weeks later, on September 15 and 16, the various state delegates and standing committees met in New York to work out the details of the People's Council electing an executive committee of nine members and a large general committee.

By the end of 1917, then, the People's Council and the other peace organizations had reiterated their demand that the United States Government should announce its war aims and had already begun to voice the peace terms which the common people wanted. It was in answer to this demand and as an echo of these "voices of humanity which are in the air" that with the beginning of 1918, in his address to Congress on January 8, President Wilson formulated his 14 points. In this and in subsequent steps of his peace policy of 1918, he constantly took up principles which had been announced six months or so earlier

by the People's Council and the other radical peace organizations.

During the year 1918, though the statement of peace terms for which they had asked had been granted, these radical peace societies were "not yet satisfied." They wanted to see that the terms as stated on paper were lived up to in reality. They were anxious not merely to preserve such democracy as there was in America, but to have it more abundantly. The Reconstruction Program of the British Labor Party and still more the progress of the Soviet Government in Russia fired their minds with the possibility of getting greater rights for labor out of the war. The tendency, then, during 1918, was for all the radical peace organizations to broaden out their programs beyond the mere questions of peace and to cover more and more economic and labor questions. That is the real secret of much of the bitter opposition they met.

This broadening out of interests may be illustrated by the changes in many of the earlier organizations. For example, the Collegiate *Anti-Militarism League* which had originally merely opposed militarism in the colleges, reorganized in May 1918 as the *Young Democracy* with a larger program of work for industrial, educational, political, and international democracy. Similarly, the *Fellowship of Reconciliation*, originally a religious group having many points of contact with the Quakers, took during 1918 more and more interest in industrial matters and in the rights of the individual. Again, in New England, the *League for Democratic Control* branched out from working for a democratic control of foreign policy and developed its interest in the democratic control of industry, playing an active part in helping the strikers get their rights during the strike at Lawrence, Massachusetts.

The undertakings of these pacifist societies might have been still greater and their accomplishments still more beneficial, if it had not been for constant suppression and interference on the part of reactionary forces. With the increased severity of the Espionage law, with the suppression of radical papers, with the unjustified arrest of radical speakers, and with the unjust treatment of Conscientious Objectors, much of the energy which might have gone towards constructive work was necessarily diverted to the defence of civil liberties. Thus the *Liberty Defense Union*, founded in March 1918, absorbed much of the attention which might have been put into the People's Council. Similarly, the *National Civil Liberties Bureau* originally a branch of the American Union Against Militarism, became a separate organization of much importance. In place of the aggressiveness of their anti-preparedness campaign of 1916, and their anti-war campaign of 1917, the pacifists in 1918 were forced to take the defensive—in defense of American liberties.

With the signing of the armistice in November 1918, the work of the pacifists was by no means over. For them it was a question

of the right peace—not of peace at any price. From then on, they had the constant disappointment of seeing the very movements they had earlier worked for captured by conservatives. Thus they saw their ideal of a real international federation of all peoples distorted and perverted by the *League to Enforce Peace* and even by the *League of Free Nations Association*. In February, 1919, when the Covenant of the League was published, the radicals realized that instead of a league democratically chosen from all peoples, this league was hardly to be more than a perpetuation of the Alliance and might be used as a tool in the hands of big business to suppress social revolt throughout the world.

Finally in June, 1919, when the Peace Treaty itself was signed, the pacifists realized how far the actual terms were from the principles which they had originated, which Wilson had adopted, and which the Allies on November 5, had offered Germany as the basis for peace. The radical peace organizations, then, might well feel that all their efforts had been in vain. Nevertheless, the ideals of peace which they had spread abroad, though they have not been carried out in the peace treaty signed by the diplomats at Versailles, have permeated the common people in all countries and will form the basis of international understanding, when at last by a world wide movement the people come into their own.

H. W. L. DANA.

### CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS IN AMERICA

In the broadest sense of the term, the conscientious objector is the man who refused to bear arms because his convictions were opposed either to all wars or to this particular war. The number of objectors, according to the official statement of the War Department issued June 18, 1919, is small. Only 3,989 claimed exemption at camp.<sup>1</sup> To this must be added the unknown but considerable number of men who refused to register and were for this offense sentenced to civil prisons for terms which by law could not exceed one year. An unknown but considerable number of such prisoners are still in confinement. Members of this group, on completion of their civil sentences, were automatically enrolled as soldiers, and so became subject to military law. Hence it came to pass that certain men suffered severely both in civil and in military prisons. The War Department statement classifies objectors as follows:

Originally accepted, or were assigned to non-combatant service.....	1,300
Furloughed to agriculture.....	1,200
Furloughed to Friends' Reconstruction Unit, France.....	99
Remaining in camp after the armistice.....	940
General court-martial prisoners .....	450
TOTAL.....	3,989

<sup>1</sup> In at least two cases that have become known, perhaps also in many others, conscientious objectors were taken to France as combatant soldiers.

This classification can only be explained by summarizing the history of the treatment of objectors.

By the terms of the selective service law exemption was granted from combatant service to bona fide members of religious sects or organizations whose creed or principles were opposed to war. This attempt to make conscience a corporate and sectarian matter was of course both illogical and unjust, and to the credit of the Quakers, who were the principal religious body to be benefited, it must be stated that they protested against this kind of favoritism. The President, by virtue of his powers as Commander-in-chief of the army and navy, granted more liberal terms to the objectors. Actually the history of conscientious objectors in the war was somewhat as follows: The extraordinary power of social pressure brought it to pass that comparatively few men had the courage to persist in the policy of conscientious objection which, at the beginning of the war, thousands of men had declared they would embrace. At the camp both persuasion and threats were more or less cleverly used to break down the courage of men who at first thought they were going to be conscientious objectors. Those who persisted in their refusal to accept combatant service were usually offered non-combatant service, which in practice was very easy to procure if a man were able to satisfy his conscience simply by personal abstention from killing while remaining an integral part of the military machine. About 1,000 men accepted this type of service at camp without examination by the special board of inquiry which was ultimately set up for the benefit of the more obdurate objectors. Men whose objection to war and to conscription for it was such that they could not accept non-combatant service were segregated in camps under conditions inevitably provocative of friction. In many cases they suffered severe brutality at the hands of intolerant officers, contrary to the War Department's orders. The War Department, which in general proved utterly incompetent to deal with atrocities in military camps and prisons, was not very effective in enforcing its own orders in behalf of conscientious objectors.

#### THE BOARD OF INQUIRY

On June 1, 1918, the President issued an order which permitted the furloughing of conscientious objectors for agricultural service or in connection with the Friend's Reconstruction Unit in France. To determine the "sincerity" of the objectors a board of inquiry was set up, consisting of Major Richard C. Stoddard, Chairman, (later succeeded by Major Walter G. Kellogg); Judge Julian W. Mack, of the United States Circuit Court; and Dean Harland F. Stone, of Columbia University Law School. This presidential order of June 1, modified by more comprehensive instructions June 10 and July 30, constituted the basis of further proceedings. The statistical results of the work of the Board of Inquiry have already been given. As a result of this work

the furloughs already enumerated were granted to conscientious objectors. It remains to explain the court-martial sentences. The statistics of court-martials are as follows:

Tried by court-martial .....	504
Acquitted .....	1
Convicted and sentenced .....	503
Disapproved by higher authority .....	53
Effective sentences .....	450

These 450 men received ferocious sentences running from ten to thirty years. They were composed—

#### ANALYSIS OF COURT-MARTIALED OBJECTORS

(a) Of men who had been court-martialed by impatient officers, contrary to the letter and spirit of the War Department's order, before the appointment of the Board of Inquiry.

(b) Men ultimately court-martialed despite the fact that the Board of Inquiry had granted them the privilege of receiving a furlough for agricultural work, which however, owing to imperfections in departmental machinery they never actually received. In the meantime these men and others had been confined in the army camp at Fort Riley, from which some of them later were transferred to Camp Funston, which adjoins Fort Riley. At these two army posts some of the worst atrocities took place. Men whose sincerity had already been acknowledged by the Board of Inquiry were subjected to all manner of brutality and persecution, and were ultimately court-martialed, not for being conscientious objectors, but for having refused some petty order, as for example, to clean up camp—a refusal made by the men in accordance with their logical determination not to be subjected to military authority.

(c) Among those ultimately court-martialed after severe persecution was a group classified by the Board of Inquiry as "insincere" and therefore not eligible for furlough, who proved their sincerity by their steadfast endurance under most trying circumstances. As a result of it two army officers were dismissed from the service, and have spent their time since in maligning the objectors. In justice to the Board of Inquiry it should be explained that in deciding that an objector was "insincere" they usually meant that his objection was only to *this* war—not to *all* wars, an illogical and unjustifiable differentiation which the War Department compelled them to make.

(d) The final group of court-martialed objectors consisted of those who on principle refused to accept any form of alternative service whether on farms or in France because such service recognized the right of the State to conscript men against their conscience. These men are commonly called absolutists. They felt that their highest service was to protest against conscription, and that that protest would never be effective so long as the issue was avoided by the acceptance of alternative service however good such service might be in itself.

On January 17, 1917, 113 of the court-martialed conscientious objectors then confined in Fort Leavenworth were discharged, because they should never have been given court-martial sentences, under the War Department's own ruling, *i. e.*, they belonged to class (a) in the grouping we have given. Owing to army red tape they received back pay, which has been made the subject of attack on them and on the War Department in all the jingo papers. As a matter of fact the objectors voluntarily refunded this money in excess of travelling expenses, to which they were entitled. In all, a total of \$9,840.55 was thus returned. This is exclusive of large amounts paid by conscientious objectors who accepted alternate or non-combatant service, to the Friend's Reconstruction Unit and the Red Cross.

Conscientious objectors varied widely in education, background, and reasons for objecting. The large majority of them were members of religious sects opposed to war. The more intelligent and aggressive, generally speaking, were intellectual radicals, Socialists, philosophical anarchists and the like. Many of these of course also had religious objections to war.

The public wrath at the disclosures of the injustice of the court-martial sentences in the United States forced a general reduction of sentences, from which conscientious objectors benefited. The War Department has moreover tried to evade the whole issue of conscientious objection by quietly "losing" one objector after another by pardoning him or discovering that something or other was irregular about his sentence, so that at the present time (August 12, 1919) the number of objectors still in confinement is probably only about 250, of whom 121 are still in an internment camp at Fort Douglas, Utah, to which most conscientious objectors were recently transferred; about 20 are at the military prison at Alcatraz Island, San Francisco Bay; the rest are probably still at Leavenworth.

NORMAN THOMAS.

### ACADEMIC FREEDOM

The fight of teachers to express unhampered their sincere convictions on vital questions is as old as is the teaching profession itself. Some of the most flagrant instances of interference with academic freedom in the colleges and universities of the country were briefly cited in the *American Labor Year Book* for 1916. Prior to our entrance into the European war, numerous radicals, particularly in the social sciences, who incurred the displeasure of the conservative college administrations, were dismissed from college faculties; others were refused promotion or in other ways discriminated against, while a host of applicants, regarded as "unsafe" were refused appointment. During the war charges of disloyalty were also widely made, and the authorities were able, in many instances, to take advantage of the war psychology to discharge certain radicals whose presence

had proved embarrassing, but for whose dismissal it would have been difficult to find a satisfactory public explanation.

One of the most recent instances of invasion of the prerogatives of the teaching profession unconnected, however, with the disloyalty charge—was that relating to the suspension of Dr. Louis Levine, Professor of Economics of the University of Montana. Dr. Levine is the author of a very able study on the French labor movement and went to the University of Montana in 1916 after serving as special agent for the Bureau of Census in 1910, as economic expert in the New York State Department of Labor, and as lecturer on social reform and economics at Columbia University and Wellesley College, respectively. At Montana he was assigned the task of studying the taxation system of that state, with the understanding that the results of his research would be published by the University as a bulletin. Dr. Levine completed his study and submitted it, on December 25, 1918, to Governor Stewart, president of the State Board of Education. Professor E. R. A. Seligman, the country's authority on taxation, had characterized it as "an admirable and thorough bit of work." It was sound. It was scholarly. But it showed an embarrassing fact that the Anaconda Copper Company, the wealthiest corporation in the state, was paying "only 8 mills on the estimated true value of its Montana properties, while all other property paid an average of 12 to 14 mills." Governor Stewart and Chancellor Edward C. Elliott decided that the University could not publish it, and on January 29 the Chancellor informed Professor Levine that "from every standpoint of sound public policy it is untimely and inappropriate for the University as an agency of the state, through any of its representatives, to intrude itself into discussions of the tax problem."

Dr. Levine, who claims that he was told there would be no question of his publishing the manuscript, if the University refused to do so, had it published privately,<sup>1</sup> and on February 7, 1919, was suspended for insubordination. The suspension led to many protests from the student body, the alumni, and the general public, and in early April, at a meeting of the State Board of Education, Levine was reinstated, by a vote of seven to two.

Among a few of the other noteworthy cases of interference with academic freedom during the last two years are:

Professor James McKeen Cattell, editor of *Science*, *School*, and *Society* and other educational magazines, for more than two decades Professor of Psychology at Columbia University, and one of the most eminent members of his profession, dismissed from Columbia in the fall of 1917. Prior to the passage of the Conscription Act, he had publicly opposed conscription and other measures which he regarded as militaristic.

Dr. H. W. L. Dana, Assistant Professor of English in Colum-

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<sup>1</sup> B. W. Huebsch, New York.

bia University, was dismissed in October, 1917, for his general activities in behalf of peace.

Following these dismissals Professor Charles A. Beard, one of the most eminent political scientists in the country, and an ardent supporter of the war, resigned his seat as Associate Professor of Politics in Columbia University as a protest against the "Prussian" spirit which he declared to be manifest in the University. Professor Henry R. Mussey resigned soon after.

Dr. Scott Nearing, Dean of Toledo University, was dismissed from that institution following a speaking trip during the spring of 1917 in which he voiced his opposition to war.

Dr. Carl Haessler, Instructor in Philosophy in the University of Illinois, was refused reappointment because of his stand as a conscientious objector.

Russell Scott, Instructor in French at Vanderbilt University, was suspended on May 3, 1919, from the University for economic radicalism, after having expressed his willingness to speak May first at a rally of the Socialist Party.

Dr. Lyford Edwards, Department of Sociology, Rice Institute, Texas, was dismissed in May, 1919, after explaining the Soviet state to members of a Sunday school class of men and women.

#### THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Numerous suspensions and dismissals from the public schools took place during the past two years in different parts of the country. A few instances follow:

Miss Alice Wood, teacher in English in the high schools of Washington, D. C., suspended in spring of 1919 for a week without a hearing, charged with discussing "Bolshevism and similar heresies" in her school room. Superintendent E. L. Thurston instructed her that these subjects should not be touched on. Instructions were also issued not to deal with the League of Nations. Miss Wood declares that she merely gave definitions and referred the pupils to current magazines, in reply to a question from a pupil, of Bolshevism, anarchism and the soviet, that she never discussed the Russian situation and did not defend Bolshevism. The suspension led to a demand on the part of the Washington Committee of the National Women's Trade Union League for labor representation on the Board of Education in Washington, now appointed by the court. The Teachers' Union made a similar demand of representation.

B. Hiram Mattingly, Poughkeepsie, N. Y., was dismissed from the public schools, charged with stating at a Socialist meeting that the Espionage law was a measure of despotism; that it was time that the republic should be restored in this country; and that as the first step, he advocated the election of a Socialist administration in that city.

Mary McDowell, a teacher of a Brooklyn public school, was



dismissed in 1918 from the school system because she was a pacifist. Miss McDowell had for years been a member of the Friends' Church and was a non-resistant.

Samuel Schmalhausen, Henry Schneer, and Thomas Mufson, teachers in the De Witt Clinton High School, N. Y. City, were dismissed from the school system, December 19, 1917, on the charge of conduct unbecoming a teacher. It was declared, among other things, that Mr. Schmalhausen "considers it not to be his duty to develop in the students under his control, instinctive respect for the President of the United States, as such, Governor of the State of New York, as such, and other Federal State and Municipal officers, as such".<sup>1</sup>

Benjamin Glassberg, New York high school teacher, was dismissed by the Board of Education May 29, 1919, charged with telling his pupils that Bolshevism was not so bad as it had been painted in the newspapers; that the Government prevented the truth about Russia from becoming known, and that no teacher was allowed to tell the truth about conditions in that country. Glassberg believed also that the Soviet Government should be recognized, inasmuch as it had been in existence for more than a year and a half, and as the United States supposedly believed in the principle of self-determination.

Dr. John L. Tildsley, Superintendent of Schools of New York, had previously stated, according to the *New York Times*, (April 27, 1919):

"No person who adheres to the Marxian program, the program of the Left Wing of the Socialist Party in this country, should be allowed to become a teacher in the public school system, and if discovered to be a teacher, should be compelled to sever his connection with the school system, for it is impossible for such a person to carry out the purpose of the public schools as set forth by Commissioner Finnegan, that the public school of any country should be the expression of the country's ideals, the purpose of its institutions, and the philosophy of its life and government.

HARRY W. LAIDLER, PH. D.

## WAR-TIME RESTRICTIONS ON THE FREEDOM OF SPEECH, PRESS, AND ASSEMBLAGE

Immediately on the outbreak of the war freedom of public discussion was sharply restricted. Meetings were in several places broken up by organized mobs; soldiers and sailors attacked street speakers in several cities. The press became violent against dissenting opinion. The so-called patriotic organizations began a nation-wide campaign for "national unity," for the suppression of all opinion which they regarded as pre-

<sup>1</sup> For a full account of these cases see *Toward the New Education*, published by the Teachers' Union of the City of New York, 70 Fifth Ave., New York City.

judicial to the success of the war. Thousands of citizens volunteered as secret service agents, co-operating with the Department of Justice. The federal authorities secured promptly the passage of the Espionage Act (approved June 15, 1917). State Councils of Defense organized rapidly to conduct the war activities of their states, and to suppress propaganda they regarded as inimical to the "national interest."

As the restrictions became more and more complete, it became evident that they were directed in large part against radical movements, particularly in those parts of the country where the industrial struggle was tense. This was especially true in the west, where the chief attacks were directed against the I. W. W. and the Farmers' Nonpartisan League. That the cause of the attacks was not anti-war activities, but their radical economic programs is evident at once from the fact that the Nonpartisan League was attacked with equal ferocity as the I. W. W., although it was aggressive in its support of the war and of the president's war aims. In all the record of prosecutions under war laws or of mob violence, the I. W. W. and the Nonpartisan League figure as the chief victims. Next come the Socialist Party and pacifist groups, and last, German sympathizers or alleged sympathizers of German descent.

As the war progressed the middle west became the chief center of the organized attack on minority opinion and radical movements. Minnesota appears to have been the state most rigorous and thorough in its sweeping abolition of all freedom of opinion.<sup>1</sup> Conditions in Wisconsin, South Dakota, Oklahoma, Montana, and other far western states were similar.

The activities of the Post Office Department were also directed more to the control of radical opinion than to the suppression of "German propaganda," the avowed object of the Espionage Act, under which the Department received its authority. Of all the papers suppressed, most were radical economic publications.

The chief instrument of control of opinion was the Espionage Act (approved June 15, 1917, and amended May 18, 1918). The prosecutions of German agents and sympathizers were few—ten or twelve altogether—compared with those of radicals. No spy prosecution was brought under the Espionage Act, whose avowed chief purpose was the control of spies and enemy agents. There was wide discrepancy in the application of the law throughout the country, dependent on the local forces of public opinion, the press and commercial interests,—and the attitude of the district attorney and judge. Statements for which a person would be prosecuted and sentenced to a long term in one jurisdiction, would be totally ignored in another. So great was this diversity of application that the Attorney-General required

<sup>1</sup> See *Memorial to Congress on Conditions in Minnesota*, published by the Nonpartisan League, St. Paul, Minn.

finally (October, 1918), that all proposed prosecutions be first submitted for approval to the Department at Washington. The same was true of other federal war laws. The policy of the various states varied greatly, some passing and enforcing rigorously a sedition statute, others having no such enactments at all.

The total number of all prosecutions during the war (from April 6, 1917, to November 11, 1918) involving the freedom of speech, press, and assemblage, is estimated roughly at 4,500 to 5,000. Of these 998 were under the Espionage Act (to July 1, 1918). Many more have been instituted under that act since that date. Most of the remainder were under state laws or city ordinances. This is exclusive of the draft act cases of men liable to military service. Of this total some 1,500 are estimated to have been convicted and sent to prison for comparatively short terms. The report of the Attorney-General for the year ending June 30, 1918, shows 363 actually convicted for such offences. Most of the well-known cases involving long sentences of 10 to 20 years, have been appealed, and the defendants released on bond.<sup>1</sup>

### I. THE LEGISLATION

a. *Federal*:—The federal legislation controlling expression of opinion was, first, the Espionage Act, (original act approved June 15, 1917, as amended May 16, 1918), and the Trading with the Enemy Act, (approved October 6, 1917.) Other statutes utilized were section 6, 37, and 332 of the Federal Criminal Code covering conspiracy, section 6 of the Draft Act, covering interference with the draft, the treason statute, the act penalizing threats against the life of the president (approved February 14, 1917), and the anarchist deportation section of the Immigration Act as amended October 16, 1918, (the latter used especially to reach radical labor agitators, chiefly I. W. W.).

b. *State and City Laws*:—A number of states enacted special sedition laws to control expression of opinion. In others, State Councils of Defense promulgated orders which purported to have the effect of laws. In certain others notably Minnesota, the Council recommended a form of sedition ordinance to municipalities, which many of them passed and enforced. Special statutes in a number of western states aimed at the I. W. W., (the "criminal syndicalism" laws) and were also liberally invoked to suppress the discussion and agitation of radical economic views. A few cities passed also similar anti-I. W. W. ordinances.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For detailed information on cases and the law, see Report of the Attorney-General for the year ending June 30, 1918, pages 14 to 25, and 40 to 58, and two pamphlets published by the National Civil Liberties Bureau, 41 Union Square, N. Y. C., entitled "Espionage Act Cases" (primarily for lawyers) and "War-Time Prosecutions and Mob Violence," an annotated list of cases.

<sup>2</sup> For the texts of state sedition laws, consult the Law Dept., Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

## II. PROSECUTIONS

a. *Espionage Act*:—The total number of prosecutions for violation of the Espionage Act from June 15, 1917, to July 1, 1918, was 988. Of these, 197 pleaded guilty and were sent to prison, 166 others were convicted (a large number appealing), and 497 cases were pending for trial July 1st, while 128 had been acquitted or dismissed up to that time. The act has been enforced with increasing vigor since that date, but no official figures subsequent thereto are available.

Most of these cases were under Section 3 of Title I, relating to wilful interference with the "recruiting service," of the U. S. They covered utterances of all sorts—in public speeches, in conversation, in periodicals, and in pamphlets. They include also the distribution of literature written by others than the distributors. All the cases are important in the sense that they involve the freedom of speech or press. The following are the important, typical cases:—

1. *Cases involving Socialist Party members*:—

H. E. Kirchner, Elizabeth, W. Va., convicted 2 years.

Frederick Krafft, Trenton, N. J., convicted 5 years.

A. L. Sugarman, Mankato, Minn., convicted 3 years.

Kate Richards O'Hare, Fargo, N. D., convicted 5 years.

Jos. M. Coldwell, Providence, R. I., convicted 3 years, appeal pending.

J. O. Bentall, Minneapolis, Minn., convicted 5 years.

Emanuel Baltzer and 26 others, Sioux Falls, S. D., convicted 1-2 years each, appeal pending.

William J. Head, Sioux Falls, S. D., convicted 3 years.

Charles T. Schenck, Elizabeth Baer, Philadelphia, Pa., convicted 6 months and 3 months respectively.

Max Eastman and 6 editors and writers in the "Masses"; New York City. Jury disagreed in two trials. Dismissed.

Al Shidler, Tonopale, Nev., convicted 2 years.

Victor Berger, Louis Engdahl, Adolph Germer, William Kruse and Irwin St. John Tucker, Chicago, Ill., (Socialist Party officials) convicted 20 years.

Scott Nearing and American Socialist Society, (Rand School) New York City. Nearing acquitted; Society convicted to pay \$3,000 fine.

Rose Pastor Stokes, Kansas City, Mo., convicted 10 years, appealed.

Clinton H. Pierce et al. Albany, N. Y., convicted.

Floyd Ramp, Portland, O., convicted.

Emil Herman, Seattle, Wash., convicted 10 years.

Eugene V. Debs, Cleveland, O., convicted 10 years.

Amos L. Hitchcock, Cleveland, O., convicted 10 years.

Joseph V. Stilson, Joseph Sukys, et al. Philadelphia, Pa., convicted 3 years and 3 months. Appealed.

2. *I. W. W. Cases*:—(Most of the indictments in these cases include violations of other acts as well as the Espionage Act).

William D. Haywood and 165 others, Chicago, Ill., 99 convicted 1 to 20 years each, appealed.

W. E. Mead, Seattle, Wash., convicted 5 years, appealed.

46 members indicted in Sacramento, Calif., convicted 3 to 10 years, appealing.

38 members indicted in Wichita, Kans., (not yet tried).

7 members indicted in Tacoma, Wash., convicted 5 years each.

27 members indicted in Omaha, Neb., (not yet tried).

28 members indicted in Spokane, Wash., (not yet tried).

3. *Religious pacifist cases:*

Rev. Clarence H. Waldron, Burlington, Vt., convicted 15 years.  
 Jos. F. Rutherford, et al. leader of the International Bible Students' Association (The Russelites), convicted 20 years, appealed and reversed.

4. *Cases of German-Americans:*

Conrad Kornmann, Sioux Falls, S. D., (Editor, German Language paper), convicted.

Jacob Frohwerk and Carl Glessner, Kansas City, Mo. (Editors of *Staats-Zeitung*), convicted.

C. B. Schoberg, Latonia, Ky., convicted.

Louis Werner, Martin Darkow, Peter Schaeffer, Paul Vogel and Herman Lemke, of the Philadelphia *Tageblatt*, convicted.

5. *Other cases not affiliated with any radical or pacifist group or affiliations unknown:*

Daniel H. Wallace, Davenport, Ia., convicted 20 years.

Louise Oliverian, Seattle, Wash., convicted 10 years.

Paul Bosko, Parkersburg, W. Va., convicted 15 years.

Vincenti Balbas Capo, San Juan, P. R., convicted 8 years; \$4,000 fine; appealed.

J. A. Peterson, Minneapolis, Minn., convicted 4 years, appealed.

Robert Goldstein, Los Angeles, Calif., convicted 10 years, \$5,000 fine.

Perley B. Doe, Denver, Colo., convicted 1½ years.

Stephen Binder, N. Y. C., convicted 10 years.

R. F. Pettigrew, Sioux Falls, S. D., (not yet tried).

Jacob Abrams et al., N. Y. C., convicted 20 years, appealed.

Among the few clean-cut acquittals in Espionage Act cases are those of Scott Nearing, N. Y., Frank Stephens, Arden, Del., Baher and Wilhide, Baltimore, Md., Joseph Zimmerman, Indianapolis, Ind., S. S. Harper, Shreveport, La., Eva Harding et al., Kansas City, Kans., Theodore B. Pape, Ill.

b. *Treason statutes*:—Only 5 treason cases were instituted during the war. In all of them the defendants were either acquitted or the charge dismissed before trial.

Louis Werner and Martin Darkow, editors, *Tageblatt*, Philadelphia, acquitted.

Lotta Burke et al., Cincinnati, O. Indictment dismissed.

c. *Conspiracy to obstruct draft* (and other war statutes cases) under sections 6, 37 and 332 of the Penal Code. Some 40-50 cases were brought under the Penal Code section, and over 500 under the draft act (Sec. 6) for interfering with its operations (not however including cases of men liable to service).

Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, N. Y. C., convicted 2 years.

Ruthenberg, Baker and Wagenknecht (Socialists), Cleveland, Ohio, convicted 1 year.

Daniel O'Connell, San Francisco, Cal., 2 years.

Hulett M. Wells et al., Wash., (Socialist) 2 years.

d. *Trading with the Enemy Act*:—The only civil liberties cases arising under this act are those in which persons have carried communications to or from a foreign country on their persons, instead of mailing them. A number of convictions have resulted.<sup>1</sup>

e. *Threats against the President*:—Some 30 prosecutions have been brought under this statute penalizing utterances of threats against the life of the president. Three convictions reported by the Attorney-General are those of Marion Clark, Texas, Lucy Gilbert, Wisconsin, and Pemberton W. Stickrath, Ohio.

f. *Prosecutions under state statutes and city ordinances*:—The total

<sup>1</sup> See Report of the Attorney-General, 1918, p. 57.

number of these cases can only be estimated as the laws invoked to control discussion and meetings were varied, and the sentences were for comparatively short periods. The number is, doubtless, greatly in excess of the federal prosecutions, especially in western states, when they were directed mainly against members of the I. W. W. and Nonpartisan League. In New York City alone scores of cases were brought before the municipal justices. Among the noteworthy cases throughout the country are: W. Theo. Woodward, Iowa. Scott Nearing and others, Duluth, Minn., Robert W. Faher, Floyd Hardin, and Harold Story (The "Christian Pacifists") at Los Angeles, Cal., Alexander Horr, San Francisco, Cal., Bruce Rogers, Alaska, A. C. Townley, and Jos. Gilbert, Minn.

### III. INTERFERENCE BY PUBLIC OFFICIALS WITH RIGHT OF ASSEMBLAGE

The most important case was that of the People's Council forbidden to hold its national convention in Minneapolis, September, 1917, by order of the Governor, and similarly denied the right to meet in Wisconsin. Meeting in Chicago, the convention was adjourned in the face of the militia sent by the Governor to disperse it. Other noteworthy cases were: People's Council meetings forbidden in California, Ohio, Minnesota. Scott Nearing forbidden to speak in numerous cities. Socialist Party State Convention broken up by police at Parkston, S. D. Socialist Party meeting at Buffalo, N. Y. Mrs. Kate Richards O'Hare, speaker, forbidden by City Council. Score of Nonpartisan League meetings forbidden by order of local and state officials in Minnesota and Wisconsin.

### IV. ILLEGAL SEARCH AND SEIZURE

Scores of raids and seizure of property were made by federal and local agents without proper warrants or no warrants at all. Among the important cases are:

1. Raids on I. W. W. offices by federal agents all over the U. S., often repeatedly—in some cases without warrant and in others with insufficient warrants.

2. Raids on offices or homes of members of the International Bible Students' Association to seize copies of the "Finished Mystery," a Russe-lite publication.

3. Raids on National Office of the Socialist Party and various local offices.

4. A number of People's Council locals searched and papers seized.

### V. THE POST OFFICE CENSORSHIP UNDER THE ESPIONAGE AND TRADING WITH THE ENEMY ACTS

The arbitrary discretion vested in the Postmaster General by the Espionage Act was exercised to the limit in the control of opinion. Under the guise of military necessity, scores of radical publications were summarily put out of business by withdrawal of second class mailing privileges, and by total exclusion from the mails of certain numbers of periodicals and various books and pamphlets. Three suits were brought in the courts to test the powers exercised by the Postmaster General. In all three cases the courts upheld the Postmaster General's full discretionary power over the mailability of all matter. These cases were:

The *Masses* Publishing Co. vs: The postmaster of New York.  
 The *Jeffersonian* Publishing Co. vs: West, Postmaster, Georgia.  
 The *Milwaukee Social Democrat* Publishing Co. vs: A. S. Burleson,  
 Postmaster-General.

Some hundreds of papers have had their second class privileges withdrawn or issues suppressed. Some ten or more periodicals using third class rates were barred altogether. Some twenty books and pamphlets have been forbidden circulation by mail. Under the Trading with the Enemy Act, the Department of Justice has forbidden, in addition, the sending of many publications by express.

The following is an incomplete list of the cases. The Post Office Department refuses even to furnish Congress with the record of suppressions on the ground of protecting the public interest:

a. *Publications* cited, barred from the mails during the first year of the war by the Post Office Department, April 6, 1917 to April 6, 1918.

### 1. Second Class Mail Privileges Revoked

a. *Socialist*: *American Socialist*, Chicago, Ill.; *Battle Axe*, Danville, Va.; *Call*, New York City; *Elore*, (Hungarian) New York City; *Eye Opener*, Chicago, Ill.; *Forward*, Cal.; *Forward*, Milwaukee, Wis.; *International Socialist Review*, Chicago, Ill.; *Leader*, Milwaukee, Wis.; *New Times*, Minnesota; *Novy Mir* (Russian), New York City; *People's Press*, Philadelphia, Pa.; *People's Press*, Toledo, Ohio; *Rebel*, Hallettsville, Texas; *Labor*, St. Louis, Mo.; *Socialist*, Spokane, Wash.; *Social Revolution*, St. Louis, Mo.; *Socialist*, Michigan; *Socialist News*, Cleveland, Ohio; *Tageblatt* (German), Philadelphia, Pa.; *Volkszeitung* (German), New York City.

b. *Others*: *Bull*, New York City; *Gaelic American*, New York City; *Jeffersonian*, Thomson, Ga.; *Masses*, New York City; "Mother Earth," New York City.

### 2. One or More Numbers Held Up

a. *Socialist*: *Arbetaren* (Swedish), New York City; *Forward* (Jewish Daily), New York City; *Hlas Svobody* (Slovak), New York City; *Intercollegiate Socialist*, New York City; *Obrana* (Croatian), New York City; *Socialist Party Bulletin*, Chicago, Ill.

b. *Others*: *Bulletin of People's Council*, New York City; *Ratzionale Leben* (German), New York City; *L'Averne* (I. W. W.), New York City; *Kundcs, Der Grosse* (Jewish), New York City; *North Hudson News*, West Hoboken; *Public*, New York City; *International*, New York City; *Pearson's Magazine*, New York City; *Viereck's Weekly*, New York City; *War*, Lansdowne, Penn.

### 3. Cited by Post Office Department for Revocation of Second Class Privilege. No Decision, or Decision Not Known

*Industrial Worker*, Seattle, Wash.; *The Michigan Socialist*, Detroit, Mich.; *New Times*, (Socialist) Minneapolis, Minn.; *New Age*, (Socialist) Buffalo, New York; *Milwaukee Free Press*, Milwaukee, Wisc.; *Sullivan Co. Review*, N. Y.; *Charleston American*, Charleston, S. C.

### 4. Papers Barred From Mails Entirely (Using Third Class Rates)

*Facts*, New York City; *Four Lights*, New York City; *Robert Emmett*, Washington, D. C.; *The Voice in the Wilderness*, New York City.

### 5. Papers Interfered With—Record Not Complete

a. *Socialist*: *Alarm*, Minneapolis, Minn.; *Labor Herald*, Richmond

Ind.; *Commonwealth*, Mitchell, S. D.; *Union des Travaileurs* (French), Charleroi, Pa.; *Citizen*, San Diego, Cal.; *Socialist Bulletin*, Boise, Idaho; *Iconoclast*, Minot, N. D.; *Kova* (Lithuanian), Philadelphia, Pa.; *Labor Argus*, Charleston, W. Va.; *Gurnik Polski* (Polish), Pittsburgh, Pa.; *Labor Advocate*, Providence, R. I.; *Melting Pot*, St. Louis, Mo.; *Shield*, Pomona, Calif.; *New Hampshire Worker*, Manchester, N. Y.

#### 6. *Miscellaneous Cases, etc.*

*Freie Zeitung* (German), Newark, N. J.; *The Metropolitan*, New York, N. Y.; *The Republican*, Chicago, Ill.

b. *Books and Pamphlets barred from mails*:—"The Finished Mystery," The Russellite Society; "The Great Madness," Scott Nearing; "The Price We Pay," Irwin St. John Tucker; "The Soviets at Work," Nikolai Lenin. (Order rescinded.)

### VI. MOB VIOLENCE

Cases of the breaking up of meetings by mobs arose at once with the advent of war. Soldiers and sailors in New York, Boston, and Seattle, engaged in violent attacks on street meetings and parades in the first few months following the declaration of war. But it was not until the Liberty Loan campaigns got under way that organized violence on a large scale broke out—especially in the west. When the industrial struggle was tense, the mob of the commercial interests took the law to themselves. At Bisbee, over 1,100 miners were deported to the desert; at Butte, Frank Little was lynched; at Tulsa, Okla., 17 I. W. W. were tarred, feathered, and whipped; Rev. Herbert S. Bigelow was beaten by a mob near Cincinnati; Robert Prager was lynched in the Illinois coal-mining district; Little, Prager, and a Negro preacher, W. T. Sims, were the only persons reported killed by mobs. Many others were maimed and injured. In only two cases were the mob leaders prosecuted (Bisbee and Prager cases). In the Prager case the jury acquitted the self-confessed leaders. In the Bisbee case the indictments were quashed by the court.

### VII. AMNESTY

Upon the eve of his retirement, Attorney-General Gregory announced the policy of recommending for executive clemency certain selected cases of persons convicted under the Espionage Act. In pursuance of this policy, which has been continued by Attorney-General Palmer, four full pardons have been issued and some ninety-eight other persons have received commutation of the length of their sentences. The most striking feature of the operation of this policy is the fact that with the exception of Frederick Krafft of New Jersey, no one of the many prominent labor and Socialist leaders convicted under the Espionage Act has received executive clemency. The policy is in no sense an official recognition of the unsoundness of prosecuting men and women for their opinions or even of the fact that opinion has formed the basis of prosecution. It is not an amnesty in any sense of the word.

ROGER BALDWIN,  
National Civil Liberties Bureau.



## THE CHICAGO SOCIALIST TRIAL

"As Socialists they were tried, and as Socialists they were condemned to 20 years in the penitentiary."

This is the general consensus of opinion of the trial and conviction of the five national officials of the American Socialist Party.

This governmental attack on American Socialism was camouflaged under the usual charge that the five Socialists had conspired to create mutiny, insubordination and refusal of duty, and obstruction of recruiting and enlistment.

The Chicago Socialist trial was but one chapter in the endless attack upon the Socialist Party that began immediately after this country entered the war. The Post Office Department, during June, July, and August, 1917, carried on a campaign of suppression and interference against Socialist mail matter, newspapers, and magazines. On September 5, 1917, five months after the war started, a raid was conducted by Federal authorities on the National Office of the Socialist Party, 803 West Madison Street, Chicago. Samples of all Socialist literature, files of Socialist publications, copies of all mailing lists, numerous letters, and other matter were taken, during a three days' occupation of the offices, after which the party was allowed to resume its activities.

## THE INDICTMENT

It was on the basis of the evidence gathered in this raid that a secret indictment was returned five months later, February 2, 1918, against Victor L. Berger, member of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party; Adolph Germer, National Executive Secretary of the Party; J. Louis Engdahl, editor of the Party's official publications; William F. Kruse, Secretary of the National Young People's Socialist League; and Irwin St. John Tucker, former head of the party's literature department.

The indictment was not made public until March 9, 1918, when the news was given to the press reporters. All the defendants came into court voluntarily, accompanied by their lawyers, and furnished the required \$10,000 bail each.

This marked the real beginning of a court struggle that will engage the serious attention of American historians in the years to come. On April 27, a demurrer was filed against the indictment, citing 21 reasons why it should be dismissed. In October, 1918, a hearing was had before Judge Evans, in the Federal District Court. After taking the arguments under consideration he ruled against the demurrer and turned down the plea of former acquittal for Germer, based on the Grand Rapids, Mich., "not guilty" verdict of one year before. By this ruling he ordered all five Socialists to trial.

## THE TRIAL

After the armistice had been declared, Nov. 11, 1918, and the

world war had come to an end, no indications were forthcoming that there was to be any let-up in the attack on the Socialist Party and its officials. Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis, the trial judge, refused a change of venue, sweeping aside the charges of prejudice raised against him. The trial itself started before Judge Landis, Dec. 9, 1918, just nine months after the indictment had been made public.

Several days were taken up in securing a jury. Not a man in the entire panel of veniremen confessed to having read a book or pamphlet on Socialism, and when the 12 jurors selected were finally sworn, there was not a spark of intelligence in the entire jury box regarding the Socialist philosophy.

Into these ignorant minds the prosecution immediately began to pour a mass of assorted misrepresentation, falsehood, and prejudice, that had been gathered in by the secret service net spread out over the entire nation.

#### THE FABRICATED TESTIMONY

Every great labor trial, political or industrial, has its Harry Orchard or Ortie McManigal. The Government presented a similar figure in this trial in the person of Arnold Schiller, former member of the Young People's Socialist League, and former office boy in the circulation department of the *Chicago Socialist*. After being carefully schooled he was put on the stand as the first witness, and under detailed direct examination told a "yellow back" tale of how Kruse had sought to build an "underground railroad" from Chicago to the Mexican border for the benefit of conscientious objectors, the workings of which were to be augmented by the use of a German government secret code for purposes of correspondence. In all seriousness the prosecution presented a Rand-McNally map of Texas that was to be used as part of the great plot.

Schiller's entire story crumbled under cross examination by Attorney William A. Cunnea for the defense. He admitted having been arrested as a deserter and sentenced to five months in the guard house, being released before one-fourth of his sentence had been served. The only thing he had ever done to promote "the underground railway to Mexico," he confessed, was to purchase a 25c map of Texas in a stationery store and take one lesson in a class of Spanish.

Numerous witnesses were presented by the prosecution in an effort to bolster up Schiller's story, and to show how all the defendants were interested in the Young People's Socialist League, a "most seditious organization," which even sought to organize a league at Camp Grant, a cantonment at Rockford, Illinois.

The remainder of the Government's case consisted in reading copious extracts from the *American Socialist* and the *Milwaukee Leader*, getting all the Socialist anti-war leaflets and other literature into the court record, and horrifying the jurors with

anti-war cartoons and pictures that had appeared in the Socialist press.

#### THE POSITION OF THE ACCUSED

All of the defendants, Berger, Germer, Engdahl, Kruse, and Tucker, took the stand and gave their views on Socialism and the war. They refused to retract anything they had said or had written. They confessed they had placed reliance in the "free speech, free press, and free assemblage" provisions of the national constitution. Frank P. Walsh, chairman of the U. S. Commission on Industrial Relations, and Clarence Darrow, the Chicago lawyer, told how they had gone to Washington with Seymour Stedman, Morris Hillquit, Amos Pinchot, and others, and had interviewed Postmaster General Burleson and Judge Herron, of the Department of Justice, in an effort to get an interpretation of the Espionage Act. Darrow, representing the Socialist Party, had even had an interview with President Wilson. But nothing was accomplished. An interpretation of the law was promised but never given.

The defendants in their turn read copious extracts from editorials and articles that had appeared in the *American Socialist* and the *Milwaukee Leader*, quoted extensively from books, pamphlets and leaflets, to show the historic attitude of Socialism towards war. Germer told of the workings of the Socialist Party, nationally and internationally; Berger reviewed his long and consistent service in the Socialist movement; Engdahl related the struggle of the Socialist and labor press against the censorship; Kruse battled for the Young People's Socialist League; while Tucker explained how he had written "The Price We Pay" and other leaflets. They were supported by scores of witnesses.

#### THE CONVICTION

The Government's appeal to jingoism and prejudice won out over the efforts of the Socialist lawyers to give the great problems involved in this case a sane and intelligent interpretation. After nearly five weeks the jury brought in a verdict of "guilty" on Jan. 8, 1919.

Immediately there began a breath-taking struggle for a new trial, based on an affidavit secured from the juror, Thomas C. Nixon, of Chicago, who charged the Deputy Marshal, William H. Streeter, one of the three bailiffs in charge of the jury, of repeatedly denouncing the defendants in the presence of the jurors while the trial was going on, stating on one occasion that, "every one of those fellows is guilty and if I had my way I would hang every one of them."

After a two-day (Feb. 3-4) hearing Judge Landis overruled the defendants' motion for a new trial (Feb. 20) and the five defendants were asked if they had anything to say before the imposition of sentence. All five, in ringing addresses to the court, gave voice to their views regarding the trial and what

they thought its significance to be. Following the five addresses Judge Landis imposed sentence of 20 years for each of the Socialist officials, to be served in the Federal prison at Leavenworth, Kan. He refused to release the defendants on bonds, pending the appeal, but granted a writ of error to the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals. Federal Judge Altschuler fixed the bonds at \$25,000 each, to be secured by \$100,000 worth of property, making a total of \$500,000 surety in all, which was raised by Chicago Socialists in a few hours. The five Socialists were given their liberty pending appeal before the higher court.<sup>1</sup>

J. LOUIS ENGBAHL.

### THE I. W. W. TRIAL

In September, 1917, a federal grand jury at Chicago returned an indictment against 114 members of the Industrial Workers of the World for conspiracy to interfere with the nation's war program. Altogether nearly 10,000 specific crimes were cited. The case came to trial on April 1, 1918 with Judge Kenesaw M. Landis presiding. The attorney for the Government was Frank Nebeker; the chief attorney for defense was George F. Vandever.

Cases of some of the men were dropped before the trial. Only 101 men were finally arraigned. The defendants were all men, of all ages, all but four were industrial workers, four were Negroes. The four who were not classed as industrial workers were journalists and organizers.

The Government's case consisted of an attempt to prove conspiracy to obstruct war work. Instances of sabotage in the northwestern lumber fields were cited. The attitude of many of the defendants towards the war and draft was brought out by letters and documents. The defense contended that sabotage does not consist of the destruction of machinery, but rather a "withdrawal of efficiency from industry." The I. W. W. in this trial did not deny that it has found it necessary to employ sabotage on the job. On the question of direct action the I. W. W. and their attorneys defined it as meaning that the workers shall present their industrial demands directly to the employers through the process of industrial action instead of political agitation. The defense took the opportunity offered by this trial to read into the record the story of the conditions in the northwestern lumber camps, the entire story of the Bisbee outrage, the story of the lynching of Frank Little, and the case of the Arizona copper miners. The defense held that while the Government had proved that many of the defendants disapproved of conscription and the war, such disapproval did not constitute conspiracy.

The case went to the jury in September 1918. The attorney for the defense waived his right to summing up. Judge Landis'

<sup>1</sup> Because of his conviction Victor L. Berger was refused a seat in Congress to which he was elected from Milwaukee, Wis.

charge to the jury was considered fair. The jury returned convictions in 93 cases. Judge Landis then imposed severe sentences on the convicted men. William D. Haywood, secretary-treasurer of the organization was sentenced to twenty years' imprisonment and was ordered to pay a fine of \$10,000. Fourteen others received the same sentence. Altogether the sentences totaled 807 years and the fines, \$2,620,000.

The cases of Haywood and some others have been appealed. Bail has been set, however, at high figures. The bail for Haywood was set at \$25,000, and Haywood and several other convicted I. W. W. members had to remain in jail for nearly a year before their bail was accepted.

DAVID P. BERENBERG

### THE TRIAL OF EUGENE V. DEBS

On June 30, 1918, Eugene V. Debs, four times presidential candidate of the Socialist Party, was arrested in Cleveland, Ohio, charged with violating the Espionage Law. The basis of the indictment was a speech he delivered to the delegates at the State Convention of the Socialist Party of Ohio, held at Canton, June 16, 1918. In his Canton speech Debs pointed out that there were Junkers and plutocrats in America as well as in Germany, that our institutions were far from democratic, and that the judiciary was the tool of the capitalist class. He praised the Russian Socialists for proclaiming peace and for publishing secret imperialistic treaties with the Allied nations. He pointed out the economic causes of all wars and ended by paying a glowing tribute to Rose Pastor Stokes, who was accused of having violated the Espionage Act, and to the I. W. W., and by urging the strengthening of the Socialist Party, so that it might be in a position to continue its struggle for the establishment of industrial democracy in this country.

The trial of Debs began on September 9 in Cleveland. He was defended by Seymour Stedman and William Cunnea of Chicago, and several local attorneys. The venire of 100 men from whom the jury was picked, averaged 70 years of age. Their average wealth was \$50,000. With one exception every member of the jury chosen was a retired farmer or merchant. The Government based its case upon the Canton speech, to prove that Debs had attempted to discourage enlistment and to promote insubordination among the armed forces of this country. Debs conducted his own defense. In a most eloquent address to the jury he insisted upon his right as an American citizen to speak the truth freely. He made no effort to deny a single statement of his Canton speech. He admitted that he was opposed to war and to the existing social system, and that he had for years worked to bring about a change in the organization of society by the organized and intelligent action of the workers of the country. He praised the work of Rose P. Stokes and Kate Richards O'Hare. "If they should go to prison, so should I. I

said that at Canton, and I stand by it." He concluded his address to the jury in the following words:

".... Chattel slavery disappeared. We are not yet free. We are engaged in another mighty agitation to-day. It is as wide as the world. It is the rise of the toiling and producing masses, who are gradually becoming conscious of their interest, their power as a class, who are organizing industrially and politically, who are slowly but surely developing the economic and political power that is to set them free. They are still in the minority, but they have learned how to wait and to bide their time.

It is because I happen to be in this minority that I stand in your presence to-day, charged with crime. It is because I believe, as the revolutionary fathers believed in their day, that a change was due in the interests of the people, that the time had come for a better form of government, an improved system, a higher social order, a nobler humanity and a grander civilization. This minority, that is so much misunderstood and so bitterly maligned, is in alliance with the forces of evolution, and, as certain as I stand before you this afternoon, it is but a question of time until this minority shall become the conquering majority and inaugurate the greatest change in all the history of the world. You may hasten the change, you may retard it; you can no more prevent it than you can prevent the coming of the sunrise on the morrow."

The case went to the jury on September 12. The jury was out six hours and brought in a verdict of guilty. On September 14, Debs was sentenced to serve 10 years in the State Penitentiary of West Virginia. The court, in continuing the \$10,000 bail bond pending an appeal to the United States Supreme Court, ruled that Debs would not be permitted to make any speeches or leave the jurisdiction of the court, except to go to his home at Terre Haute, Indiana. Before sentence was passed, Debs was permitted to address the court. He denounced the Espionage Act, sketching clearly and boldly his own struggles in life and the struggles of the mass of the workers in every field of labor. He contrasted their lot with the 5 per cent who own the wealth and resources of the country.

The appeal in the case was urged before the Supreme Court on June 27 by Seymour Stedman. The Espionage Act was attacked on constitutional grounds, because it interfered with the free speech provision in the United States Constitution. The decision of the Supreme Court was handed down on March 10. The court held that the law was not contrary to the constitution and affirmed the sentence imposed upon Debs by the lower court. The decision was unanimous that the nature and intended effect of his speech was to obstruct recruiting and enlistment in the army.

Debs entered the State Penitentiary at Moundsville, W. Va.

on April 13, where he remained until he was then removed to the United States Penitentiary, at Atlanta, Ga., on June 10.

### THE CASE OF KATE RICHARDS O'HARE

Kate Richards O'Hare entered the Missouri State Penitentiary of Jefferson City, Mo., on April 14th, 1919, and is now serving a five year sentence at hard labor, imposed by the Federal District Court on December 14, 1917, at Bismarck, North Dakota. Mrs. O'Hare was charged with having obstructed and interfered with the recruiting and enlistment service by giving expression to certain utterances in an address on Socialism at Bowman, North Dakota, on July 17, 1917. Mrs. O'Hare delivered the same address a great many times, having travelled extensively throughout the country under the auspices of the Socialist Party and addressing meetings on the same subject prior to and during the war.

Her indictment was the result of a bitter political struggle in Bowman between the old party elements and the growing Non partisan League.

The stand-patters had been under the leadership of James E. Phelan, a wealthy banker and land owner, and the Nonpartisan leaguers under the leadership of County Judge Edward P. Totten. Mrs. Totten, wife of Judge Totten, had been postmistress at Bowman, the office being the choicest political plum in the county, paying \$1900 per year. A certain person named J. E. James, a protege of Mr. Phelan's, had aspired to oust Mrs. Totten and secure the position.

Mrs. O'Hare spoke at Bowman, N. D., July 17, 1917. The lecture was attended largely by Nonpartisan leaguers. The day following her lecture Mrs. O'Hare was invited to Mrs. Totten's house to discuss a college institution at her Florida home. This visit was observed by Phelan and his associates, and a long telegram was sent at once to Senator McCumber at Washington who delivered on the floor of the Senate a vitriolic denunciation of Mrs. Totten, demanding that the Post-Office Department remove her because she was a "traitor", having applauded Mrs. O'Hare's address. Mrs. O'Hare was charged with having likened the American mothers of drafted sons to "brood sows" and having stated that the young men who were drafted were "only fit for fertilizer".

At the trial, out of the five witnesses for the prosecution, one was James, who aspired to Mrs. Totten's job, one was Dr. Whittemore, whose drugstore is said to be mortgaged to Phelan, two were men in close business relation to Phelan, and one woman was the wife of a business associate of Phelan's.

Out of the audience of 135 persons only two, both political adherents of Phelan's, could be found to swear that Mrs. O'Hare used language ascribed to her. The judge permitted three persons who were not at the meeting to testify for the prosecution.

Mrs. O'Hare's twelve witnesses were all present at the meeting. The court refused to permit four of her witnesses to testify at all.

After a four day trial, the jury brought in a verdict of guilty. In handing down the sentence of five years in the Missouri Penitentiary, Judge Wade quoted, among other documents, to justify his severity, a letter from the St. Louis office of the Department of Justice stating—"We have been unable to obtain anything specific on her that would be a violation of the federal law . . . . Nothing would please this office more than to hear that she got LIFE."

An appeal was taken to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals in May, 1918, but was denied. It was then carried to the United States Supreme Court, where the conviction of the lower court was sustained in March, 1919.

Mrs. O'Hare has been an active worker in the Socialist movement for many years. She has been nominated to various offices by the Party, and has served as International Secretary of the Socialist Party during 1913-14. She is also a member of the International Association of Machinists and has taken a great interest in the labor movement. Mrs. O'Hare is the mother of four children.

FRANK O'HARE

### THE MASSES' TRIALS

The first *Masses'* trial was prosecuted April 15-27, 1918. Max Eastman, Floyd Dell, and Arthur Young, editors, and Merrill Rogers, business manager of the *Masses* magazine, were charged with violation of the Espionage Act through the publication of editorials, articles, cartoons, and poems in their magazines, which had been denied the use of the mails in the previous year. They were represented by Morris Hillquit and Dudley Field Malone, attorneys. The case was heard by Judge Augustus N. Hand. The prosecution was conducted by Assistant District Attorney Earl B. Barnes.

The defense was conducted largely on technical lines. The absence of conspiracy was shown by the character of the magazine, which was made up of the voluntary unpaid contributions of a group of artists and writers who wished to have a "free magazine," also by their efforts to bring the question of their rights into court, through a suit for an injunction restraining the post-office from interfering with its circulation. All the defendants explained their motives on the witness stand, and the summing up for the defense emphasized the necessity of upholding the right of free press.

The judge's charge was explicit upon the free speech aspect of the case. He said: "It is the constitutional right of every citizen to express his opinion about the war or the participation of the United States in it; about the desirability of peace; about the merits or demerits of the system of conscription; and about the moral rights or claims of conscientious objectors to be exempt from conscription.



"It is the constitutional right of the citizen to express such opinions, even though they are opposed to the opinions or policies of the administration; and even though the expression of such opinions may unintentionally or indirectly discourage recruiting or enlistment."

The jury reported their inability to come to an agreement, after being out two days and nights, and were discharged. They were said to have stood 8 to 4 for conviction.

The second trial took place September 30—October 4. The trial judge was Martin Manton, and the defendants this time were represented by Seymour Stedman, Charles Recht, and Walter Nelles. John Reed, just returned from Russia, was also among the defendants. The prosecution and defense were both less technical than in the former trial and it became more than anything else a lively debate on the subject of Socialism and pacifism, with the defendants carrying off all the honors. Max Eastman made a three-hour summing-up in his own behalf, in which he explained eloquently and in detail the anti-militarist and anti-conscription attitude of the Socialists, and defended the St. Louis resolution of the Socialist Party.

"I predict," he said, "that the St. Louis resolution will occupy a place in the soberly written history of these times not without tranquil honor. As a member of the party that adopted it, and as an American citizen who still dares to believe in his rights, I have no hesitation in telling you that I endorsed that resolution. And although subsequently, during last winter and spring when Germany was invading Russia, I passed through a period of extreme doubt, and was almost ready to lay the resolution aside as an expression of abstract principle no longer applicable to the current of affairs, that period of doubt has passed. I think that the Socialists were right in judging this war to be a war to which their general principle of opposition to all international war properly applies. I had no hand in writing the St. Louis resolution, and it contained modes of expression that would not be mine, but as for the principles that it proclaimed with courage in a time of stress, they are my principles."

At the conclusion of this second trial, which lasted a week, the by this time considerably educated jury stood eight to four for acquittal, but were unable to agree upon a verdict.

As a result of these failures to secure a conviction, the indictments were dismissed early in 1919.

FLOYD DELL

## THE EMMA GOLDMAN AND ALEXANDER BERKMAN CASE

Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman were arrested on June 15, 1917, charged by indictment with "conspiracy to induce persons not to register under the Conscription Law." The accused pleaded not guilty, and bail was fixed at \$25,000 each,

which was provided by friends. They were tried before Judge Julius M. Mayer and a jury in the United States District Court in the Southern District of New York. The basis of the charge were articles in *Mother Earth*, published by Emma Goldman, and *The Blast*, published by Alexander Berkman, and speeches they both made at different meetings in New York, held under the auspices of the "No Conscription League."

The Government contended that Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman were in a conspiracy to have young men, subject to the draft, not register. The defendants contended that their speeches and writings were individual acts, similar to what they had expressed against war and conscription and militarism for the past twenty years, that they strongly disapproved of all war and this war, all militarism and all conscription. Emma Goldman refused specifically to tell young men not to register as they would have to bear the brunt of their act and not she, but that everyone should act according to their own conscience. Berkman had taken the same position, as he also was exempt from the draft. Many witnesses testified to that effect. The trial lasted from June 27 to July 7, 1917. There was no proof offered by the Government attorneys that anyone who had heard the defendants speak or who had read their writings had been led thereby not to register for the draft.

During the trial Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman sent this message out: "Tell all friends that we will not waver, that we will not compromise, and that if the worst comes, we shall go to prison in the proud consciousness that we have remained faithful to the spirit of internationalism and to the solidarity of all the people of the world."

The Jury returned a verdict of guilty on July 7. Sentence was immediately imposed on the defendants, the court inflicting the full penalty of the law—two years and \$10,000 fine, Berkman was sent to the United States Penitentiary at Atlanta, Georgia, and Emma Goldman to the State Penitentiary at Jefferson City, Mo. Judge Mayer refused to fix bail pending appeal to the United States Supreme Court, and also refused to allow the defendants a stay of a few days to arrange their business affairs. They were taken straight from the court room to the penitentiary.

A Writ of Error to the United States Supreme Court was allowed by Justice Louis D. Brandeis of the United States Supreme Court, on July 19, 1917, and a supersedeas was granted allowing each defendant out on bail of \$25,000, that being the bail formerly fixed during the trial.

The appeal was based on the ground that there was no evidence before the court that defendants conspired to prevent or induce young men not to register in the draft; that the Conscription Act was unconstitutional and, therefore, there could be no conspiracy to violate it. The grounds of uncon-

stitutionality of the act urged were, that involuntary servitude was prohibited by Section 13, Subdivision 1 of the Amendments to the Constitution; that it gave special privileges to any well recognized religious sects or organizations in violation of Article 1 of the Amendments; that the draft was for the purpose of sending men across seas which Congress had never been given the power to do as shown by the history of our government since its establishment; that conscientious objectors who did not belong to certain churches were compelled to bear arms.

The appeal was argued before the United States Supreme Court on December 13 and 14, 1917, before a full court. Other conscription cases were argued on the same day. The Supreme Court found on January 7, 1918, the Conscription Law constitutional, and affirmed the conviction of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman.<sup>1</sup>

HARRY WEINBERGER.

### THE SILENT DEFENSE AT SACRAMENTO

One of the most interesting cases growing out of the Espionage Act law is the Sacramento, Cal., trial of 46 reputed members of the I. W. W. on the charge of violation and conspiracy to violate the law. 45 of the defendants were men. The immediate occasion of the indictments was the bombing of the mansion of Governor Stephens of California. Among the other alleged overt acts were a telegram sent by the defendants protesting against jail conditions, and the receipt of letters from members of the I. W. W. in jail in Chicago.

From the time of the indictments to the time of the opening of the trial, the officers of the Defense Fund of the I. W. W. in jail in Sacramento were raided six times and each time the secretaries in charge of the Fund were arrested, indicted and added to the defendants. Thus the list of defendants kept growing.

In addition, the indictments were changed four times, each time being increased to include cases of arson occurring since the time of the last change in the indictment; and even those defendants in jail at the time of the alleged arson were held responsible for the crime.

Because of the continued interference on the part of the Government with their defense funds and because they believed that the trial was a mere formality, the conviction having been decided upon before they were brought to trial, 43 defendants decided to ignore the proceedings and to offer no defense whatsoever. They sat through the trial, refusing to answer all questions or to put any witnesses on the stand in their behalf. They also refused to cross-examine the witnesses of the prosecution. Only three of the defendants took full advantage of their legal rights.

<sup>1</sup> Upon completion of serving their sentences, proceedings were started for the deportation of Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman to the country of their origin—Russia.

The prosecution maintained that the defendants conspired among themselves; and the only proof offered was that they were members of the same organization. No attempt was made to show by conversation or documents that any conspiracy had been undertaken.

The defendants were found guilty on January 7, 1919. Eleven of them then broke their rule of silence and took advantage of their rights to make statements before sentence was imposed.

The sentences were excessive in their severity. 26 defendants received sentences of ten years; two were sentenced to five years three to four years two to three years six to two years; five to one year. The three defendants who were represented by counsel were remanded for sentence pending appeal for a new trial.

The attitude of the 43 defendants who went on the silent strike was defiant throughout. They did not ask for mercy. They grimly accepted the verdict as part of the workings of capitalist society.

The men were in jail 15 months from the time of their arrest to the time of their conviction. During this time they were frequently held incommunicado, were given poor food and were treated so badly that five of the original defendants died in jail.

DAVID P. BERENBERG.

## THE PROSECUTION OF SCOTT NEARING

AND

## THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST SOCIETY

(THE RAND SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE)

In the summer of 1917 Scott Nearing wrote and submitted to the Rand School, a pamphlet called, "The Great Madness." This pamphlet was a dramatic and forceful exposition of the familiar point of view that the war was not only due to economic causes but also was deliberately used by interested classes as a buffer against social justice. The Rand School published the pamphlet. It circulated until attacked in the *New York Tribune* by the American Defense Society. A grand jury indictment followed.

The indictment was against Nearing and the Rand School jointly on four counts. Two counts charging conspiracies to cause insubordination in the forces and to obstruct the recruiting and enlistment service, and two counts charging actual commission of these offenses.

The conspiracy charges were so obviously made of whole cloth that they were dismissed by the judge at the trial. The counts charging attempts to cause insubordination and obstruction of recruiting and enlistment were, however, submitted to the jury.

The result was extraordinary. Nearing had conceived the pamphlet and written it, and the Rand School had published it as a matter of course, because he had written it. No one con-

nected with the Rand School had dealt with the subject matter either before or after it was written. Nearing on the stand stood by what he had said; he even took responsibility for various things he had not said.

Nearing was acquitted however. The Rand School was found guilty.

The human explanation of this curious result is simple. Nearing is a person,—a person moreover, of convincing honesty and intelligence. When he said that he wrote what he wrote in order to influence public opinion in the direction of truth, and without reference to the operations of soldiers or military agencies, it was impossible to doubt him. The Rand School is a corporation, not a person, but a thing. Several of the jurors were, undoubtedly, chiefly concerned with the possible inferences as to their own patriotism which might be drawn from their verdict. Those whose judgment was controlled by the conclusion that no crime had been committed, traded votes in favor of convicting the Rand School with those who wanted to show abhorrence of any expressed disbelief in the war by convicting both defendants.

The trial judge refused to set aside the verdict except on one count. He imposed a fine of \$3,000. The Rand School has taken an appeal and will carry the case to the court of last resort.

WALTER NELLES

### THE PROSECUTION OF THE RAND SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

The most persistent and determined attack yet made upon a Socialist and labor educational institution in the United States is that which has centered upon the Rand School of Social Science of New York in the latter part of 1918 and the greater part of 1919.

The first attack upon the school came in the form of an indictment of one of its instructors, Scott Nearing, for writing "The Great Madness," a pamphlet dealing with the economic problems of the war.<sup>1</sup> Following newspaper and platform attacks upon radicals, the Rand School was attacked by a mob of soldiers and sailors in uniform coming from a Mooney protest meeting at Madison Square Garden on the night of November 25, 1918. There it had broken heads and had kicked, beaten and generally maltreated persons who were attending the gathering, which was conducted by Socialist and labor organizations. This mob was dispersed by the police before any considerable damage was done.

Two other minor attacks failed to injure the school or its property. These occurred in midwinter.

<sup>1</sup> See article on The Prosecution of Scott Nearing and the American Socialist Society.

May-Day 1919, with its long hours of riot and disorder, brought again a mob of soldiers and sailors to the Rand School. This mob was streaming up the fire escapes to gain entrance to the locked building when the police arrived. Some of the rioters gained entrance but were dissuaded from disorder by students and instructors who talked with them and explained the functions of the institution.

Rand School authorities charge that the attacks were deliberately provoked by an antagonistic press, by members of the Union League Club, a Republican and social organization, and by organizations formed during the war ostensibly for patriotic purposes, but really, supporters of the school say, to crush labor and radical organizations. Some of the riots, it is charged, were fomented by a former captain of the United States Army, who was reduced "for the good of the service," this action being commonly reported to have been taken at the suggestion of President Wilson. One of the attacks, at least, was led by a Canadian whose means of livelihood was providing strike breakers for large New York concerns.

It is also charged that the same elements which inspired the riots are responsible for the effort by court action to put a stop to the work of the school.

Under a resolution by the Union League Club, the New York State Legislature appointed in the spring of 1919 a joint legislative committee, commonly known as the Lusk Committee. Acting with this committee as associate counsel was Archibald E. Stevenson of the Union League Club, Clarence L. Converse, formerly a private detective for an express company—was its special agent, Charles D. Newton, Attorney General of New York—was ex-officio counsel, acting usually through his deputies, notably Mr. Berger.

Under a search warrant procured from Chief Magistrate William McAdoo, Converse and Stevenson, with a handful of state troopers and fifty-five former members of the disbanded American Protective Society, raided the school on June 21, carrying off books, papers and documents. A number of the raiders carried arms. Later, under another search warrant, representatives of the Lusk Committee returned and drilled open a safe belonging to The Society of the Commonwealth Center, Inc., which owns the People's House in which the school has quarters.

The Lusk Committee then proceeded to make use of the property of the school seized in the raids but refused to admit the public or to allow representatives of the school to testify as to the significance of the books and papers seized. Meanwhile, a strong campaign of propaganda was conducted through the committee's publicity agent and reporters who were admitted to some of the sessions of the body.

Action was begun at once to recover the property of the school.

Attorney Samuel Untermeyer, who announced that he came into the case "without fee to perform a high public duty," was associated with S. John Block and I. M. Sackin, as chief counsel for the school. The defense charged that the search warrants were illegal, that they had been obtained upon false grounds, and that it was unlawful for a magistrate to turn over property thus seized to a legislative committee or anyone else.

Proceedings to annul the charter of the American Socialist Society, which conducts the Rand School, to appoint a receiver and to procure an injunction against the American Socialist Society were begun in the Supreme Court by the Attorney General. These proceedings were dismissed by Justice McAvoy when the attorneys for the school had vainly sought to force the Attorney General to proceed with the trial of the case, in order that they might have the privilege of producing witnesses who would tell in public, under oath, the truth about the school's activities, which, they charged, had been persistently misrepresented by the Lusk Committee, the Attorney General and others.

The Attorney General procured also a special Grand Jury in New York County to act upon the Rand School case. This jury is in session at the present writing. A secret inquiry under the New York "spy act," was also held by the Attorney General in an effort to produce evidence of unlawful radical activities. Finally, there is pending a motion to reopen the charter case dismissed by Justice McAvoy.<sup>1</sup>

While all these proceedings were in progress, the radical and liberal press of the country rallied to the defense of the school and denounced the effort to destroy it.

Minister, teachers, college professors and others interested in education joined the denunciation. Labor bodies of every description rallied to its aid. The Civil Liberties Bureau issued a manifesto in its behalf, signed by a number of prominent public men.

Attorney Untermeyer denounced the action of the Lusk Committee, the Attorney General and their associates as illadvised, lawless, unfounded, farcical, extravagant, outrageous, and dangerous to the peace of the country.

The general basis of the attacks upon the school in and out of court have not yet been officially revealed, as the attorneys for the Lusk Committee refused to give a bill of particulars ordered by the Supreme Court. In a general way, however, the school is charged with advocating the overthrow of the government, sending out anarchists as lecturers, seeking to arouse a rebellion among Negroes, obstructing recruiting during the war, and of making a practice of employing as teachers men and women who have been convicted of violations of the law. It was

<sup>1</sup> This motion was refused and the decision of Justice McAvoy remained in force.

the refusal of the Attorney General to go to trial and prove any of these charges that caused Justice McAvoy to dismiss the action to annul the school's charter.

WILLIAM E. WILLIAMS.

## DEPORTATIONS PURSUANT TO IMMIGRATION LAWS

The Immigration Law of 1917 made several changes in the existing immigration legislation. The literacy test, the deportation of persons affiliated with an organization advocating the destruction of property or of anarchy, and the deportation of persons convicted of a crime involving moral turpitude, that is, incurring the penalty of imprisonment for one year or more, were included in the law. It extended also the Chinese Exclusion Law to certain Asiatic islands where the Oriental population is mixed; and extended and defined also the Chinese interior limits. The main feature was the fact that under the new law it made no difference how long a person was in the United States, if found to be within the barred classes, he could be removed, the important barred class being those found to be anarchists or persons advocating unlawful destruction of property. It is notable that the act was passed over the veto of the President whose chief objection was, however, the literacy test. The act of 1918 corrected a blunder made in the law of 1917. In their apparent haste to penalize "anarchists" and "destructionists," the law of 1917 merely excluded them in one section (section 19) but made it possible to deport them in another (section 3). The act of 1918 aimed to remove the defect and to extend the definition of anarchy.

The Bureau of Immigration in its Annual Report for 1918 reports barely six aliens to have been actually deported; nine to have been arrested and deportations suspended because of inability to transport on account of war conditions, out of a total of 2,614 arrests. And yet the Commissioner of Immigration at Seattle, Washington, reports the issuance of 2,228 warrants of which 1,057 were heard or tried and sixty-one actual deportations ordered and reports further that he arrested 161 members of the I. W. W. organization, which cases were still pending in June of 1918.

Those who are familiar with the enforcement of laws passed to penalize the expression of opinion and belief in certain political or economic tenets, will easily surmise that laws against "anarchists" or people who believe or teach or are "affiliated with an organization which advocates or teaches the unlawful destruction of property" are not quite as narrow in application or as harmless to those who advocate reform as they may seem. The deportation laws are, indeed, what may be termed a new departure in American political life. They are being applied to hinder labor organizations, and they abolish forever the cherished delusion about the rights of political asylum.

The arrests of labor men began about December, 1917, and



January, 1918. The people mainly affected were members of the I. W. W. whose itinerant membership consists of many foreigners. The Northwest was seething with unrest. In the fall of 1916 the shooting of the men of Everett, Washington, and the killing of a deputy sheriff resulted in an indictment of 74 members of the I. W. W. for murder. The trial under the indictment ended May, 1917, and resulted in an acquittal. But the unrest continued. Strikes were spreading and arrests under deportation warrants were ordered. Of the 161 men and women arrested, over 50 were held from December, 1917, and January, 1918, until October, 1918, when the new law which applied to their cases was passed. They were then technically re-arrested on new warrants and their incarceration continued until the end of the year and later. Some of the men had been in the United States more than thirty years, while others were American born. The law vests in the Immigration Inspector the right to conclusively decide questions of birth, of guilt, or innocence of an anarchist or the membership in an organization teaching or advocating property destruction, and also to define what constitutes anarchy. In New York City the Chinese workers in chop suey restaurants organized a union and struck on New Year's eve in 1918-1919. The leaders were arrested for deportation. The official estimates for the prospective deportations for 1919 were 6,000.<sup>1</sup> CHARLES RECHT.

## WAR STATISTICS

### CASUALTIES OF THE WAR

It is difficult to present accurate figures as to the total casualties of the war. Many soldiers originally reported as missing are later found to have been killed or captured, many are wounded more than once, and many killed were previously included in the wounded column. The following figures however, are compiled from official reports of many of the belligerents, with the figures for the other belligerents obtained by using the ratio of total casualties to deaths obtaining among these official reports:

ENTENTE ALLIES			Total
	Dead	Wounded	Casualties
Russia .....	1,700,000	3,500,000	7,500,000
France .....	1,366,200	3,000,000	5,000,000
British Empire .....	900,000	2,800,000	4,200,000
Italy .....	462,000	950,000	2,700,000
Servia. Montenegro .....	125,000	290,000	575,000
Belgium .....	102,000	235,000	450,000
Rumania .....	100,000	230,000	440,000
United States .....	49,000	230,000	286,000
Greece .....	7,000	16,000	30,000
Portugal .....	2,000	4,000	7,000
	4,813,000	11,255,000	21,188,000

<sup>1</sup> December 21, 1919. 249 Russian aliens including Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman, the latter claiming to have been a citizen of the United States through marriage, were deported to Russia, under the provision of the Immigration laws as "undesirables."

## CENTRAL POWERS

Germany .....	1,620,000	3,700,000	6,000,000
Austria-Hungary .....	800,000	2,000,000	4,100,000
Turkey .....	250,000	575,000	800,000
Bulgaria .....	100,000	400,000	700,000
<b>TOTAL</b> .....	<b>2,770,000</b>	<b>6,675,000</b>	<b>11,600,000</b>
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b> .....	<b>7,583,000</b>	<b>17,930,000</b>	<b>32,788,000</b>

## COST OF THE WAR

The following figures show the cost of the war to the spring of 1919 almost half a year after the cessation of hostilities. Naturally, the expenses of the Great War will continue for many years after the final ratification of the peace treaties.

## ENTENTE ALLIES

British Empire .....	\$38,000,000,000
France .....	26,000,000,000
United States .....	22,000,000,000
Russia .....	18,000,000,000
Italy .....	13,000,000,000
Other Entente Allies .....	6,000,000,000
<b>TOTAL</b> .....	<b>\$123,000,000,000</b>

## CENTRAL POWERS

Germany .....	\$39,000,000,000
Austria-Hungary .....	21,000,000,000
Turkey and Bulgaria.....	3,000,000,000
<b>TOTAL</b> .....	<b>\$63,000,000,000</b>
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b> .....	<b>\$186,000,000,000</b>

## WAR DEBTS

The following table shows the pre-war and post-war national debts of the belligerent nations.

	<i>Before the War</i>	<i>After the War</i>
Germany .....	\$1,200,000,000	\$39,000,000,000
United Kingdom .....	3,500,000,000	34,000,000,000
France .....	6,600,000,000	27,000,000,000
United States .....	1,300,000,000	24,000,000,000
Austria-Hungary .....	4,000,000,000	23,000,000,000
Italy .....	2,900,000,000	11,000,000,000
Russia .....	5,100,000,000	25,000,000,000
<b>TOTAL</b> .....	<b>\$24,600,000,000</b>	<b>\$183,000,000,000</b>

## AMERICAN SHIPPING BUILT DURING HOSTILITIES

Between April 6, 1917, and November 11, 1918, 2,985 ships were built in United States shipbuilding plants. The total tonnage represented was 3,091,695 gross, an average of 1,035 gross tons each. Of the total built, 506 were ocean-going steel vessels, aggregating 2,056,814 tons, an average of slightly more than 4,000 gross tons each. Ocean-going wooden vessels, aggregated 403, with a gross tonnage of 753,156.

Month by month the number of ships built in the United States was as follows:

		SEAGOING				—NON— SEAGOING		—GRAND— TOTAL		
		Steel	Wood		Total	Gross		Gross		
Months	No.	Gross Tons	No.	Gross Tons	No.	Gross Tons	No.	Gross Tons	No.	Gross Tons
1917										
April	7	34,364	9	17,233	16	51,597	123	9,201	139	60,798
May	11	36,086	19	33,004	30	69,090	162	22,137	192	91,227
June	22	97,908	9	31,216	31	129,124	196	22,877	227	152,001
July	14	54,891	7	14,113	21	69,004	184	20,148	205	89,152
August	9	46,716	14	12,155	23	58,871	152	27,171	175	86,042
Sept.	9	35,073	12	12,513	21	47,586	80	28,999	101	76,585
Oct.	13	44,420	22	35,879	35	80,299	87	10,386	122	90,685
Nov.	19	50,660	11	10,872	30	61,532	87	15,736	117	77,268
Dec.	17	85,917	16	20,611	33	106,528	52	16,053	85	122,581
1918										
Jan.	12	53,748	6	6,468	18	60,216	39	4,579	57	64,795
Feb.	17	94,242	14	17,874	31	112,116	53	5,485	84	117,601
March	29	115,040	12	28,776	41	135,816	97	11,329	138	147,145
April	31	130,637	15	21,017	46	151,654	119	11,396	165	163,050
May <sup>1</sup>	40	157,598	13	16,453	53	174,051	132	20,413	185	194,464
June	42	163,034	16	26,985	58	190,019	130	11,406	188	201,425
July <sup>2</sup>	37	146,981	38	72,727	75	219,708	118	10,223	193	229,931
August	49	191,102	39	91,997	88	283,099	89	12,750	177	295,849
Sept.	46	177,765	54	123,668	100	301,433	70	7,037	170	308,470
Oct.	57	228,203	53	117,165	110	345,368	91	12,164	201	357,532
Nov. 1 to										
Nov. 11..	25	112,429	24	50,430	49	162,859	15	2,235	64	165,094

G'd. T'l. 506 2,056,814 403 758,156 909 2,809,970 2,076 281,725 2,985 3,091,695

<sup>1</sup> Includes 1 cement vessel of 3,427 gross tons.

<sup>2</sup> Includes 1 cement vessel of 325 gross tons.

### AMERICA FEEDS THE WORLD

In connection with the war, it is of vital interest to understand to how enormous an extent the world throughout the period of the war was dependent upon the food products of America. The following figures of our food exports acquire great significance:

	Three Years pre-war average	Fiscal Year 1916-17	Fiscal Year 1917-18	July-Sept. 1917	July-Sept. 1918
Beef, lbs.	186,375,372	405,427,417	565,462,445	93,962,477	171,986,147
Pork, lbs.	996,230,627	1,498,302,713	1,691,437,435	196,256,750	540,946,324
Dairy prod- ucts, lbs.	26,037,790	351,958,336	590,798,274	130,071,165	161,245,029
Vegetable oils, lbs.	332,430,537	206,708,490	151,029,893	27,710,553	26,026,701
Grains, bu.	183,777,331	395,140,238	349,123,235	66,383,084	121,668,823
Sugar, lbs.	621,745,507	3,084,390,281	2,149,787,050	1,108,559,519	1,065,398,247

In connection with the grain exports of 1917-18, it must be remembered that the wheat crop of the year was more than 200,000 bushels below the average.

### EXPENDITURES

For the 25 months from April 1, 1917 to May 1, 1919, the Treasury disbursements of the United States were \$23,363,000,000. Charging \$2,069,000,000 as normal peace expenses, the direct cost of the war to the United States for 25 months may be placed at \$21,294,000,000. In addition, there was loaned to our Allies the sum of \$8,850,000,000. Of the total war expenditure, there

was expended on the Army \$14,244,061,000. The daily cost of the war to the United States at different periods was as follows:

May 15, 1917.....	\$ 2,000,000
February 1, 1918.....	22,500,000
January 1, 1919.....	44,700,000

The total cost of the war to the United States averaged well above \$1,000,000 an hour for more than two years.

#### SUPPLIES

An idea of the vast extent of the supplies needed by the American Army may be gleaned from the following list of the clothing furnished our soldiers in the less than fourteen months from April 6, 1917, to June 1, 1918.

Wool stockings, pairs.....	131,800,000
Undershirts .....	85,000,000
Underdrawers .....	83,600,000
Shoes, pairs .....	30,700,000
Flannel shirts .....	26,500,000
Blankets .....	21,700,000
Wool breeches .....	21,700,000
Wool coats .....	18,900,000
Overcoats .....	8,300,000

In the year 1918, the American Army purchased 18,000,000 blankets, whereas in the year 1914 the entire American production of blankets amounted to only 8,000,000.

BERTRAM BENEDICT.

#### PHYSICAL FITNESS IN THE UNITED STATES

The draft figures published by the Provost Marshal General <sup>1</sup> throw some interesting light upon the standards of physical fitness in the United States.

A Medical Division was organized in the office of the Provost Marshal General. The functions of this division were to co-ordinate the medical activities associated with the selective service, and to render authoritative decisions upon technical points related to physical standards and medical examinations. Each Local Board had an examining physician. In most cases this physician was a member of the Board. Frequently a staff of physicians was employed to assist in the work of examination. In some cases the services of volunteer physicians were utilized.

Some difficulty was encountered in establishing a uniform standard of physical examination. The published figures are subject to a percentage of error corresponding with these variations in standards of physical fitness. On the whole they tended probably to correct one another, since the returns were made from 155 District Boards and 4,648 Local Boards. Many soldiers accepted by the Local and District Boards were disqualified after physical examination at the Camps.

Soon after the work of the Boards began, the physical standards were lowered. The physical standards adopted at first

<sup>1</sup> Second Report of the Provost Marshal General to the Secretary of War, Washington, 1919.

were based on those used by the Army under the volunteer system, though they differed in some particulars. It was soon found that these standards were too severe. In time of peace, when the supply of volunteers ordinarily exceeds the demand, a high physical standard may be exacted. When a necessity exists for great numbers, many minor physical defects must perforce be waived in order to secure the requisite man-power.

"At the time of our entrance into the world war the minimum height for the United States Army was 5 feet 4 inches. In order to include many thousands of vigorous individuals who were physically competent for military duty, this minimum was from time to time lowered after April, 1917, until it reached 5 feet." The final weight requirement was placed at 110 pounds. Registrants of less weight were rejected.

The registrants who were examined by the Local Boards were divided into four classes as follows:

a. Registrants who on examination are found to present conditions which fall within the proper standards shall be unconditionally accepted for general military service.

b. Registrants who on examination are found to suffer from remediable defects which fall within the proper standards may be accepted for general military service in the deferred remediable group.

c. Registrants who on examination are found to present defects which fall within the proper standards may be accepted for special or limited military service.

d. Registrants who on examination are found to present defects which fall within the proper standards shall be unconditionally rejected for all military service.

The results of this classification into Groups according to physical fitness appears in Table 1:

TABLE I.—PHYSICAL GROUPS COMPARED

	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per cent of registrants</i>	<i>Per cent of examined</i>
Total registrants Dec. 15, 1917 to Sept. 11, 1918, due to be classified..	9,952,735	100.00	.....
Not examined physically.....	6,744,289	67.76	.....
Examined physically, Dec. 15, 1917	3,208,446	32.24	100.00
Fully Qualified (Group A).....	2,259,027	.....	70.41
Disqualified partly or totally.....	949,149	.....	29.59
Placed in Group B.....	88,436	.....	2.76
Placed in Group C.....	339,377	.....	10.58
Placed in Group D.....	521,606	.....	16.25

The total number of registrants examined was about 3 million and a quarter. Of these 70 per cent were fully qualified and classed in Group A. One-sixth were completely disqualified and placed in group D—the remaining one-eighth went almost entirely into Group C, which was assigned to some special service. These figures show that less than three-fourths of the men called for physical examination were able to qualify on comparatively low standards. The number of men wholly disqualified exceeded half a million.

The difficulties which resulted in the disqualification of these men were organic. Diseases of the internal organs; marked visual or aural defects; mental diseases and deficiencies; muscular

paralyses; disfiguring or disabling deformities; physical underdevelopment, were widely encountered.

The report states further "that the examinations by local boards were too liberal, that many more men should have been rejected into Group D—might seem to be the inference from the percentage of subsequent rejections at camp of men accepted by the boards."

Of the 2,124,293 men placed in Groups A and C by local boards and sent to camp, 8.1 per cent (172,000) were rejected by the camp surgeons. This would make the total number of rejections by both local boards and camp surgeons 693,606 (obvious defects accounted for over 50 per cent of camp rejections).

The relative physical standards of city and country boys appears in Table II:

TABLE II.—RURAL AND URBAN PHYSICAL REJECTIONS

	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per cent of Examined</i>
Total examined in 100 selected urban and rural regions	200,000	.....
Rejected in 100 selected urban and rural regions....	38,569	19.28
Examined in urban regions.....	100,000	.....
Rejected in urban regions.....	21,675	21.68
Examined in rural regions.....	100,000	.....
Rejected in rural regions.....	16,894	16.89

Urban boards were in the cities of New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Milwaukee, Seattle, St. Louis, Cincinnati, and New Orleans. Rural states used only boards having less than 1,200 registrants in June 5, 1917, registration.

The total percentage of rejection for both groups is under 20 per cent. The percentage of rejection for urban regions is 21—for rural regions, 16. From these figures it would appear that physical defect is one-third more prevalent in the city than in the country populations.

TABLE III. COLORED AND WHITE PHYSICAL REJECTIONS COMPARED

	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per cent Examined</i>	<i>Per cent partial dis- qualifications</i>
Total, colored and white, examined			
Dec. 15, 1917, to Sept. 11, 1918....	3,208,446	100.00	.....
Total—Colored Examined .....	458,838	100.00	.....
Group A .....	342,277	74.60	.....
Disqualified partly or totally.....	116,561	.....	100.00
Group B .....	9,605	2.09	8.24
Group C .....	27,474	5.99	23.57
Group D .....	79,482	17.32	68.19
Total White Examined .....	2,749,608	100.00	.....
Group A .....	1,916,750	69.71	.....
Disqualified partly or totally.....	832,858	.....	100.00
Group B .....	78,831	2.87	9.47
Group C .....	311,903	11.34	37.45
Group D .....	442,124	16.08	53.08

The percentage of colored men going into Class D is only slightly higher than the percentage of white men placed in the same class. These figures would indicate that the white and

colored men examined had a relatively equal standard of physical fitness.

Something can be said of the difference between the physical standard of foreign-born and native-born persons. The figures upon which this table is based were assembled from local boards in dominant alien wards of the cities of New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Cleveland, Milwaukee, and Cincinnati. Then some examinations were assembled from other than city boards in the States of Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, and Ohio. The total number of registrations was 600,000.

TABLE IV. PHYSICAL REJECTIONS IN ALIEN AND NATIVE COMMUNITIES COMPARED

	<i>Per cent</i> <i>Number of Examined</i>	
Total number of records of examination compared in dominant alien and native communities.....	184,854	.....
Rejected (Group D) .....	28 184	15.25
Total compared, alien communities.....	84,723	.....
Rejected (Group D) .....	14,525	17.14
Total compared, native communities.....	100,131	.....
Rejected (Group D) .....	13,659	13.64

The rejections in alien communities amounted to 17 per cent; those in native communities to 13½ per cent. These figures were derived by comparing boards composed of natives and aliens. In view of the figures appearing in Table II, no sharp conclusion can be drawn with regard to the relative physical fitness of native and foreign born.

TABLE V—URBAN DISTRICTS

<i>Disqualifying defects</i>	<i>Average</i>	<i>Md.</i>	<i>Mass.</i>	<i>Ill.</i>	<i>Ohio</i>	<i>N. Y.</i>	<i>E. Pa.</i>	<i>W. Pa.</i>
TOTAL .....	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Alcohol and Drugs .....	1.9	1.0	2.3	1.8	1.0	2.3	1.9	0.3
Bones and Joints.....	8.9	15.2	7.4	8.9	12.6	8.1	9.1	11.2
Developmental .....	9.7	3.6	16.7	4.2	16.2	10.4	14.7	6.7
Digestive System .....	.2	.3	.2	.4	.3	.2	.2	.4
Ears .....	5.8	7.5	4.0	4.0	3.1	5.7	8.6	8.7
Eyes .....	10.9	14.3	5.4	8.7	5.1	13.6	9.1	10.8
Flat Foot .....	9.3	9.3	9.7	8.0	8.1	10.6	6.3	7.6
Genito-urinary (venereal)...	1.4	1.6	.4	3.3	1.1	.9	1.0	1.7
Genito-urinary (non-venereal).....	1.2	.7	1.4	1.5	.9	1.3	1.1	
Heart and Blood Vessels...	8.9	10.4	11.3	7.1	7.7	7.9	10.7	13.1
Hernia .....	10.1	7.8	8.2	9.2	10.0	10.4	9.1	12.3
Mental Deficiency .....	1.5	2.7	1.8	2.0	1.5	1.1	1.8	1.2
Nervous and Mental Disorders .....	4.6	4.7	2.9	5.2	5.0	4.8	3.7	4.1
Respiratory (tuberculous)...	5.6	9.8	4.3	5.3	3.5	4.9	5.7	4.3
Respiratory (non-tuberculous) .....	1.8	2.1	.6	1.1	2.3	1.3	2.6	4.7
Skin .....	.1	.0	.1	.2	.0	.2	.1	.2
Teeth .....	5.9	2.2	14.6	3.9	7.3	6.8	3.9	6.5
Thyroid .....	2.0	.6	.1	2.9	2.7	1.2	2.1	2.2
Tuberculosis (non-respiratory).....	.1	.0	.0	.2	.4	.2	.1	.1
Other Defects .....	.7	1.0	.5	.4	.2	1.0	.5	.3
Defects not stated.....	9.2	5.0	8.3	21.5	11.1	7.1	7.9	3.0

TABLE Va—RURAL DISTRICTS

<i>Disqualifying defects</i>	<i>Average</i>	<i>Md.</i>	<i>Mass.</i>	<i>Ill.</i>	<i>Ohio</i>	<i>N. Y.</i>	<i>E. Pa.</i>	<i>W. Pa.</i>
TOTAL .....	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Alcohol and Drugs .....	0.6	0.2	0.6	1.1	0.9	0.8	0.1	0.1
Bones and Joints.....	10.9	14.5	6.5	11.3	12.6	9.4	12.1	13.8
Developmental .....	6.3	1.4	14.3	6.6	9.0	8.2	5.0	2.9
Digestive System .....	.3	.3	.2	.4	.2	.2	.4	.3
Ears .....	4.4	6.4	3.8	3.3	2.5	3.8	7.7	5.7
Eyes .....	9.0	11.4	4.4	9.2	5.7	8.8	9.9	9.3
Flat Foot .....	7.4	8.3	9.1	8.3	5.2	9.0	4.9	4.4
Genito-urinary (venereal)...	1.1	1.2	.7	1.8	.6	1.1	.6	.6
Genito-urinary (non-venereal).....	1.5	1.6	2.5	1.3	.4	2.1	1.1	1.0
Heart and Blood Vessels....	10.4	10.1	12.1	9.1	6.1	7.4	14.9	15.3
Hernia .....	9.6	9.0	9.5	11.8	10.4	0.2	7.5	8.5
Mental Deficiency .....	3.9	11.7	3.5	3.4	2.4	1.9	5.6	2.9
Nervous and Mental Disorders .....	4.2	5.1	2.0	4.7	4.9	4.2	2.9	4.8
Respiratory (tuberculous)....	5.3	6.2	4.0	6.4	4.7	3.1	4.9	3.9
Respiratory (non-tuberculous) .....	2.4	3.9	2.5	1.4	3.9	1.3	4.1	3.9
Skin .....	.2	.....	.....	.3	.1	.2	.1	.1
Teeth .....	6.7	3.9	10.2	4.8	8.1	7.2	8.6	8.1
Thyroid .....	3.4	2.8	.4	3.1	4.9	2.1	5.0	5.2
Tuberculous (non-respiratory) .....	.1	.2	.....	.1	.....	.1	.1	.1
Other Defects .....	.5	.6	.9	.8	.2	.6	.3	.4
Defects not stated.....	11.9	1.2	12.7	10.9	17.2	19.2	4.3	8.6

TABLE VI—NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF PERSONS REJECTED BY LOCAL BOARDS AND CAMP SURGEONS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO THE CAUSE OF REJECTION

<i>Cause of Rejection</i>	<i>Number Rejected</i>	<i>Per cent of Rejections</i>
TOTAL .....	467,694	100
Alcohol and Drugs.....	2,007	0.4
Bones and Joints.....	57,774	12.3
Developmental Defects .....	39,166	8.4
Digestive System .....	2,476	0.5
Ears .....	20,465	4.4
Eyes .....	49,801	10.6
Flat Foot .....	18,087	3.8
Genito-urinary (venereal) .....	6,235	1.3
Genito-urinary (non-venereal) .....	6,309	1.3
Heart and Blood Vessels.....	61,142	13.1
Hernia .....	28,268	6.0
Mental Deficiency .....	24,514	5.2
Nervous and Mental Diseases.....	23,728	5.1
Respiratory (tuberculous) .....	40,533	8.7
Respiratory (non-tuberculous) .....	7,823	1.7
Skin .....	12,519	2.7
Teeth .....	14,793	3.1
Thyroid .....	8,215	1.8
Tuberculosis (non-respiratory) .....	4,136	0.9
Other Defects .....	14,314	3.1
Defects not stated.....	25,419	5.4

SCOTT NEARING.

## UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING

Although the propagandists for compulsory military training in the United States were very active during the war, they



succeeded only once in bringing the question to a vote in Congress and on that occasion they suffered a signal defeat. On March 26 and 29, 1918, the jingoes attempted to attach to a war measure a "rider" authorizing the President to begin the establishment of a system of universal military training whenever he saw fit. It was purposely made very loose but, in spite of that fact, was rejected in the Senate by a vote of 36 to 26. The Democrats voted, for the most part, against it and the Republicans for it, but the line-up was far from partisan.

When its advocates saw its fate in the Senate, they abandoned all idea of pushing the measure in the lower House although continuing their press propaganda up to the signing of the armistice in November.

### THE OUTLOOK IN 1919

The advocates of compulsory training began to feel more cheerful with the organization, on May 19, 1919, of the Sixty-sixth Congress. The Republicans had a strong, workable majority in the House and a couple of votes to spare in the Senate, completely re-organizing the committees in both bodies. Any legislation regarding a "permanent military policy" for the United States will have to be framed up or passed upon by committees which, to judge from their personnel, are strongly inclined toward the adoption of universal training.

The plans of the proponents of compulsory training include a sweeping investigation of the entire military establishment from top to bottom, the ventilation of all grievances, much discussion of the evils of the court martial system, the caste system, the lack of vocational training, and matters of that sort. Everything will be uncovered, with the idea that the returned soldiers who are now the bulwark of the opposition to universal training, may be lulled, like good average Americans, into the conviction that the whole system is being reformed from top to bottom. This accomplished, the advocates of compulsory training will press for the adoption of bills providing, probably for a very mild degree of training, perhaps only three months for every boy of 19. But if they can establish the *principle* of compulsory training, if they can habituate us to the idea, they can in subsequent years, bring the training period up to two years which is the goal, frankly avowed, of the Army War College of the General Staff in its "Memorandum of a Proper Military Policy for the United States" of 1916.

### THE SWISS SYSTEM

Although the advocates of compulsory military training in this country have talked a great deal about the "Swiss System" and have declared repeatedly that all they wanted to see adopted here was some form or other of the "Swiss system," the fact remains that with all their talk, not a single bill has been introduced into either the Sixty-fourth, the Sixty-fifth, or the Sixty-sixth Congress, providing for a Swiss system here. Each and

every one of those bills—the first Chamberlain bill, the second Chamberlain bill, the Moseley bill, the Army War College bill, the New Bill and the Kahn bill—is modeled upon the Prussian system.

The Swiss system differs from the Prussian system very much as our National Guard differs from the Regular Army. To give us a training system modeled after the "Swiss System," they would have to offer a military training system financed and more or less jealously controlled by the several cantons or states, one in which the training is mild and given in the neighborhood of one's home, under officers who reside in the neighborhood, and who are more or less under neighborhood obligation to be decent and civil to their men, in which the emphasis is upon citizenship rather than upon soldiering as exhibited, for example, by the Swiss insistence upon the right of the citizen to take his gun home with him and keep it as a symbol of his role of militiaman. Our own Federal Constitution used to have a provision in it on this very point, something to the effect that the right of people to keep and bear arms was not to be infringed. The provision may still be in there but the propertied class in America has long ago rendered it a dead letter.

But the bills thus far introduced in Congress providing for universal military training are all Prussian in their system of inducting the youth into a highly centralized military system, removing him from home and civilian influence to a camp where civil rights cease to run and only the whim of the court-martial prevails, under a caste system frankly acknowledged by army officers though more or less denied by politicians, under a training based on the Prussian textbooks and the Prussian philosophy of the State.

#### THE CASTE SYSTEM IN THE ARMY

That there is a caste system in the American Army, Secretary of War Baker denies, but one need only submit the following piece of evidence. It is an official notice posted at Camp MacArthur near Waco, Texas:

Headquarters, Camp MacArthur, Waco, Tex., January 6, 1919,  
General Order No. 1.

1. The attention of officers of this command is called to the impropriety of attending social affairs at which enlisted men, or persons in the uniform of enlisted men are present.

Hereafter any officer of this command who finds enlisted men present with proper authority, *i. e.*, duly invited or permitted to pay their way in, at any social affair at which the officer is a guest, such officer will at once depart from such social affair, and if he finds persons in the uniform of enlisted men permitted to be present he will take the same action.

When an officer finds enlisted men present at any social affair without proper authority, he will take such steps as the occasion may warrant to cause them to leave, and will report any violation of regulations which may occur.

By command of Major-General Buck.

W. H. WOOLWORTH,  
*Major, Infantry, United States Army*  
*Acting Executive Officer.*

Official:

E. E. LAMBERT,  
*Major, Adjutant General's Department, Adjutant*

## THE COURT-MARTIAL SYSTEM

The fight between Colonel Samuel T. Ansell, acting Judge Advocate General during the war, and General Enoch R. Crowder, Judge Advocate General regarding the reform of the court martial system in the Army has revealed a great deal of the Prussian militarism in our Army. Colonel Ansell, demoted from his brigadier-generalship by Secretary of War Newton D. Baker for daring to assail the existing court-martial system in the American Army, has had the human satisfaction of watching Secretary Baker crawl a long, long way in retribution. So great was the public outcry at the sentences imposed by the court-martial upon enlisted men during the war, that the Secretary of War was compelled to appoint a revision board which has greatly reduced an immense proportion of the sentences and in some cases procured the discharge of the men. But the Regular Army is greatly worried over Colonel Ansell's recommendations for reform of the system and is making a stubborn fight in Congress.

CHARLES T. HALLINAN,

*Secretary, American Union Against Militarism.*

## AMERICAN "PATRIOTIC" SOCIETIES

The objects of the "patriotic" societies before, during and after the war, the industrial affiliations of whose members is described below, may be summarized as follows:

Peace with victory and victors' terms imposed upon the defeated nations.

A large standing army and a big navy.

Compulsory and universal military training.

Military instruction and training in schools.

Encouragement of repressive measures against the exercise of freedom of speech, press and assemblage.

Aid in hunting out radicals in schools and other public institutions.

Participation in election campaigns directed against Socialist and anti-militarist candidates for public office.

Promotion and general interest in reactionary and imperialist designs of corporate wealth.

## NATIONAL SECURITY LEAGUE

Elihu Root, v.p. and dir. Carnegie Corporation of New York.

Alton B. Parker, dir. Batopilas Mining Co. and Equitable Life Insurance Society.

Charles E. Lydecker, active practice of law, corporation work.

George Wharton Pepper, lawyer.

Myron T. Herrick, dir. Cleveland Hardware Company; Degnon Realty and Terminal Improvement Co., Erie Railroad Co., Herrick Parmelee Co., National Surety Co., New York Life Insurance Co., and v.p. and dir. of Degnon Contracting Co., pres. Cleveland Society for Savings.

Lawrence F. Abbott, pres. and dir. Outlook Company; dir. Valentine & Company.

Alexander J. Hemphill, Chairman Board of Directors of Guaranty Trust Co.; member Board of Managers Adams Express Company; trustee American Surety Company; dir. of: Appraisals Corporation; Audit Company or

New York; California Railway and Power Company; Electric Bond and Share Company; Fidelity and Casualty Company of N. Y.; Guaranty Safe Deposit Company; Hudson and Manhattan Railroad Company; Interborough Consolidated Corporation; Interborough Rapid Transit Company; Mechanic Trust Co.; Missouri Pacific Railway Co.; New York Dock Company; Richmond Light and R. R. Co.; St. Louis and Southern Railway Co.; St. Louis, South Western Railway Co.; Securities Corp.; General Southern Cotton Oil Co.; United Gas and Electric Corp.; United Gas and Electric Engineering Corp.; United Railways Investment Co.; U. S. Safe Deposit Co.; Utah Securities Corp.; Volier Montana Land and Water Co.; Virginia Carolina Chemical Co.; Wachovia Bank and Trust Co.

Herbert Barry, lawyer; counsel for Mutual Life and Guaranty Trust Co.; Knickerbocker Trust Co.; Manhattan Railway.

Franklin Q. Brown, of the firm of Redmond & Co.; dir. of: American Beet Sugar Co.; American Light and Traction Co.; Columbia Railway; Gas and Electric Corp.; Columbia Trust Co.; Electric Properties Corp.; J. G. White & Co.; J. G. White Engineering Corp.; Lima Locomotive Works; Pere Marquette Railway Company; pres. of Augusta-Aikon Railway and Elec. Corporation; Augusta-Southern R. R. Co.; Dobbs Ferry Bank; and chairman of Exec. Comm. of National Surety Co.

H. B. Harris, dir. of American-Russian Chamber of Commerce and Haitian American Corporation.

John G. Agar, of firm Agar, Ely & Fulton; presl. and dir. Castner Electrolytic Alkali Co.; Wawbeets Land Co.; trustee Mutual Life Insurance Company.

George M. Brown, pres. Ga. Savings Bank and Trust Company; pres. Joseph E. Brown Company; pres. Miller Union Stock Yards; pres. Excelsior Laundry Company; Grisham Investment Company; dir. Silver Lake Park Company; Miller Real Estate and Investment Company.

Frederick R. Coudert, firm Coudert Brothers; director of: Chapultepec Land Improvement Company; Federation of French Alliances in U. S.; Garden City Company; National Surety Company; and trustee of Equitable Trust Co.; Lincoln Safe Deposit Co.; and Columbia University. Atty. for several foreign governments.

D. J. Haff, general counsel Nacozari R. R. Co.; Mexican Moctezuma Copper Co.; Cananea Cons. Copper Company; Lucky Tiger Comb. Gold Mining Company; dir. and atty. Kansas City, Mexico and Orient R. R. Co.; dir. Commerce Trust Company.

Cyrus H. McCormick, McCormick Harvesting Machine Co.; pres. International Harvester Company; dir. C. & N. W. Ry. Co.; Merchants Loan and Trust Company; National City Bank.

Stanwood S. Menken, firm Beckman, Menken and Griscom; dir. Devoe & Reynolds; Loft, Inc., Corp., and Richard E. Thibaut, Inc.

R. Walton Moore, v.-p. National Bank of Fairfax, Va.

Herbert Myrick, pres., mgr. and dir. of Orange Judd Co.; pres. edit., manager and director of Phelps Publishing Co.

Charles D. Orth, Hanson & Orth; dir. National Rosin Oil and Size Co., and Penn. and Delaware Oil Co.

John M. Parker, cotton business, New Orleans; pres. Jno. M. Parker Co.; Member New Orleans Board of Trade; New Orleans Cotton Exchange.

Lewis B. Stillwell, pres. & dir. Skyland Hosiery Co.

F. S. Streeter, lawyer; director Page Belting Co.; First National Bank; Manchester Traction Co., and other corporations.

Augustus Hugo Vogel, Merchants Exchange Bank, Milwaukee; general manager Pfister and Vogel Leather Company; member Board of Directors, Federal Reserve Bank; v.-p. Savings and Inv. Ass'n; Western Leather Company; Eagle Tanning Works; Ottawa Leather Company.

G. Creighton Webb, dir. Apollinaris Agency Co.

Wm. H. Wiley, pres. and dir. John Wiley & Sons.

Among the large contributors to the League are:<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From *Investigation of National Security League*, 65th Congress, 3rd Session, Report No. 1173, pp. 4-5.

Nicholas F. Brady, dir. in 50 large corporations, many of them making excessive profits on account of the war. Example: dir. United States Rubber Co.; excess war profits, \$5,494,531.....	\$4,500.00
William P. Clyde, dir. in many railroads and other large corporations .....	1,250.00
Arthur Curtis James, dir. in 42 corporations, many of them manufacturing war munitions; v.-p. and dir. of Phelps, Dodge Co.; excess over pre-war profits, \$14,531,864.....	29,750.00
Ridley Watts, dir. in many large corporations.....	15,000.00
Joseph H. Choate, deceased, formerly ambassador to England; trustee New York Life Insurance Co.....	4,750.00
Mortimer L. and Jacob H. Schiff, of the firm of Kuhn, Loeb & Co.; connection well known. Dir. in the Wells Fargo Co.; Western Union Telegraph Co.; Union Pacific Railroad Co., and many other railroad and navigation companies.....	3,250.00
Emerson McQuillan, dir. 14 large corporations.....	4,250.00
George W. Perkins, dir. United States Steel Corp.; International Harvester Co.; International Mercantile Marine Co.; New York Trust Co., and eight other large corporations, including the Erie Railroad and other railroads.....	750.00
H. H. Rogers, dir. Standard Oil Co.; Amalgamated Copper Co.; United Metals Co., and many other large corporations making excessive profits during the war.....	1,000.00
W. K. Vanderbilt, dir. of 38 large corporations, and with his brother director of more railroads than any other capitalist....	250.00
P. W. Vanderbilt, dir. with his brother in 38 large corporations.....	750.00
Clarence H. Mackay, dir. of Postal Telegraph and Cable Company; pres. of Commercial Cable Co.; the North American Telegraph Co., and many other large corporations.....	1,000.00
Eversley Childs and William Hamlin Childs, dir. United States Leather Co.; Union Tannery Co.; Central Leather Co.; Argentine Central Leather Co.; and many other large corporations. The Central Leather Co. alone making excessive profits over normal profits of \$12,016,397.....	7,500.00
B. M. Baruch, whose former financial connections are well known....	6,500.00
James B. Ford, dir. in 14 large corporations; dir. in the United States Rubber Co., whose excessive profits over normal profits were over five and one-half million dollars in a single year; dir. in the United States Tire Co.; and many war profiting corporations .....	1,000.00
Simon, Murray and Daniel Guggenheim, dirs. and controllers in American Smelting Securities Co.; American Smelting and Refining Co.; Chile Copper Co.; and many other large corporations making excessive profits from the war; dir. in American Smelting and Refining Co., whose excessive profits over normal profits amounted to \$12,258,082, or more than double..	3,750.00
T. Coleman Dupont, pres. of E. I. DuPont de Nemours Powder Co.; 1902-05, pres. of Central Coal and Iron Co.; McHenry Coal Co.; Union National Bank; National Surety Co.; Empire Trust Co., and many other large corporations.....	9,000.00
Charles Deering, dir. International Harvester Co. and many other large corporations .....	1,550.00
J. P. Morgan, dir. U. S. Steel Corporation, whose net profits in 1917 were \$478,204,343 as against \$46,520,467 in 1914; also dir. of many railroad companies and insurance companies.....	2,300.00
American Exporters & Importers' Association, New York.....	2,000.00
John D. Rockefeller, Mr. Rockefeller's large financial connections are too well known to enumerate.....	35,000.00
Carnegie Corporation, holdings in United States Steel Corporation; income over \$6,000,000 per year.....	100,000.00
Anna B., William H., and Mrs. William H. Bliss.....	2,500.00
Henry C. Frick, dir. U. S. Steel Corporation; Chicago & North Western Ry. Co.; Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe R. R.; Mellon National Bank, and many other large corporations.....	3,500.00

James Stokes, multimillionaire and director in a number of large corporations .....	1,500.00
Charles Hayden, dir. of 26 large corporations, among them copper companies that made exorbitant war profits; dir. Utah Copper Co.; pre-war profits, \$8,678,491; war profits, \$32,005,240; dir. Chino Copper Co.; pre-war profits, \$1,772,421; war profits, \$12,527,948 .....	2,500.00
R. B. Price, United States Rubber Co. ....	700.00
J. G. White, Municipal and General Securities. London, England; Gardenas American Sugar Co.; Philippine Ry. Co. ....	2,000.00

### AMERICAN DEFENSE SOCIETY

H. C. Quinby, pres. and dir. Eagle Tire Co. of N. Y.; treas. and dir. New Belgravia Realty Co.; dir. National Centre Realty Co., and Sidney Steel Scraper Co.

J. B. Agnew, dir. and pres. North Star Mines Co.; dir. Phelps Dodge Co.; St. Nicholas Skating & Ice Co.

Robert Appleton' of Appleton's, publishers.

Bartlett Arkell, pres. and dir. of Arkell Safety Bag Co.; Arkell & Smiths; Beechnut Packing Co.; Never-Skid Mfg. Co.; Wildman Magazine and News Service.

James M. Beck of the firm of Sherman & Sterling; dir. of Mechanics and Metals National Bank of the City of New York, and trustee of Mutual Life Insurance Company.

Bertram H. Borden of the firm of M. C. D. Borden & Sons; dir. of H. B. Claffin Corp.; Manhattan Co., and Mortgage Bond Co.

George F. Brownell, general solicitor, and director of the Erie Railroad Company; v.-p. and gen. solicitor of the Moosic Nat. and Carbondale R. R. Co.; v.-p. and dir. of Arlington R. R. Co.; Bath and Hammondsport R. R. Co.; Bergen and Dundee R. R. Co.; Bergen Co. R. R. Co., and 33 other railroad companies; pres. and dir. of the Andover Corporation, and of the Saddle River Corp.; dir. of the Blossburg Coal Co.; of the Buffalo Creek R. R. and Saddle River Estates; and v.-p. and dir. of the Erie Land and Improvement Co. of N. J., of the same of Pennsylvania; of the Lake Keuka Navigation Co.; of the Long Dock Co.; of the Pavonia Ferry Company.

Samuel Harden Church, secretary Pennsylvania Lines west of Pittsburg; v.-p. Union Steel Casting Company.

George Ethridge, dir. Central Mercantile Bank of New York.

Madison Grant, dir. Federal Terra Cotta Company.

William Guggenheim, dir. Hudson Navigation Company.

De Forest Hicks, firm Coggeshall and Hicks; treas. and dir. Peninsula Telephone Company.

George A. Hurd, dir. Lawyers Mortgage Company; pres. and dir. Mortgage Bond Company of New York.

Richard M. Hurd, pres. Lawyers Mortgage Co.

Edwin O. Holter, dir. of Acholta Mines Co.; Industrial Finance Corp.; Mason Valley Mines Co.; Morris Plan Co.; Scandinavia Trust Co.; Phippian Pt. Land Co.; Luriana Mining and Smelting Co.; pres. and dir. of Mines Management Company.

Lyle E. Maham, sec. and dir. Moredall Realty Corporation.

Henry E. Meeker, of Meeker & Co.; dir. of Muhlenberg Coal Co., and Pott Meeker Realty Company.

John J. Riker, dir. of American Eagle Fire Ins. Co.; Farmers' Loan & Trust Co.; Fidelity & Casualty Co.; Fidelity-Phenix Fire Insurance Company; Fire Companies Bldg. Corporation; N. J. Zinc Co.; pres., treas. and dir. of the Oldbury Electro-Chemical Co., and the Phosphorus Compounds Company; president and director of the Riker Homestead Estate, and trustee of the Atlantic Mutual Insurance Company.

Charles L. Robinson, pres. and dir. of the H. G. David Mfg. Co., and of the Robinson Tag and Label Company.

Leslie J. Thompkins, dir. Corporate Mortgage Company and Hooper-Holmes Bureau.

James N. Wallace, pres. and trustee of Central Trust Company of New York and dir. of the Bank of America; Brooklyn Heights R. R. Co.;

Brooklyn Rapid Transit Company; Continental Insurance Company; Edison Company of Brooklyn; Fire Companies Bldg. Corp.; Galveston, Houston, and Henderson R. R. Co.; Kings Co. Electric Light and Power Co.; Mechanics' and Farmers' Bank, Albany; Morristown, N. J., Trust Co.; N. Y. Municipal Railway Corp.; Sloss Sheffield Steel and Iron Co.; Transit Development Co.; Union Carbide Company.

### NAVY LEAGUE

Robert M. Thompson, financier, chairman Board of Directors, International Nickel Company; pres. N. Y. Metal Exchange.

Henry H. Ward, officer and director of various corporations.

Albert B. Lambert, pres. Lambert Pharmacal Co.

Henry B. Joy, pres. Packard Motor Car Co.; pres. of Detroit Union R. R. and Depot Co.; treas. and dir. Peninsular Sugar Refining Co.; dir. Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago and of the Michigan Sugar Co.; dir. Chamber of Commerce of United States.

Herbert L. Satterlee, son-in-law of J. P. Morgan, member of firm Satterlee, Canfield & Stone; member of New York Chamber of Commerce.

Perry Belmont, brother of August Belmont, the American representatives of the Rothschild Banking Interests; chairman of Board of Directors of Interborough Rapid Transit, etc.

Wm. A. Clark, since 1863 banker, mine-owner, having large interests; pres. or dir. United Verde Copper Co.; Mayflower, Moulton, Ophir Hill, Consolidated and Sunset Mining Companies; San Pedro, Los Angeles and Salt Lake R. R.; Las Vigas and Tonopah R. R. Co.; United Verde and Pacific R. R. Co.; Empire Cattle Co.; Colusa Parrot Mining and Smelting Co.; Los Alamitos Sugar Co.; W. A. Clark Wire Co.; Western Lumber Co.; Western Mountain Flouring Co., etc.

Samuel Insull, connected with many Edison companies and with General Electric; pres. of Commonwealth Edison Co., controlling entire lighting business of Chicago; also dir. of many lighting and city railway companies.

R. A. Long, pres. Long Bell Lumber Co. of Kansas City, and chairman of Board of Directors of 20 subsidiary corporations owning 9 sawmills, 85 retail yards, railways, etc.; dir. Kansas Gas Co.; National Bank of Commerce; Commerce Trust Company.

George von Meyer, dir. Amoskeag Mfg. Co.; Old Colony Trust; Merchants' National Bank of Boston; Tampa Electric Company; Puget Sound Light and Power Co.; Fort Hill Chemical Company.

Frank J. Symmes, v.-p. Thomas Day Co., gas fixtures, San Francisco; Pres. Central Trust Co. of Cal.; treas. Pacific Meter Co.; receiver of two banks; member of numerous boards and associations.

J. P. Morgan, J. P. Morgan & Co., dir. Aetna Insurance Co.; U. S. Steel; Pullman Co.; N. P. Railway Co.; First Security Co. of N. Y.; International Mercantile Marine; official representative of British Government in placing munitions contracts in United States; organized syndicates to float loan of \$500,000,000 to Allies in 1915.

Frank A. Scott, sec. and treas. The Warner and Swasey Co., mfg. machine tools; dir. Cleveland Trust Co.

Beekman W. Winthrop, banker.

## REPORT OF THE COMMISSION ON INTERNATIONAL LABOR LEGISLATION OF THE PEACE CONFERENCE

The Commission was made up as follows:

BRITISH EMPIRE:—G. N. Barnes, M. P., Minister without portfolio and ex-member of the Labor Party; Sir Malcolm Delevigne, Home Office; *Substitute*: H. B. Butler.

FRANCE:—M. Colliard, Minister of Labor; M. Loucheur, Minister of Industrial Reconstruction; *Substitutes*: M. Fontaine, official of the Ministry of Labor; Leon Jouhaux, Secretary of the Confederation of Labor.

ITALY:—Baron Mayor des Planches; M. Cabrini; *Substitute*: M. Coletti.

JAPAN:—Ambassador Otchai and Oka.

BELGIUM:—Emil Vandervelde, Minister without portfolio; Professor Mahaim; *Substitute*: Senator La Fontaine.

UNITED STATES:—Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor; E. N. Hurley, Chairman U. S. Shipping Board; *Substitutes*: H. M. Robinson; Professor J. P. Shotwell.

CUBA:—Professor de Bustamento; *Substitutes*: Raphael Martinez Ortiz; M. de Blanck.

POLAND:—Stanislas Patek; *Substitute*: Francois Sokol.

CZECHO-SLOVAK REPUBLIC:—Rudolph Bro.

Samuel Gompers was elected President of the Commission.

### CLAUSES PROPOSED FOR INSERTION IN THE TREATY OF PEACE<sup>1</sup>

The High Contracting Parties declare their acceptance of the following principles, and engage to take all necessary steps to secure their realization in accordance with the recommendation to be made by the International Labor Conference as to their practical application.

1. In right and in fact the labor of a human being should not be treated as merchandise or an article of commerce.

2. Employees and workers should be allowed the right of association for all lawful purposes.

3. No child should be permitted to be employed in industry or commerce before the age of 14 years, in order that every child may be ensured reasonable opportunities for mental and physical education.

Between the years of 14 and 18, young persons of either sex may only be employed on work which is not harmful to their physical development and on condition that the continuation of their technical or general education is ensured.

4. Every worker has a right to a wage adequate to maintain a reasonable standard of life having regard to the civilization of his time and country.

5. Equal pay should be given to women and to men for work of equal value in quantity and quality.

6. A weekly rest, including Sunday or its equivalent for all workers.

7. Limitation of the hours of work in industry on the basis of eight hours a day or 48 hours a week, subject to an exception for countries in which climatic conditions, the imperfect development of industrial organization or other special circumstances render the industrial efficiency of the workers substantially different. The International Labor Conference will recommend a basis approximately equivalent to the above for adoption in such countries.

8. In all matters concerning their status as workers and social insurance foreign workmen lawfully admitted to any country and their families should be ensured the same treatment as the nationals of that country.

9. All States should institute a system of inspection in which women should take part, in order to ensure the enforcement of the laws and regulations for the protection of the workers.

### BERNE SOCIALIST CONFERENCE LABOR CHARTER<sup>2</sup>

The following minimum standards for an International Labor Code under the proposed League of Nations were adopted at the International Labor and Socialist Conference at Berne:

Under the wage system the capitalist class endeavor to increase their profits by exploiting the workers in the greatest measure possible. Such methods, if unchecked, would undermine the physical, moral, and intellectual strength of the present and future generation of workers. They impede the development and even endanger the very existence of society. The tendency of capitalism to degrade the worker can only be

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix for provisions of League of Nations Labor Conference, Washington, D. C., Oct. 29-Nov. 29, 1919.

<sup>2</sup> See an account of the Berne Conference.



completely arrested by the abolition of the capitalist system of production. Meanwhile the evil can be considerably mitigated, both by the resistance of organized workers and by the intervention of the State. By these means the health of the workers can be protected and their family life maintained. They make it possible for them to obtain the education necessary to enable them to fulfill their duties as citizens in a modern democracy.

The degree in which capitalism is restricted varies to a very great extent in the different States. Through the unfair competition of backward countries, these differences endanger labor and industry in the more advanced States. The adjustment of national differences in the legal protection of Labor by a system of international Labor legislation has long been a pressing need. It has been rendered doubly urgent by the terrible upheavals and awful destruction of the vital forces of the people brought about by the war. At the same time, however, the war is bringing about the possibility of satisfying this need by the formation of a League of Nations, which now seems certain.

The Berne Conference demands that the League of Nations as one of its primary tasks shall create and put into execution an International Labor Charter. Having taken into consideration the resolutions adopted by the International Trade Union Conferences of Leeds and Berne, and without prejudice to any more far-reaching resolutions which may be adopted by the trade unions, the Congress demands that the following minimum requirements, which are already partially carried out in some countries, shall be converted into a Code of International Law by the League of Nations on the conclusion of peace:

#### EDUCATION

1. Primary education shall be compulsory in all countries, and a system of vocational and general technical education shall be established.

Higher education shall be free and accessible to all. It is not right that the capacities and aspirations of young persons should be thwarted by the material conditions in which they happen to live.

#### CHILD LABOR

2. Children under 15 years of age shall not be employed in industrial occupations. Young persons between 15 and 18 years of age shall not be employed for more than six hours a day, with a break of one and a half hours after a maximum spell of four hours' work. At least two hours' instruction in technical and continuation classes shall be given daily to young persons of both sexes between the hours of 8 A. M. and 6 P. M. Young persons should be allowed "time off" to attend the classes.

The employment of young persons shall be prohibited:

(a) Between the hours of 8 P. M. and 6 A. M.; (b) On Sundays and holidays; (c) in especially unhealthy trades; and (d) in mines below ground.

#### WOMAN LABOR

3. The hours of work of women workers shall not exceed four on Saturdays. They shall not be employed after mid-day on Saturdays. Where exceptions are necessary in certain occupations, the women workers concerned shall be allowed an equivalent half-holiday on another day of the week. Women shall not be employed during the night. The employer shall not give women further work to do at home after their regular day's work. As a general rule, women shall not be employed in especially dangerous trades where it is impossible to provide for sufficiently healthy conditions or in mines below ground.

Before and after child-birth women shall not be allowed to work for ten consecutive weeks altogether, four previous to and six after confinement. In every country a system of maternity benefit shall be introduced, providing compensation at least equal to the sickness insurance benefit payable in the country concerned.

Equal pay shall be given to both sexes for equal work.

#### HOURS OF LABOR

4. The hours of work shall not exceed eight per day or 48 a week. Night work between the hours of 8 P. M. and 6 A. M. shall be prohibited

by law in all forms of employment, except in so far as it may be unavoidable for technical reasons or from the nature of the occupation. Where night work is necessary the rate of pay shall be higher than for day work. The Saturday half-holiday shall be introduced in all countries.

#### REST PERIODS

5. Workers shall be allowed a continuous weekly rest of at least 36 hours between Saturday and Monday morning. Where the nature of the occupation involves Sunday work, the weekly break of 36 hours shall be given during the week.

In continuous industries the shifts must be so arranged that the workers have at least every other Sunday free. It is understood that these regulations shall be adapted to those countries and persons which have a different day of rest. Night work and Sunday work shall be paid at a higher rate.

#### PROTECTION OF HEALTH

6. With a view to the protection of health and the prevention of accidents, the daily hours of work shall be reduced below eight hours in dangerous trades, according to the degree of danger. The use of poisonous material shall be prohibited in all cases where it is possible to procure substitutes for them. An international schedule shall be kept of all industrial poisons which are to be prohibited. The use of white phosphorous in the manufacture of matches and of white lead in painting and decorating work (both indoor and outdoor) shall be prohibited immediately. An identical system of automatic coupling, adaptable to all wagons, shall be introduced on the railways of all countries within five years.

7. All laws and orders dealing with the protection of workers shall apply in principle to home industries. Social insurance laws shall be extended to home industries.

Home work shall be prohibited:

(a) In the case of work liable to give rise to poisoning or to serious injury to health; and

(b) In the case of food industries, including the making of bags and cardboard boxes for packing articles of food.

In home industries notification of all infectious diseases shall be compulsory. Work in dwelling-places where there is infectious disease shall be prohibited, suitable compensation being paid to the workers. All countries shall introduce medical inspection in the case of young persons employed in home industries, as well as inspection of the dwelling-houses.

It shall be agreed that compulsory lists of all workers and middlemen in home industries shall be kept and inspected, and that all workers shall have wages books. In all districts where there are home industries, wage boards, representing both employers and workers, shall be instituted, with the object of fixing legal rates of wages. The rate of wages shall be posted up in the work-places.

#### THE RIGHT OF ASSOCIATION

8. Workers shall have the right of combination and association in all countries. Laws and decrees (domestic service laws, prohibition of combination, etc.) which place certain classes of workers in an exceptional position, in relation to other classes of workers, or which deprive them of the right of combination and association, and of the representation of their economic interests, shall be repealed.

Immigrant workers shall enjoy the same rights as native workers in joining and taking part in the work of trade unions, including the right to strike.

Any interference with the exercise of the right of combination and association shall be a punishable offense.

Every foreign worker shall have the right to the wages and conditions of work agreed to between the trade unions and employers in his trade. Where no such agreements exist, a foreign worker shall have the right to the wages and conditions customary in his trade and district.

#### IMMIGRATION

9. Emigration shall not be prohibited.

Immigration shall not be prohibited generally. This rule shall not affect—

(a) The right of any State to restrict immigration temporarily in a period of economic depression in order to protect the workers of that country as well as the foreign immigrant workers;

(b) The right of any State to control immigration in order to protect public health, and, if necessary, to prohibit immigration for the time being; nor

(c) The right of any State to require that immigrants shall come up to a certain minimum standard in reading and writing their native language, so as to maintain the standard of popular education of the State in question, and to enable labor legislation to be effectively applied in those branches of industry in which immigrants are predominantly employed.

These exceptions can, however, only be permitted in agreement with and under the control of the Commission provided for in Art. 15.

The contracting States undertake to introduce, without delay, laws prohibiting the engagement of workers by contract to work abroad, putting a stop to the activities of professional employment agents in this matter and prohibiting the admission of workers engaged by contract.

The contracting States undertake to compile statistics of the state of the labor market, based on the returns of public labor exchanges, and to exchange such statistics, at as short periods as possible, through an international centre; so that workers may avoid going to countries offering few opportunities for work. These reports should be especially accessible to the trade unions of the various countries.

No worker shall be expelled from a country on account of trade union activity. Appeals against such deportation shall be dealt with by the ordinary courts.

#### WAGES

10. In cases where the average earnings of the workers (men or women) are insufficient to provide a proper standard of living, and it proves impossible to bring about agreement between the workers' trade unions and the employers, the Government shall set up wage boards, on which employers and workers shall be equally represented, with the object of fixing legal minimum rates of wages.

Moreover, the contracting States shall convoked, as speedily as possible, an International Conference charged with the duty of taking effective measures against any lowering of the purchasing power of wages and guaranteeing their payment in money whose value has not depreciated.

#### UNEMPLOYMENT

11. In order to reduce unemployment the labor exchanges in every country shall be linked up in such a manner that prompt and, as far as possible, complete information as regards the demand for and supply of labor may be obtained. A system of unemployment insurance shall be set up in every country.

#### SOCIAL INSURANCE

12. All workers shall be insured by the State against industrial accidents. The claims of workers and their dependents shall be determined in accordance with the law of the country in which the injured workman was employed. Laws for the insurance of widows and orphans and for old age, sickness, and disablement shall be introduced, and shall apply equally to natives and to foreigners.

A foreign worker (who has been injured), when leaving the country in which he has been employed, may be given a sum down instead of an annual pension, if an international agreement has been made to this effect between his native country and the country where he was employed.

#### SEAMEN

13. A special international code shall be established for the rights and protection of seamen. This code shall be drawn up with the collaboration of the seamen's unions.

## ENFORCEMENT

14. The enforcement of these provisions shall, in the first place, rest with the Labor Department of each State and its factory inspectors. These inspectors shall be appointed from the ranks of technical, hygiene, and economic experts, and of worker employees of both sexes.

The trade unions shall assist in the effective enforcement of the labor laws. Employers who employ at least five foreign-speaking workers shall be required by law to post in the mother tongue of these workers, all labor regulations and other important notices, and also to make arrangements, at their own expense, for such workers to receive instruction in the language of the country.

15. With a view to the carrying out of this treaty, and to the further development of international labor legislation, the contracting States shall appoint a permanent commission consisting in equal parts of representatives of the States which are members of the League of Nations and of the International Trades Union Federation.

In order to promote international labor legislation, this commission shall prepare for and convoke annual conferences of the representatives of the contracting states. One-half of the voting members of the conference should consist of representatives of the organized workers of every country. The conferences shall have the power to adopt binding resolutions within the limits of the powers conferred on them.

The permanent commission shall co-operate with the International Labor Office in Basle and with the International Trades Union Federation.

## A. F. OF L. RECONSTRUCTION PROGRAM

The St. Paul Convention of the American Federation of Labor instructed the Executive Council to appoint a committee on Reconstruction. This committee was to investigate "the problem of reconstruction and to take such steps as might be found possible to safeguard the interests of the soldiers and sailors and workers during the period of reconstruction."

The Committee consisted of John P. Frey, editor of the *International Molders' Journal*; B. M. Jewell, acting president *Railroad Employees' Department*; John Moore, president of the Ohio district of the *United Mine Workers*; G. W. Perkins, president *Cigarmakers' International Union*, and Matthew Woll, president *International Photo Engravers' Union*.

The Executive Council received the report of the committee at its meeting in December, 1918, and transmitted it to the convention as "not only the most complete, and the most constructive proposal yet made in this country for the reconstruction period," but which "constitutes practically the only program in existence having to do with the period of rebuilding the national life on a peace basis."

The Convention at Atlantic City adopted the report as prepared by the Committee.

## DEMOCRACY IN INDUSTRY

Two codes of rules and regulations affect the workers; the law upon the statute books, and the rules within industry.

The first determines their relationship as citizens to all other citizens and to property. The second largely determines the relationship of employer and employe, the terms of employment, the conditions of labor, and the rules and regulations affecting the workers as employes. The first is secured through the application of the methods of democracy in the

enactment of legislation, and is based upon the principle that the laws which govern a free people should exist only with their consent.

The second, except where effective trade unionism exists, is established by the arbitrary or autocratic whim, desire or opinion of the employer and is based upon the principle that industry and commerce can not be successfully conducted unless the employer exercises the unquestioned right to establish such rules, regulations and provisions affecting the employes as self-interest prompts. Both forms of law vitally affect the workers' opportunities in life and determine their standard of living. The rules, regulations and conditions within industry in many instances affect them more than legislative enactments. It is, therefore, essential that the workers should have a voice in determining the laws within industry and commerce which affect them, equivalent to the voice which they have as citizens in determining the legislative enactments which shall govern them. It is as inconceivable that the workers as free citizens should remain under autocratically made law within industry and commerce as it is that the nation could remain a democracy while certain individuals or groups exercise autocratic powers.

It is, therefore, essential that the workers everywhere should insist upon their right to organize into trade unions, and that effective legislation should be enacted which would make it a criminal offense for any employer to interfere with or hamper the exercise of this right or to interfere with the legitimate activities of trade unions.

#### UNEMPLOYMENT

Political economy of the old school, conceived by doctrinaires, was based upon unsound and false doctrines, and has since been used to blindfold, deceive and defeat the workers' demands for adequate wages, better living and working conditions, and a just share of the fruits of their labor. We hold strictly to the trade union philosophy and its developed political economy based upon demonstrated facts. Unemployment is due to underconsumption. Underconsumption is caused by low or insufficient wages. Just wages will prevent industrial stagnation and lessen periodical unemployment. Give the workers just wages and their consuming capacity is correspondingly increased. A man's ability to consume is controlled by the wages received. Just wages will create a market at home which will far surpass any market that may exist elsewhere and will lessen unemployment.

The employment of idle workmen on public work will not permanently remove the cause of unemployment. It is an expedient at best. There is no basis in fact for the claim that the so-called law of supply and demand is natural in its operations and impossible of control or regulation. The trade union movement has maintained standards, wages, hours and life in periods of industrial depression and idleness. These in themselves are a refutation of the declared immutability of the law of supply and demand. There is in fact no such condition as an iron law of wages based upon a natural law of supply and demand. Conditions in commerce and industry, methods of production, storing of commodities, regulation of the volume of production, banking systems, the flow and direction of enterprise influenced by combinations and trusts have effectively destroyed the theory of a natural law of supply and demand as had been formulated by doctrinaire economists.

#### WAGES

There are no means whereby the workers can obtain and maintain fair wages except through trade union effort. Therefore, economic organization is paramount to all their other activities. Organization of the workers leads to better wages, fewer working hours, improved working conditions; it develops independence, manhood and character; it fosters tolerance and real justice and makes for a constantly growing better economic, social and political life for the burden-bearing masses. In countries where wages are best, the greatest progress has been made in economic, social and political advancement, in science, art, literature, education and in the wealth of the people generally. All low wage-paying countries contrasted with America is proof for this statement.

The American standard of life must be maintained and improved. The value of wages is determined by the purchasing power of the dollar. There is no such thing as good wages when the cost of living in decency and comfort equals or exceeds the wages received. There must be no reduction in wages; in many instances wages must be increased. The workers of the nation demand a living wage for all wage-earners, skilled or unskilled—a wage which will enable the worker and his family to live in health and comfort, provide a competence for illness and old age, and afford to all the opportunity of cultivating the best that is within mankind.

#### HOURS OF LABOR

Reasonable hours of labor promote the economic and social well-being of the toiling masses. Their attainment should be one of Labor's principal and essential activities. The shorter workday and a shorter work week make for a constantly growing, higher and better standard of productivity, health, longevity, morals and citizenship. The right of Labor to fix its hours of work must not be abrogated, abridged or interfered with. The day's working time should be limited to not more than eight hours, with overtime prohibited, except under the most extraordinary emergencies. The week's working time should be limited to not more than five and one-half days.

#### WOMEN AS WAGE-EARNERS

Women should receive the same pay as men for equal work performed. Women workers must not be permitted to perform tasks disproportionate to their physical strength or which tend to impair their potential motherhood and prevent the continuation of a nation of strong, healthy, sturdy and intelligent men and women.

#### CHILD LABOR

The children constitute the nation's most valuable asset. The full responsibility of the Government should be recognized by such measures as will protect the health of every child at birth and during its immature years.

It must be one of the chief functions of the nation through effective legislation to put an immediate end to the exploitation of children under sixteen years of age. State legislatures should protect children of immature years by prohibiting their employment, for gain, under sixteen years of age and restricting the employment of children of less than eighteen years of age to not more than twenty hours within any one week, and with not less than twenty hours at school during the same period. Exploitation of child life for private gain must not be permitted.

#### PUBLIC EMPLOYEES

The fixing of wages, hours and conditions of labor for public employes by legislation hampers the necessary exercise of organization and collective bargaining. Public employes must not be denied the right of organization, free activities and collective bargaining and must not be limited in the exercise of their rights as citizens.

#### COOPERATION

To attain the greatest possible development of civilization, it is essential, among other things, that the people should never delegate to others those activities and responsibilities which they are capable of assuming for themselves. Democracy can function best with the least interference by the state compatible with due protection to the rights of all citizens.

There are many problems arising from production, transportation and distribution, which would be readily solved by applying the methods of cooperation. Unnecessary middlemen who exact a tax from the community without rendering any useful service can be eliminated.

The farmers, through cooperative dairies, canneries, packing houses, grain elevators, distributing houses, and other cooperative enterprises, can secure higher prices for their products and yet place these in the consumer's hands at lower prices than would otherwise be paid. There is an

almost limitless field for the consumers in which to establish cooperative buying and selling, and in this most necessary development, the trade unionists should take an immediate and active part.

Trade unions secure fair wages. Cooperation protects the wage-earner from the profiteer. Participation in these cooperative agencies must of necessity prepare the mass of the people to participate more effectively in the solution of the industrial, commercial, social and political problems which continually arise.

#### THE PEOPLE'S FINAL VOICE IN LEGISLATION

It is manifestly evident that a people are not self-governing unless they enjoy the unquestioned power to determine the form and substance of the laws which shall govern them. Self-government can not adequately function if there exists within the nation a superior power or authority which can finally determine what legislation enacted by the people, or their duly elected representatives, shall be placed upon the statute books and what shall be declared null and void. An insuperable obstacle of self-government in the United States exists in the power which has been gradually assumed by the Supreme Courts of the Federal and State governments to declare legislation null and void upon the ground that, in the court's opinion, it is unconstitutional.

It is essential that the people, acting directly or through Congress or state legislatures, should have final authority in determining which laws shall be enacted. Adequate steps must be taken, therefore, which will provide that in the event of a Supreme Court declaring an act of Congress or of a state legislature unconstitutional and the people acting directly or through Congress or a state legislature should re-enact the measure, it shall then become the law without being subject to annulment by any court.

#### POLITICAL POLICY

In the political efforts, arising from the workers' necessity to secure legislation covering those conditions and provisions of life not subject to collective bargaining with employers, organized labor has followed two methods; one by organizing political parties, the other by the determination to place in public office representatives from their ranks; to elect those who favor and champion the legislation desired and to defeat those whose policy is opposed to Labor's legislative demands, regardless of partisan politics. The disastrous experience of organized labor in America with political parties of its own amply justified the A. F. of L.'s non-partisan political policy. The results secured by labor parties in other countries never have been such as to warrant any deviation from this position. The rules and regulations of trade unionism should not be extended so that the action of a majority could force a minority to vote for or give financial support to any political candidate or party to whom they are opposed. Trade union activities can not receive the undivided attention of members and officers if the exigencies, burdens and responsibilities of a political party are bound up with their economic and industrial organizations.

The experiences and results attained through the non-partisan political policy of the A. F. of L. cover a generation. They indicate that through its application the workers of America have secured a much larger measure of fundamental legislation, establishing their rights, safeguarding their interests, protecting their welfare and opening the doors of opportunity than have been secured by the workers of any other country. The vital legislation now required can be more readily secured through education of the public mind and the appeal to its conscience, supplemented by energetic independent political activity on the part of trade unionists, than by any other method. This is and will continue to be the political policy of the A. F. of L. if the lessons which Labor has learned in the bitter but practical school of experience are to be respected and applied.

It is, therefore, most essential that the officers of the A. F. of L., the officers of the affiliated organizations, state federations and central labor bodies and the entire membership of the trade union movement should give the most vigorous application possible to the political policy of the A. F. of L. so that Labor's friends and opponents may be more widely

known, and the legislation most required readily secured. This phase of our movement is still in its infancy. It should be continued and developed to its logical conclusion.

#### GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP

Public and semi-public utilities should be owned, operated or regulated by the Government in the interest of the public. Whatever final disposition shall be made of the railways of the country in ownership, management or regulation, we insist upon the right of the workers to organize for their common and mutual protection and the full exercise of the normal activities which come with organization. Any attempt at the denial by governmental authority of the rights of the workers to organize, to petition, to representation and to collective bargaining, or the denial of the exercise of their political rights is repugnant to the fundamental principles of free citizenship in a republic and is destructive of their best interest and welfare. The Government should own and operate all wharves and docks connected with public harbors which are used for commerce or transportation.

The American Merchant Marine should be encouraged and developed under governmental control and so manned as to insure successful operation and protect in full the beneficent laws now on the statute books for the rights and welfare of seamen. The seamen must be accorded the same rights and privileges rightfully exercised by the workers in all other employments, public and private.

#### WATERWAYS AND WATER POWER

The lack of a practical development of our waterways and the inadequate extension of canals have seriously handicapped water traffic and created unnecessarily high cost of transportation. In many instances it has established artificial restrictions which have worked to the serious injury of communities, owing to the schemes of those controlling a monopoly of land transportation. Our navigable rivers and our great inland lakes should be connected with the sea by an adequate system of canals, so that inland production can be more effectively fostered, the costs of transportation reduced, the private monopoly of transportation overcome and imports and exports shipped at lower costs.

The nation is possessed of enormous water power. Legislation should be enacted providing that the governments, federal and state, should own, develop and operate all water power over which they have jurisdiction. The power thus generated should be supplied to all citizens at rates based upon cost. The water power of the nation, created by nature, must not be permitted to pass into private hands for private exploitation.

#### REGULATION OF LAND OWNERSHIP

Agriculture and stock-raising are essential to national safety and well-being. The history of all countries, at all times, indicates that the conditions which create a tenant class of agriculturists work increasing injury to the tillers of the soil. While increasing the price of the product to the consumer these conditions at the same time develop a class of large land owners who contribute little, if anything, to the welfare of the community but who exact a continually increasing share of the wealth produced by the tenant. The private ownership of large tracts of usable land is not conducive to the best interests of a democratic people.

Legislation should be enacted placing a graduated tax upon all usable lands above the acreage which is cultivated by the owner. This should include provisions through which the tenant farmer or others, may purchase land upon the lowest rate of interest and most favorable terms consistent with safety, and so safeguarded by governmental supervision and regulation as to give the fullest and freest opportunity for the development of land-owning agriculturists.

Special assistance should be given in the direction of allotments of lands and the establishment of homes on the public domain. Establishment of Government experimental farms, measures for stock raising instruction, the irrigation of arid lands and reclamation of swamp and cut-over lands should be undertaken upon a larger scale under direction of the federal government.



Municipalities and states should be empowered to acquire lands for cultivation or the erection of residential buildings which they may use or dispose of under equitable terms.

#### FEDERAL AND STATE REGULATION OF CORPORATIONS

The creation by legislative enactment of corporations, without sufficient definition of the powers and scope of activities conferred upon them and without provisions for their adequate supervision, regulation and control by the creative body, has led to the development of far-reaching abuses which have seriously affected commerce, industry and the masses of the people through their influence upon social, industrial, commercial and political development. Legislation is required which will so limit, define and regulate the powers, privileges and activities of corporations that their methods can not become detrimental to the welfare of the people. It is, therefore, essential that legislation should provide for the federal licensing of all corporations organized for profit. Furthermore, federal supervision and control should include the increasing of capital stock and the incurring of bonded indebtedness with the provision that the books of all corporations shall be open at all times to federal examiners.

#### FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION AND ASSOCIATION

The very life and perpetuity of free and democratic institutions are dependent upon freedom of speech, of the press and of assemblage and association. We insist that all restrictions of freedom of speech, press, public assembly, association and travel be completely removed, individuals and groups being responsible for their utterances. These fundamental rights must be set out with clearness and must not be denied or abridged in any manner.

#### WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION

Workmen's compensation laws should be amended to provide more adequately for those incapacitated by industrial accidents or occupational diseases. To assure that the insurance fund derived from commerce and industry will be paid in full to injured workers, state insurance must supplant, and prohibit the existence of, employers' liability insurance operated for profit.

#### IMMIGRATION

Americanization of those coming from foreign lands, as well as our standards of education and living, are vitally affected by the volume and character of the immigration. It is essential that additional legislation regulating immigration should be enacted based upon two fundamental propositions, namely, that the flow of immigration must not at any time exceed the nation's ability to assimilate and Americanize the foreigners coming to our shores, and that at no time shall immigration be permitted when there exists an abnormal degree of unemployment. By reason of existing conditions we urge that immigration into the United States should be prohibited for a period of at least two years after peace has been declared.

#### TAXATION

One of the nation's most valuable assets is the initiative, energetic, constructive and inventive genius of its people. These qualities when properly applied should be fostered and protected instead of being hampered by legislation, for they constitute an invaluable element of progress and material development. Taxation should, therefore, rest as lightly as possible upon constructive enterprise. Taxation should provide for full contribution from wealth by a tax upon profits which will not discourage industrial or commercial enterprise. There should be provided a progressive increase in taxes upon incomes, inheritances, and upon land values of such a nature as to render it unprofitable to hold land without putting it to use, to afford a transition to greater economic equality and to supply means of liquidating the national indebtedness growing out of the war.

### EDUCATION

It is impossible to estimate the influence of education upon the world's civilization. Education must not stifle thought and inquiry, but must awaken the mind concerning the application of natural laws and to a conception of independence and progress.

Education must not be for a few but for all our people. While there is an advanced form of public education in many states, there still remains a lack of adequate educational facilities in several states and communities. The welfare of the republic demands that public education should be elevated to the highest degree possible. The government should exercise advisory supervision over public education and where necessary maintain adequate public education through subsidies without giving to the government power to hamper or interfere with the free development of public education by the several states. It is essential that our system of public education should offer the wage-earners' children the opportunity for the fullest possible development. To attain this end state colleges and universities should be developed.

It is also important that the industrial education which is being fostered and developed should have for its purpose not so much training for efficiency in industry as training for life in an industrial society. A full understanding must be had of those principles and activities that are the foundation of all productive efforts. Children should not only become familiar with tools and materials, but they should also receive a thorough knowledge of the principles of human control, of force and matter underlying our industrial relations and sciences. The danger that certain commercial and industrial interests may dominate the character of education must be averted by insisting that the workers shall have equal representation on all boards of education or committees having control over vocational studies and training. To elevate and advance the interests of the teaching profession and to promote popular and democratic education, the right of the teachers to organize and affiliate with the movement of the organized workers must be recognized.

### PRIVATE EMPLOYMENT AGENCIES

Essentials in industry and commerce are employe and employer, labor and capital. No one questions the right of organized capital to supply capital to employers. No one should question the right of organized labor to furnish workers. Private employment agencies abridge this right of organized labor.

Where federal, state and municipal employment agencies are maintained they should operate under the supervision of joint committees of trade unionists and employers, equally represented. Private employment agencies operated for profit should not be permitted to exist.

### HOUSING

Child life, the workers' physical condition and public health demand that the wage-earner and his family shall be given a full opportunity to live under wholesome conditions. It is not only necessary that there shall be sanitary and appropriate houses to live in but that a sufficient number of dwellings shall be available to free the people from high rents and overcrowding.

The ownership of homes, free from the grasp of exploitative and speculative interests, will make for more efficient workers, more contented families, and better citizens. The government should, therefore, inaugurate a plan to build model homes and establish a system of credits whereby the workers may borrow money at a low rate of interest and under favorable terms to build their own homes. Credit should also be extended to voluntary non-profit making housing and joint tenancy associations. States and municipalities should be freed from the restrictions preventing their undertaking proper housing projects and should be permitted to engage in other necessary enterprises relating thereto. The erection and maintenance of dwellings where migratory workers may find lodging and nourishing food during periods of unemployment should be encouraged and supported by municipalities. If need should arise to expend public funds

to relieve unemployment the building of wholesome houses would best serve the public interests.

### MILITARISM

The trade union movement is unalterably and emphatically opposed to "militarism" or a large standing army. "Militarism" is a system fostered and developed by tyrants in the hope of supporting their arbitrary authority.

It is utilized by those whose selfish ambitions for power and worldly glory lead them to invade and subdue other peoples and nations, to destroy their liberties, to acquire their wealth and to fasten the yoke of bondage upon them. The trade union movement is convinced by the experience of mankind that "militarism" brutalizes those influenced by the spirit of the institution. The finer elements of humanity are strangled. Under "militarism" a deceptive patriotism is established in the people's minds, where men believe that there is nobility of spirit and heroism in dying for the glory of a dynasty or the maintenance of institutions which are inimical to human progress and democracy. "Militarism" is the application of arbitrary and irresponsible forces as opposed to reason and justice. Resistance to injustice and tyranny is that virile quality which has given purpose and effect to ennobling causes in all countries and at all times. The free institutions of our country and the liberties won by its founders would have been impossible had they been unwilling to take arms and if necessary die in the defense of their liberties. Only a people willing to maintain their rights and defend their liberties are guaranteed free institutions.

Conditions foreign to the institutions of our country have prevented the entire abolition of organized bodies of men trained to carry arms. A voluntary citizen soldiery supplies what would otherwise take its place, a large standing army. To the latter we are unalterably opposed as tending to establish the evils of "militarism." Large standing armies threaten the existence of civil liberty. The history of every nation demonstrates that as standing armies are enlarged the rule of democracy is lessened or extinguished. Our experience has been that even this citizen soldiery, the militia of our states, has given cause at times for grave apprehension. Their ranks have not always been free from undesirable elements, particularly the tools of corporations involved in industrial disputes. During industrial disputes the militia has at times been called upon to support the authority of those who through selfish interests desired to enforce martial law while the courts were open and the civil authorities competent to maintain supremacy of civil law. We insist that the militia of our several states should be wholly organized and controlled by democratic principles so that this voluntary force of soldiery may never be diverted from its true purpose and used to jeopardize or infringe upon the rights and liberties of our people. The right to bear arms is a fundamental principle of our government, a principle accepted at all times by free people as essential to the maintenance of their liberties and institutions. We demand that this right shall remain inviolate.

### SOLDIERS AND SAILORS

Soldiers and sailors, those who entered the service in the nation's defense, are entitled to the generous reward of a grateful Republic. The necessities of war called upon millions of workmen to leave their positions in industry and commerce to defend, upon the battlefields, the nation's safety and its free institutions. These defenders are now returning. It is advisable that they should be discharged from military service at the earliest possible moment; that as civilians they may return to their respective homes and families and take up their peace-time pursuits. The nation stands morally obligated to assist them in securing employment.

Industry has undergone great changes due to the dislocation caused by war production and transportation. Further readjustments in industry and commerce must follow the rehabilitation of business under peaceful conditions. Many positions which our citizen soldiers and sailors filled previous to enlistment do not exist today. It would be manifestly unjust for the government after having removed the worker from his position

in industry and placed him in military service to discharge him from the army or navy without having made adequate provision to assist him in procuring employment and providing sustenance until employment has been secured. The returned citizen soldier or sailor should not be forced by the bitter urgent necessity of securing food and clothing to place himself at a disadvantage when seeking employment.

Upon their discharge, transportation and meals should be supplied to their places of residence. The monthly salary previously paid should be continued for a period not to exceed twelve months if employment is not secured within that period. The federal and state employment bureaus should be directed to cooperate with trade union agencies in securing employment for discharged soldiers and sailors. In assisting the discharged soldier and sailor to secure employment, government agencies should not expect them to accept employment for less than the prevailing rate of wages being paid in the industry. Neither should any government agency request or require such discharged men to accept employment where a trade dispute exists or is threatened. Nor should the refusal on the part of any of these discharged soldiers or sailors to accept employment where trade disputes exist or are threatened or when less than the prevailing wage rate is offered, deprive them of a continuance of their monthly pay.

Legislation also should be enacted which will give the nation's defenders the opportunity for easy and ready access to the land. Favorable inducements should be provided for them to enter agriculture and husbandry. The government should assume the responsibility for the allotment of such lands, and supply the necessary capital for its development and cultivation, with such safeguards as will protect both the government and the discharged soldier and sailor.

## PART TWO

# THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

### THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

#### PRINCIPLES

"Whereas, a struggle is going on in all the nations of the civilized world between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between the capitalist and the laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year, and will work disastrous results to the toiling millions if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefit;

It, therefore, behooves the representatives of the Trade and Labor Unions of America, in convention assembled, to adopt such measures and disseminate such principles among the mechanics and laborers of our country as will permanently unite them to secure the recognition of rights to which they are justly entitled.

We, therefore, declare ourselves in favor of the formation of a thorough Federation, embracing every Trade and Labor Organization in America, organized under the Trade Union system."

Objects—"Section 4. An American Federation of all National and International Trade Unions to aid and assist each other; to aid and encourage the sale of union label goods, and to secure legislation in the interest of the working people, and influence public opinion, by peaceful and legal methods, in favor of organized labor."

#### ECONOMIC PLATFORM

1. The abolition of all forms of involuntary servitude, except as punishment for crime.
2. Free schools, free textbooks and compulsory education.
3. Unrelenting protest against the issuance and abuse of injunction process in labor disputes.
4. A work-day of not more than eight hours in the twenty-four hour day.
5. A strict recognition of not over eight hours per day on all Federal, State or municipal work, and not less than the prevailing per diem wage rate of the class of employment in the vicinity where the work is performed.
6. Release from employment one day in seven.
7. The abolition of the contract system on public work.
8. The municipal ownership of public utilities.
9. The abolition of the sweat-shop system.
10. Sanitary inspection of factory, workshop, mine and home.
11. Liability of employers for injury to body or loss of life.
12. The nationalization of telegraph and telephone.
13. The passage of anti-child labor laws in states where they do not exist and rigid defense of them where they have been enacted into law.
14. Woman suffrage co-equal with man suffrage.
15. Suitable and plentiful playgrounds for children in all cities.
16. The Initiative and Referendum and the Imperative Mandate and Right of Recall.
17. Continued agitation for the public bath system in all cities.
18. Qualification in permits to build of all cities and towns, that there shall be bathrooms and bathroom attachments in all houses or compartments used for habitation.
19. We favor a system of finance whereby money shall be issued exclusively by the Government, with such regulations and restrictions as

will protect it from manipulation by the banking interests for their own private gain.

#### CHARACTER

The character of the American Federation of Labor, which was organized in 1881, though not named "A. F. of L." until five years afterwards, was influenced to no small extent by the character of its predecessor—*The Knights of Labor*.

The A. F. of L. is in reality a federation. Local unions are generally affiliated with it through the nationals. On April 30, 1919, it contained 111 national and international unions, 46 state federations, 816 city central bodies, 884 local trade and federal labor unions, 33,852 local unions, 5 departments, and 572 local department councils. Its membership was reported as 3,260,068.

The officers of the Federation are: a president, eight vice-presidents, a secretary, and a treasurer, each elected the last day of the annual convention. All elected officers must be members of unions connected with the Federation. The responsible administrative work rests with the Executive Council, composed of the eleven officers. The council watches legislative measures, initiates legislation, schedules speakers, and performs many necessary administrative tasks.

National and international unions must pay to the Federation two-thirds of one cent per member per month; local trade unions and federal trade unions, twenty cents, five cents of which must be set aside for strikes, etc. State and central bodies pay \$10 per year. All national unions are supposed to instruct their locals to join the Central labor bodies and state organizations in their vicinities. Seven wage workers of good character favorable to trade unionism, whose trade is not organized and who are not members of any body affiliated with the Federation, may form a local body to be known as a "Federal Labor Union."

The State Federations look after legislation in their respective states and urge more effective organization among the workers. The city councils—meeting generally once a week and composed of representatives from the various locals in the vicinity—look after the general organized labor interests of their respective communities.

The federation possesses also five departments whose object it is to get various unions to co-operate for mutual advantage—the Union Label, the Building Trades, the Metal Trades, the Railway Employees, and the Mining Departments. Each department, after its establishment, supports itself and manages its own affairs, and has its representative at the meetings of the Executive Council.

Although most of the unions connected with the Federation are trade organizations, there are a few industrial unions, including the United Mine Workers, the Brewery Workers, and there is ever more discussion regarding industrial unionism in the ranks of organized labor.

## GROWTH OF MEMBERSHIP

The average paid up and reported membership for the fiscal year ending April 30, 1919, was 3,260,068, the largest total membership of the organizations affiliated to the American Federation of Labor since the foundation of the Federation, and 533,590 greater than last year.

National and international organizations are required to pay per capita tax only upon their full paid-up membership; and therefore the membership reported does not include the members involved in strikes and lockouts, or those who were unemployed during the fiscal year, for whom tax was not received.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Membership</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Membership</i>
1879.....	264,825	1909.....	1,482,872
1898.....	278,016	1910.....	1,562,112
1899.....	349,422	1911.....	1,761,835
1900.....	548,321	1912.....	1,770,145
1901.....	787,537	1913.....	1,996,004
1902.....	1,024,399	1914.....	2,020,671
1903.....	1,465,800	1915.....	1,946,347
1904.....	1,676,209	1916.....	2,072,702
1905.....	1,494,300	1917.....	2,371,434
1906.....	1,454,200	1918.....	2,726,478
1907.....	1,538,970	1919.....	3,260,068
1908.....	1,586,885		

## FINANCES

The total receipts from all sources for the fiscal year of 1919, \$654,687.57; the total expenses, \$587,517.39; excess of receipts over expenses, \$67,169.18.

The following are the receipts and expenses for the twelve months ending April 30, 1919:

## RECEIPTS

Balance on hand April 30, 1918, \$165,320.98. Cash Balance.....	\$125,320.98
Per capita tax .....	\$358,817.96
<i>American Federationist</i> .....	138,388.39
Defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions .....	54,308.19
Initiation fees .....	36,953.98
One-cent assessment .....	26,108.86
Supplies .....	20,485.41
Premiums on bonds of officers of unions bonded through the A. F. of L. ....	9,626.78
Interest on funds on deposit and from U. S. Liberty Bonds .....	4,600.97
Disbanded and suspended unions and fees for charters not issued .....	3,745.22
Reinstatement fees .....	1,651.81
	<hr/>
	654,687.57
TOTAL RECEIPTS.....	\$780,008.55

## EXPENSES

General expenses .....	\$373,017.01
<i>American Federationist</i> .....	122,557.25
One-cent assessment .....	26,108.86
Defense fund:	
Strike benefits to local trade and federal labor unions .....	\$7,636.00
Refund of overpayment of per capita tax .....	18.50
	<hr/>
	7,654.50

Premiums on bonds of officers of affiliated unions.....	8,067.33
Refund of initiation fees.....	113.44
Paid to trustees for A. F. of L. Building Fund.....	50,000.00
<b>Total Expense .....</b>	<b>587,518.39</b>
Cash balance on hand April 30, 1919.....	\$192,490.16

## RECAPITULATION

in general fund .....	\$37,764.27
in Defense Fund for local and federal labor unions (cash).....	154,725.89
<b>Cash balance on hand April 30, 1919.....</b>	<b>\$192,490.16</b>
Loan to Trustee for A. F. of L. Building Fund from Defense Fund .....	25,000.00
<b>Total balance on hand April 30, 1919.....</b>	<b>\$217,490.16</b>

## EXPENSES GROUPED

The following is the grouping under their respective heads of the detailed monthly expenses:

Appropriations:	
Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.....	\$500.00
Per capita tax for directly affiliated local unions:	
Metal Trades Department .....	206.73
Union Label Trades Department.....	59.09
Rent .....	10,507.00
Refunds on premiums on bonds, overpayments on per capita tax and supplies returned .....	87.38
Premiums:	
Bonds, local unions .....	8,067.33
Secretary's bond .....	10.00
Fire Insurance .....	8.37
Expressage, freight and drayage .....	799.18
Legislative expenses .....	6,472.26
Newspapers, magazines and books.....	333.91
Office fixtures .....	337.75
Postage stamps .....	8,004.65
Printing and binding proceedings of the St. Paul Convention.....	2,484.07
Supplies and printing .....	50,171.49
Telegrams .....	6,555.82
Expenses entertaining fraternal delegates from Canada.....	105.97
Expenses of fraternal delegates to Canadian Trades and Labor Congress and Great Britain .....	878.78
St. Paul:	
Committee rooms .....	220.50
Expenses, Secretary attending St. Paul Convention.....	268.41
Messenger, Sergeant-at-Arms, and Assistant Secretary.....	450.00
Printing and supplies.....	216.00
Printing daily proceedings.....	1,889.70
Stenographers .....	2,141.06
Telegrams, telephone, stamps, porters, reading proof, sending out daily proceedings, rent of typewriters and desks, typewriting, photographs, supplies, stationery, and hauling .....	280.93
Salary:	
President .....	7,500.00
Secretary .....	5,000.00
Treasurer .....	500.00
Office employes .....	68,717.49
Expenses:	
Auditing and credential committee .....	542.40
Executive Council meetings .....	10,912.82
Committee rooms, baggage, telegrams, typewriter rentals, etc., E. C. meetings .....	197.50



Stenographers' expenses attending E. C. meetings.....	691.12
President traveling during year.....	1,166.61
Secretary traveling during year.....	844.64
<b>Defense Fund:</b>	
Strike benefits .....	7,636.00
Refund of overpayment of per capita tax received from local trade and federal labor unions.....	18.50
Organizing expense .....	165,609.56
Printing and publishing <i>American Federationist</i> .....	122,557.25
Printing, publishing and editing American Federation of Labor Weekly News Letter .....	5,857.25
Postage on American Federation of Labor Weekly News Letter .....	100.00
Initiation fees refunded to local trade and federal labor unions....	113.44
Paid to trustees for A. F. of L. Building Fund.....	50,000.00
One-cent assessment levied as our Emergency War Measure.....	26,108.86
Floral piece in memory of T. J. Savage of the International Association of Machinists .....	25.00
Expenses A. F. of L. delegate to Union Label Trades and Metal Trades, St. Paul Conventions .....	69.85
Compiling and printing A. F. of L. Year Book.....	5,660.00
Payment on work of Pan-American Federation of Labor.....	1,400.00
Expenses A. F. of L. Committee on Industrial Education.....	296.63
Engrossing resolutions for Messrs. O'Connell, Lennon, and Perham .....	450.00
Expenses Committee on Social Insurance.....	687.09
Legal expenses .....	2,000.00
Pan-American Federation of Labor .....	1,800.00
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>\$587,518.39</b>

### ONE-CENT ASSESSMENT

The St. Paul Convention decided that as an emergency war measure the Executive Council be authorized to levy an assessment of one cent per capita upon the membership of the affiliated organizations.

The E. C. at their meeting, July 23-28 1918, considered the demands upon the funds of the American Federation of Labor created by the war and anticipating the further additional outlay that would be necessary and acting upon the authority provided in the resolution, levied an assessment of one cent per member upon affiliated organizations.

The following is the statement of the amount received from the one-cent assessment and the amount expended:

#### RECEIPTS

Receipts—August 10, 1918, to and including April 30, 1919.....\$26,108.86

#### EXPENSES

<i>Name</i>	<i>Service</i>	<i>Amount</i>
Aug., 1918. Samuel Gompers	On account of expenses as member American Labor Mission to Great Britain, France and Italy.....	\$1,500.00
Dec., 1918. James Duncan	On account expenses as member of A. F. of L. Peace Delegation to Europe .....	1,500.00
Dec., 1918. Jno. R. Alpine	On account expenses as member A. F. of L. Peace Delegation to Europe .....	1,500.00
Dec., 1918. Frank Duffy	On account expenses as member of A. F. of L. Peace Delegation to Europe .....	1,500.00

Dec., 1918.	Wm. Green	On account of expenses as member of A. F. of L. Peace Delegation to Europe .....	1,500.00
Dec., 1918.	G. H. Oyster	On account expenses as an assistant A. F. of L. Peace Delegation to Europe .....	1,000.00
Dec., 1918.	J. B. Mahan	On account expenses as an assistant to the A. F. of L. Peace Delegation to Europe.....	1,000.00
Dec., 1918.	G. W. Perkins	Expenses A. F. of L. Committee on Reconstruction .....	382.66
Dec., 1918.	John Moore	Expenses A. F. of L. Committee on Reconstruction .....	249.55
Dec., 1918.	John Frey	Expenses A. F. of L. Committee on Reconstruction .....	206.02
Dec., 1918.	Matthew Woll	Expenses, salary and expenses, Washington, D. C., to New York and return and expenses A. F. of L. Committee on Reconstruction .....	195.00
Dec., 1918.	B. M. Jewell	Expenses A. F. of L. Committee on Reconstruction .....	60.00
Jan., 1919.	Samuel Gompers	On account of expenses as member of A. F. of L. Peace Delegation to Europe .....	850.00
Jan., 1919.	Samuel Gompers	Amount cabled to A. F. of L. Peace Delegation to Europe on account of expenses.....	5,000.00
Jan., 1919.	Riggs Natl. Bank	Cablegram, charges on money forwarded and message to A. F. of L. Peace Delegation to Europe....	7.36
Feb., 1919.	Samuel Gompers	Amount cabled to A. F. of L. Peace Delegation to Europe on account of expenses .....	5,000.00
Feb., 1919.	Riggs Natl. Bank	Cablegram, charges on money forwarded and message to A. F. of L. Peace Delegation to Europe..	5.68
Aug., 1918 to Feb., 1919,	S. Iglesias	Organizing expenses .....	1,956.20
Aug. to Dec., 1918,	J. Murray	Legislative and organizing expenses .....	1,432.37
Nov., 1918. to Feb., 1919.	C. N. Idar	Organizing expenses .....	1,264.02
TOTAL.....			\$26,108.86

## RECAPITULATION

Receipts .....	\$26,108.86
Expenses .....	26,108.86

## RECORD OF A. F. OF L. UNIONS

Reports from the secretaries of 101 of National and International organizations furnish the information that 6,743 charters have been issued during the past year and 1,719 lapsed and surrendered; 1,215 of the charters lapsed and surrendered were locals of the National and International unions and 504 affiliated direct with the American Federation of Labor.

Reports were received from 66 National and International organizations and from local unions directly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The reports show that there were 1,515 strikes, in which there were 234,466 involved. 208,876 secured improved conditions. The total cost of the strikes re-

## LABOR MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES 147

ported on was \$1,391,883.30. Adding to that amount \$82,547.49, donations made by unions for financial assistance of other unions, we have a total of \$1,474,380.79 expended to sustain members on strike during the past year.

### MEMBERSHIP IN THE NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS AFFILIATED WITH THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, 1914-1919

The figures were computed from the number of the votes allotted each organization at the annual conventions of the American Federation of Labor—one vote for every hundred members or major fraction—based upon the average reported and paid up membership to the American Federation of Labor. It is to be assumed that the actual membership in the various unions is greater than that reported to the Federation.

ORGANIZATIONS	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919
Bakery & Conf. Wkrs IUA.	15,700	15,800	17,500	18,900	20,400	21,000
Barbers .....	34,300	34,100	35,900	39,800	38,400	35,900
Bill Posters .....	1,400	1,400	1,500	1,500	1,600	1,600
Blacksmiths .....	9,600	8,500	9,700	12,000	18,300	28,300
Boilermakers and Iron Ship- builders .....	16,700	17,300	18,200	31,200	55,500	84,900
Boot and Shoe Workers.....	38,100	35,600	39,000	39,600	35,800	36,800
Bookbinders .....	9,400	8,500	9,300	11,400	14,500	16,400
Brewery Workers .....	52,000	52,000	49,600	45,000	45,000	40,000
Brick and Clay Workers.....	3,200	2,900	3,200	2,800	2,500	2,700
Bricklayers, Masons & Plas. .....	.....	.....	.....	70,000	70,000	70,000
Broom and Whisk Makers..	700	700	800	700	700	1,000
Brushmakers .....	200	200	200	200	(1)	(1)
Carpenters and Joiners.....	212,800	195,600	197,700	231,700	267,300	307,900
Carriage and Wagon Wkrs	3,500	3,800	4,000	4,200	(2)	(2)
Carvers, Wood .....	1,100	1,000	1,100	1,200	1,200	1,000
Cigarmakers .....	40,000	39,400	37,700	41,600	39,500	36,300
Clerks, Railway .....	5,000	5,000	5,100	6,800	17,200	71,400
Clerks, Railway Postal.....	1,500	2,000	2,700	(3)	(3)	(3)
Clerks, Retail .....	15,000	15,000	15,000	15,000	15,000	15,000
Clerks, Post Office.....	2,800	3,200	4,200	(3)	(3)	(3)
Cloth Hat and Cap Makers..	3,600	3,000	6,300	8,800	(4)	(4)
Commercial Telegraphers ..	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	2,000
Compressed Air & Founda- tion Workers .....	1,000	1,200	1,400	1,600	(5)	(5)
Coopers .....	4,500	3,900	3,600	3,900	4,000	4,000
Cutting Die & Cuttermakers	300	300	200	200	200	200
Diamond Workers .....	300	300	300	400	400	500
Draftsmen .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,800
Electrical Workers .....	30,800	36,200	36,200	41,500	54,400	131,200
Elevator Constructors .....	2,700	2,700	2,800	2,900	2,900	3,000
Engineers .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	7,900	12,800
Engineers, Steam .....	20,300	21,000	21,000	22,000	23,000	25,000
Engravers .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	100
Federal Employees .....	.....	.....	.....	8,100	10,900	20,400

(1) Disbanded. (2) Suspended for failure to comply with decision of A. F. of L. Convention. (3) Brotherhood of Railway Postal Clerks and National Federation of Post Office Clerks merged. (4) Suspended for failure to comply with decision of A. F. of L. (5) Merged with Hod-carriers. (6) Merged with Painters. (7) Suspended for non-payment of per capita tax. (8) Leather Workers on Horse Goods and Travelers' Goods merged with Leather Novelty Workers. (9) Not recognized. (10) Merged with Bookbinders. (11) Merged with Timber Workers.

ORGANIZATIONS	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919
Fire Fighters .....					2,300	15,400
Firemen, Stationary .....	16,000	16,000	17,000	17,000	17,100	20,500
Foundry Employees .....	600	600	800	1,300	3,300	5,400
Fur Workers .....	800	3,700	5,700	8,100	10,000	10,800
Garment Workers .....	60,700	42,200	43,000	44,900	45,900	46,000
Glass Bottle Blowers.....	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000
Glass Workers .....	1,200	1,100	(6)	(6)	(6)	(6)
Glass Workers, Flint.....	9,900	9,400	9,400	9,800	9,900	9,500
Glass Workers, Window.....					700	5,000
Glove Workers .....	1,100	1,000	1,000	800	700	700
Grinders & Finishers.....	300	300	200	(7)	(7)	(7)
Granite Cutters .....	13,500	13,500	13,100	12,500	11,900	10,700
Hatters .....	8,500	8,500	8,500	8,500	9,100	10,000
Heat and Asbestos.....	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,600	1,800
Hodcarriers .....	25,600	31,900	32,400	32,400	36,700	40,000
Horseshoers .....	5,700	5,700	5,800	5,400	5,400	5,400
Hotel & Restaurant Employees	59,000	60,600	59,000	64,600	65,200	60,800
Iron, Steel & Tin Workers	6,400	6,500	6,700	11,000	16,100	19,700
Iron and Struc. Workers....	10,200	10,000	10,000	(2)	16,000	17,000
Jewelry Workers .....			5,300	4,300	4,800	5,100
Lace Operatives .....	1,200	1,200	1,100	1,200	1,200	900
Ladies' Garment Workers....	69,900	65,300	85,100	82,300	89,500	90,500
Lathers, Metal .....	5,500	6,000	6,000	6,000	6,000	6,000
Laundry Workers .....	2,800	4,100	4,300	4,600	5,500	6,000
Leather Wks, Horse Goods	1,800	1,800	1,800	(8)	(8)	(8)
Leather Workers .....				3,200	4,100	6,700
Letter Carriers .....				2,500	30,500	30,700
Lithographers .....	2,800	3,500	4,200	4,600	4,900	5,600
Longshoremen .....	25,000	25,000	25,000	25,500	26,000	31,300
Machinists .....	75,400	71,900	100,900	112,500	143,600	254,600
Machine Printers and Color Mixers .....	500	500	500	500	500	500
Maintenance of Way Empl	6,500	8,100	8,900	9,700	5,600	54,200
Marble Workers .....	4,100	1,600	600	1,000	1,000	1,000
Masters, Mates and Pilots..			4,000	4,300	4,800	6,200
Meat Cutters and Butchers	6,200	6,100	7,300	9,600	29,100	66,300
Metal Workers, Sheet.....	17,800	17,800	17,500	17,600	18,300	20,200
Metal Polishers .....	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000
Mine Workers .....	334,500	311,600	318,000	352,000	413,400	393,800
Mine, Mill & Smelter Wks..	36,900	16,700	16,100	17,900	16,700	17,800
Molders .....	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	51,600
Musicians .....	60,000	60,000	60,000	60,400	65,000	65,400
Oil Field Workers.....						4,500
Painters .....	74,400	75,300	78,200	85,200	84,500	82,700
Papermakers .....	4,400	4,500	5,200	6,400	6,000	5,700
Patternmakers .....	6,700	6,500	6,500	7,000	8,800	9,000
Pavers and Rammermen.....	1,600	1,600	1,500	1,500	1,700	1,800
Paving Cutters .....	3,500	3,500	3,300	3,200	3,200	2,600
Photo-Engravers .....	4,700	4,800	5,100	5,100	5,100	5,000
Piano & Organ Workers....	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,500	2,000	2,000
Plasterers .....	18,000	18,300	18,400	19,000	19,000	19,000
Plumbers and Steamfitters..	29,700	32,000	32,000	32,000	32,000	32,000
Postal Employees .....				8,100	10,100	14,500
Powder & Explosive Wrkrs	200	200	300	300	400	300
Potters .....	7,700	7,800	7,700	7,600	7,800	7,400
Printing Pressmen .....	19,300	22,700	29,000	33,000	34,000	34,000
Printers, Plate .....	1,300	1,300	1,200	1,300	1,200	1,300
Print Cutters .....	400	400	400	400	400	400
Pulp and Paper Mill Wrkrs	3,500	4,300	4,400	6,500	8,000	8,400
Quarry Workers .....	4,000	3,600	3,500	3,500	3,100	3,000
Railway Carmen .....	28,700	29,300	30,800	39,000	53,400	100,400
Railway Employees .....	54,500	58,900	64,600	73,700	78,600	89,700
Railway Mail Workers.....					9,400	13,400

# LABOR MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES 149

ORGANIZATIONS	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919
Roofers .....	1,200	1,200	1,200	1,200	1,200	1,000
Sawsmiths .....	100	100	100	100	100	100
Seamen .....	16,000	16,000	21,700	32,200	37,100	42,700
Signalmen .....	700	800	900	800	900	6,200
Slate and Tile Roofers.....	600	600	600	600	600	600
Slate Workers .....	300	300	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)
Spinners .....	2,200	2,200	2,200	2,200	2,200	2,200
St'm Shovel & Dredge Men .....	2,700	2,700	2,000	2,900	3,700	(9)
Steel Plate Transferers.....	100	100	100	100	100	100
Stereotypers & Electrotyp..	4,500	4,900	4,900	5,200	5,300	5,400
Stonemasons .....	6,000	4,400	4,300	4,100	4,200	3,900
Stone Mounters .....	1,100	1,100	1,200	1,700	1,900	1,900
Switchmen .....	9,800	9,000	9,300	10,200	10,700	11,800
Tailors, Journeymen .....	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000
Teachers .....	.....	.....	2,700	2,100	1,000	2,800
Teamsters, Chauffeurs .....	51,100	51,600	59,000	70,300	72,900	75,600
Telegraphers, Railroad .....	25,000	25,000	25,000	27,200	37,700	44,600
Textile Workers .....	18,000	18,900	25,500	37,100	45,900	55,800
Theatrical Stage Employees	15,000	18,000	18,100	18,600	18,600	18,500
Tile Layers and Helpers.....	3,000	3,000	2,800	2,800	2,500	(9)
Timber Workers .....	.....	.....	.....	200	2,300	3,200
Tip Printers .....	(2)	(2)	300	300	2,300	(10)
Tobacco Workers .....	3,700	3,900	3,400	3,200	3,300	4,200
Travelers' Goods Workers..	900	900	1,000	(8)	(8)	(8)
Tunnel & Subway Constr's	1,700	1,500	2,700	3,400	2,400	2,000
Typographical Union .....	59,400	59,100	60,700	61,600	63,300	64,700
Upholsterers .....	3,500	3,500	3,900	4,000	4,800	5,500
Weavers, Elastic Goring.....	100	100	100	100	100	100
Weavers, Shingle .....	2,500	700	400	500	(11)	(11)
White Rats Actors.....	11,000	8,700	9,000	4,700	3,000	3,000
Wire Weavers .....	300	300	300	300	300	300

## THE 1919 A. F. OF L. CONVENTION

The 39th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor held in Atlantic City, N. J., from June 7 to June 24, 1919, differed from previous conventions of the Federation only in that it brought out more clearly the characteristics of the trade-union movement of America as a result of the prevailing spirit of unrest and criticism.

It was a reflection in a large measure of the satisfaction of the leadership of the Federation in helping to prosecute the war and the successful conclusion of that war. The convention was told that the A. F. of L. was the peer of any labor movement in the world and had actually strengthened the trade-union movements of the Allied nations when they were weakening during the last year of the war.

Almost all official recommendations were upheld by an overwhelming vote, the only evidence of any dissenting opinion being the nature of some of the 211 resolutions introduced but always defeated when of a radical nature.

The recommendations of the Federation officials were overwhelmingly supported on all vital issues, the multiple vote cast by the delegations of the big international unions going to the support of the administration without fail.

On the floor of the convention when a critic declared the

leadership to be reactionary, it was pointed out that almost invariably the great majority of the vote supported them.

Under the system of representation based upon the average membership of the international and other unions affiliated in the Federation, it was possible for 65 out of the 577 delegates to cast 28,000 out of a possible 34,000 votes, which explains this statement.

#### PRELIMINARIES

"The conflict for industrial democracy is just beginning," declared Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, in his opening address to the convention in response to salutary speeches made by Major Harry Bacharach of Atlantic City and Arthur A. Quinn, president of the New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

Previous to Gompers' address, which was the key-note speech of the convention and sounded the new international relationship of labor through the League of Nations, a cablegram was read from President Wilson, lauding Gompers for having "established in international circles as well as at home, the reputation of the American Federation of Labor for sane and helpful counsel."

#### INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The afternoon of the first day was consumed with the reading of the report of the American Federation of Labor Delegation to the Peace Conference by James Duncan, first vice-president. This included the exchanges by cable between the A. F. of L. and various European labor leaders, a complete account of the clashes with the radical labor movements abroad, criticizing the Berne Trade Union Conference, and finally, gave the first draft convention creating a permanent organization for the promotion of international regulation of labor conditions as part of the League of Nations.

One of the main complaints against the Berne Conference was the following:

"In the meantime, while the Berne Conference was refusing to condemn the Bolsheviks, failing to fix the war responsibility upon the Germans or to remove the International Secretariat from Berlin, and declaring for an impossible international super-parliament, the A. F. of L. delegation remained at Paris in close touch with the Peace Commissioners. Conferences were held with President Wilson and the American Commission to negotiate peace, and the just hopes and aspirations of the working people were presented and explained. We also made known our reasons for refusing to attend the Berne Conference and our position in the matter was approved by the President and the American Commissioners."

On the second day, a report was read of the American Federation of Labor mission to Italy by John Golden, president of the United Textile Workers, and later in the convention the report of the mission to Great Britain, France, and Italy was read by John P. Frey, International Molders' Union, and that of W. J. Bowen, president of the Bricklayers, Masons, and Plasterers International Union, fraternal delegate to the British Trade Union Congress at Derby.

Miss Margaret Bondfield, fraternal delegate from the British Trades Union Congress, addressed the convention bringing the greetings of the organized wage earners of Great Britain to the members of the American Federation of Labor.

The substance of her remarks was that the British labor movement—industrial, co-operative, and political, has united to create a new state and that its revolutionary plan to democratize industry has been formulated and is now being worked out.

She described the grouping together of the British unions into industries, the greatest combination of all being the Triple Alliance, composed of the miners, the railroad workers, and the transport workers. "So strong is this group," she said, "that no government would dare ignore the direct consultation of these representatives in any question affecting their trades."

She spoke of the conference in England between the labor groups, the employers, and the Government where the British trade unionists definitely stated that the capitalist system of industrial organization had broken down and that labor was determined to challenge the whole existing order and to reorganize society on democratic lines.

Miss Bondfield emphasized the interest of the British labor movement in controlling the education of the people so that a militarist generation would not grow up; the decision of the Trade Union Congress to dissolve the General Federation of Trade Unions, which had intrigued to oppose the radicals in international affairs and finally declared that the most revolutionary structural change in Great Britain in recent years was the addition of the third wing to the British movement—the co-operatives, who would bring producing genius to the already well developed political and industrial forces of the labor movement.

Miss Bondfield's address electrified the convention and she received tremendous applause and a rising vote of thanks.

Her co-delegate from England, S. Finney, then spoke, to be followed by B. Suzuki, fraternal delegate from the Workmen's Friendly Society of Japan, a government labor organization, and T. M. Walsh, fraternal delegate from the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.

Other speeches were made in the course of the convention, one of the most noteworthy being an address by Glenn E. Plumb, counsel of the four railroad brotherhoods, advocating the railroad workers' plan for government ownership and democratic control of the railroads. The executive council of the Federation was later instructed to take necessary steps toward realizing this project.

#### PROHIBITION

The first important controversy resulted over the introduction of a resolution signed by over 100 delegates urging the convention to express its strong disapproval of war-time prohibition and requesting the exemption of beer from the provisions of

the eighteenth amendment to the U. S. Constitution. The resolutions committee recommended concurrence and debate.

James A. Duncan of the Seattle Central Labor Council, John B. Lennon, of the Bloomington (Ill.) Trades and Labor Assembly, and C. A. Strickland, of the Portland (Ore.) Central Labor Council opposed the recommendation of the committee.

Secretary Frey of the committee, C. C. Shay of the Theatrical Stage Employes, John H. Walker of the United Mine Workers and President Gompers defending it.

A roll call was demanded and the result showed 26,476 votes in favor; 3,997 votes against, and 1,503 votes not cast.

Delegations of the large internationals that split their vote in favor of prohibition included the boilermakers, longshoremen, miners, painters, typographical union. Delegates that voted solidly against, included maintenance of way employes, spinners, stereotypers, and teachers. The railway clerks delegation declined to vote on the question.

Later on the motion of John B. Colpoys, representing the Washington Central Labor Union, the convention voted to adjourn in order to hold a demonstration on the steps of the Capital at Washington on Saturday, June 14 in favor of beer, a special train being provided at the expense of the Brewery Workers Union.

#### THE POSTAL EMPLOYEES

P. H. McCarthy, chairman of a committee that went to Washington to confer with A. Sidney Burleson, Postmaster General, on the grievances of the electrical and telephone operators on the telephone system in control of the Government under war emergency legislation reported that a "complete reversal of opinion" had been obtained, and that Burleson had signed an agreement extending the right to employes of telephone companies to bargain collectively through representatives chosen by them.

McCarthy reported that this nullified a previous order of the Postmaster General which dismissed from the employ of the Government any person who went on strike.

Edward J. Gainor, president of the Association of Letter Carriers, asked if the same right was thereby extended to other federal employes and he received an affirmative answer, but it was admitted that the commercial telegraphers then on strike had not been referred to during the conversation with Burleson.

The power of the electrical workers' union, of which the telephone operators are a branch, to cripple the service alone forced Burleson to recede from his established practice of opposing organized labor; so that the convention later in the session as at the two previous conventions adopted a resolution calling on President Wilson to ask for the resignation of the Postmaster General who had "ruthlessly invaded the rights of the



employes (federal) and has interfered in defiance of law with the proper functioning of their organizations."

#### IRISH INDEPENDENCE

The one successful attack on the administration was the overturn of the committee on resolutions' recommendation "that the principle of self-determination of small nations applies to Ireland" for the more stronger amendment from the convention itself calling for recognition of the Irish republic and later providing in the indorsement of the League of Nations that this should not exclude Irish independence.

The Irish nationalists in the convention backed by the radicals anxious to score over the administration and demonstrate the imperialist character of the peace settlement forced the issue and defeated the committee recommendation amid cat calls and cries of derision by a vote of 181 to 150 and adopted the amendment asking recognition for Ireland by the Peace Conference.

#### THE RUSSIAN QUESTION

This was the only revolt of the convention, the Irish being placated and assisting in the condemnation of the Russian Soviet republic soon thereafter.

Peter Bollenbacher, of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor brought in a resolution adopted at the state federation convention asking the convention to request lifting the blockade of Russian ports and send supplies to the Russian people. C. A. Strickland of Portland, Ore., asked for the immediate withdrawal of all American troops from foreign soil, principally Russia. A third resolution introduced by James A. Duncan of Seattle called for a referendum of the membership of the American Federation of Labor to find out if they are in favor of recognition of the Russian workers' republic.

John P. Frey, secretary of the resolutions committee, brought in a recommendation as a substitute urging the Government to withdraw all troops from Russia but refusing the endorsement of the Soviet Government or any other Russian government until a constituent assembly has been held to establish "a truly democratic form of government."

"The official claim of that (Soviet) government," maintained Secretary Frey, "is that they represent the workers, and for that reason your committee recommends that such a form of government should not receive the endorsement of this convention until the people of Russia, voting in a popular election, decide for themselves that that is the form of government they want.... If we believe in a democratic form of government, it is impossible, if we are consistent, to endorse the Soviet form of government."

Vigorous opposition from Max Silansky, Journeymen Tailors' Union; John P. Coughlin, Brooklyn Central Labor Union; Andrew Furuseth, president International Seamen's Union; Max

S. Hayes, International Typographical Union, failed to change the result and the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

#### THE MOONEY CASE

The Mooney case brought another line up, the radicals being opposed by the Gompers leaders and the solid international union bloc which dominated the convention by virtue of the multiple vote.

The convention went on record asserting that Thomas J. Mooney was entitled to a new trial, "methods of almost sinister character" having been used to convict him, but also condemning harshly the International Workers' Defense League which awoke the workers to the injustice done Mooney and the general strike advocated by the League to obtain a new trial for Mooney, other means having failed.

The recommendation urged the executive council to devise practical measures to obtain a new trial for the San Francisco labor leader.

#### NEGRO WORKERS

One of the favorable results of the convention was the support obtained by the Negro workers from the executive council and the convention, tending to break down the bars against admission of colored workers in the international unions. Nearly fifty of the international officials reported that they raised no barrier against the Negro, and the convention authorized the formation of federal locals of all colored workers refused membership in any international union.

#### POLITICAL PRISONERS

Political prisoners received no comfort from the convention. Resolutions introduced by the radicals calling for amnesty were defeated, one prominent speaker, a musician's delegate and a former district attorney, denouncing them as jail birds who deserved what they got. The convention approved of the pardoning of some of the imprisoned radicals when the peace treaty was signed.

#### THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The most dramatic incident of the convention was the solitary stand made against the League of Nations covenant and the labor charter contained in the peace treaty by Andrew Furuseth, the seamen's leader.

He declared that American labor contrary to its thirty year record of refusing to ask for legislation for economic gains was bound by a super legislature, the League of Nations, which would dictate the terms under which the free and slave populations of the world would labor.

He used arguments that have been successful in all former conventions when used by Gompers, and the latter, the chief advocate of the League, admitted that the American workers

had little to gain but that the "backward" countries would benefit and that the league was necessary to bring "international" harmony.

Furusetth informed the convention that in the absence of the American representatives to the International Labor Legislation Commission entrusted with drawing up the draft convention, Premier Borden, the representative of the Canadian government had changed one of the principles regarded by Gompers as of primary importance after the Americans left Paris, namely, "that labor is not an article of commerce" to read "that labor is not *merely* an article of commerce", changing a positive to an absolute negative.

The debate was delayed until President Gompers had communicated with President Wilson at Paris, who replied by cable that "while the labor provisions are somewhat weakened, it is the opinion of the friends of labor and my own opinion that they are not materially weakened."

After this, without giving the radicals a chance to make a real criticism of the composition of the League of Nations, the matter was put to a roll-call vote after the Irish amendment had been carried.

#### ELECTION OF OFFICERS

The entire executive council of the American Federation of Labor and its national officials were re-elected, Matthew Woll, president of the International Photo-engravers' Union being added as eighth vice-president to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of John R. Alpine, second vice-president.

Until the 1920 convention the executive council is composed of:

Samuel Gompers, president; James Duncan, first vice-president; Joseph F. Valentine, second vice-president; Frank Duffy, third vice-president; William Green, fourth vice-president; William D. Mahon, fifth vice-president; Thomas A. Rickert, sixth vice-president; Jacob Fischer, seventh vice-president; Matthew Woll, eighth vice-president; Daniel J. Tobin, treasurer; Frank Morrison, secretary.

The only contest appeared in the case of Rickert, president of the United Garment Workers who was opposed by Thomas Sweeney, secretary of the Journeymen Tailors, Rickert winning by 28,229 votes to 2,661 for Sweeney, cast by the radical element.

William M. Hutcheson, president of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners and John J. Hines, president of the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers, were elected fraternal delegates to the British Trade Union Congress.

Samuel Griggs, secretary-treasurer of the Granite Cutters' Association was elected delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

Samuel Gompers was appointed to represent the Federation at the meeting of the Trades Union International Congress in Amsterdam on July 25.

## ACTION ON RESOLUTIONS

The following is a summary of decisions on important resolutions which came up before the convention.

1. *Organization*

Complaint against Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Men for organizing West Indian Negroes in Canal Zone by the Panama Canal Zone Federation of Labor was referred to the executive council for investigation and action.

Admission of all foreigners who are journeymen to American unions without payment of initiation fee was rejected on the ground that the A. F. of L. cannot interfere with international unions.

Request to organize the 100,000 employees in the laundry industry throughout the country from International Laundry Workers' Union, concurred in by sending letters to A. F. of L. organizers.

Other requests to organize timber workers of the South, enameling workers, city policemen, wire glass workers, 500,000 office workers, were referred to the executive council.

Application for international charters for building, cleaning, domestic service employes (janitors, etc.) was referred to executive council for investigation.

Voted to grant charters to unions of city policemen.

Refused to organize an international union for skilled and unskilled Negro workers, pointing out that many international unions welcome colored workers and promised to organize Negroes refused membership by any international union in federal locals of the A. F. of L.

Continued Committee on Co-operatives to use funds provided by donations for the purpose of stimulating this movement.

Refused to concur in resolution asking for termination of all contracts with employers on May 1 on ground that this was a matter for the international unions to determine.

Not concurred in a resolution to have unions insist on right of workers to elect their foremen on the job.

Refused to encourage the formation of organizations of ex-service men friendly to organized labor but suggested that they join the labor unions of their calling or trade.

Not concurred in a resolution to reorganize the labor movement by changing the craft line plan of organization to one based on the plan of industries or plant unions making all working cards universally interchangeable.

Refused to draw up and recommend to the international unions that do not provide an initiative and referendum for their members a model instrument of this kind.

Favored formation of an international union of stenographers, bookkeepers, and accountants in commercial pursuits as distinct from civil employes, directing the executive council to take necessary steps.

2. *Jurisdictional Disputes*

Ordered a conference for the dissolution of the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen.

Continued investigation of dispute between the stationary engineers and the electrical workers over crane men.

Voted to give executive council power to suspend charter of the International Jewelry Workers' Union in case efforts to separate machinists and polishers from that organization fail.

Recommended amalgamation of all factions of the textile workers with the United Textile Workers of America.

Continued investigation of a dispute between machinists and flint glass workers and the photo-engravers and pressmen over the lithographers.

Approved extension of jurisdiction of brewery workers to include all soft drink workers.

Withheld revocation of the charter of the United Cloth Hat and Capmakers of North America until executive council could make another

effort to amalgamate this organization with the United Hatters of North America.

### 3. *Political.*

Favored federal department of education with a secretary as member of the cabinet.

Favored extension of suffrage to the District of Columbia with 450,000 residents and Canal Zone with 3,350 population.

Favored civil service of librarians and representation of organized workers on boards of trustees of libraries.

Favored broad program of scientific and technical research by federal government for national welfare.

Concurred in resolution asking the assistance of labor organization for the Bureau of Naturalization to help foreign born to become citizens.

Condemned mob violence against Negroes, pogroms in Poland, Ukrania, and Eastern Europe.

Supported federal trade commission in investigation of Meat Trust.

Condemned One Big Union movement of Western Canada.

Went on record to urge Congress to recognize the Irish Republic.

Instructed executive council to co-operate with the railroad brotherhoods favoring government ownership and democratic control of the railroads.

Not concurred in request to change Labor Day from first Monday in September to May 1, International Labor Day.

Favored immediate withdrawal of American troops from Russia, refused to indorse Soviet Government of Russia, refused to take action lifting the blockade against Russia, refused to submit matter of Russian Soviet recognition to membership of A. F. of L.

Decided that a new trial for Thomas J. Mooney was an imperative necessity and recommended the executive council to devise practical means of securing this but condemned movement for a general strike to free Mooney and the International Workers' Defense League for agitating against A. F. of L.

Recommended investigation into the possibility of establishing a dollar of stabilized purchasing power.

Requested President Wilson to remove Postmaster General A. Sidney Burleson from office.

Urged the support of labor organizations to obtain the ratification of the suffrage amendment to the federal constitution by the several states.

Reported favorably on a resolution for initiative and referendum amendment to the constitution of the United States asking the executive council to take action after further investigation.

Referred to executive council a resolution asking an investigation of the deportation of Hindoos who were sentenced to death on arrival in India by British authorities.

Requested executive council to devise means of restricting speculation, gambling, and profiteering in the necessities of life.

Voiced general approval of the U. S. Department of Labor and its numerous bureaus asking more liberal appropriations.

Recommended that on the signing of the treaty of peace all laws enacted during the war emergency restricting the rights of free speech, press, and freedom of assemblage be repealed but that no general pardon be extended to political prisoners.

Approved of the covenant of the League of Nations.

### 4. *Labor Legislation*

Not concurred in request to support legislative action to secure minimum wage.

Concurred in request for federal employment agency for actors.

Concurred in legislative action to secure \$1,000 minimum annual wage for public school teachers and \$1,200 for high school teachers in District of Columbia.

Request to establish trade union information bureau at Ellis Island was referred to the Executive Council for investigation and action.

Condemned plan of Senator Calder and Congressman Gould to emasculate Seamen's act, and hostile interpretations of the act by the Secretary of Commerce.

Favored giving civil employes a hearing before dismissal or discharge under civil service regulations, as well as the right to appeal.

Favored a retirement bill for superannuated civil employes.

Went on record in favor of the restriction of immigration for a fixed number of years.

Recommended that musicians be brought under the provisions of the alien contract labor law.

#### 5. *Miscellaneous*

Favored federal investigation into labor cost in comparison to selling price of product of all industries and federal investigation of salaries of federal employes to make an upward revision.

Instructed executive council to draw up a bill to be submitted to Congress which provides that all articles held in storage must bear date of manufacture and storage to break hoarding system.

Supported federal employes against invasion of their jobs by ex-service men who are not required to pass civil service examinations.

Wanted building programs of national, state, and city governments stimulated by fiscal legislation.

CHARLES LAUE.

## THE NATIONAL WOMEN'S TRADE UNION LEAGUE OF AMERICA

### PLATFORM

1. Organization of all workers into trade unions
2. Equal pay for equal work regardless of sex
3. The eight-hour day, and the 44 hour week
4. A living wage
5. Full citizenship for women

### ORGANIZATION AND AFFILIATION

The founding of the National Women's Trade Union League of America in 1903 marked a new stage in the trade organization of women. It has grown in numbers and influence. It has its headquarters in Chicago and branches for local work in New York, Chicago, Springfield (Ill.), Boston, Worcester (Mass.), St. Louis, Baltimore Philadelphia, Kansas City (Mo.), Washington, D. C., Cincinnati, Grand Rapids (Mich.), Madison (Wis.), Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Rock Island (Tri-City).

The Executive Board consists of president, vice-president and secretary and eight additional members. By an amendment of the constitution these eight were elected at the last convention by the Hare-Spence system of the single transferable vote, the best method of proportional representation. The Women's Trade Union League is the first long-established national labor organization to put this in practice.

The Women's Trade Union League is endorsed by the American Federation of Labor and the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, and is represented at their conventions by fraternal delegates. It has received moral and financial assistance from the American Federation of Labor and from international and local unions in many trades. It has held seven biennial conventions, the last in Philadelphia in 1919.

It publishes its own magazine, *Life and Labor*, and issues from

time to time a great amount of literature on women in industry, their problems and how to handle them.

The League claims an affiliated membership of 600,000 women trade unionists, while many thousands of trade union men are also enrolled in its ranks.

The trades of the women members, and the women's locals in active connection with the branch leagues cover such widely varied occupations as bag makers, bakery and confectionery workers, beer bottlers, bindery women, boot and shoe workers, bookkeepers and stenographers, cigar makers, cooks, garment workers in many subdivisions, glove workers, hospital attendants, hat trimmers, laundry workers, office cleaners, paper-box makers, printers, teachers, telephone operators, waitresses, machinists, librarians, and organized public employes.

Besides local leagues and committees, the organizations affiliated (122 in number) include thirty national unions, such as the International Seamen's Union, the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, the United Mine Workers, the International Ladies' Garment Workers, and the Electrical Workers; there are also eight state federations, and seventy-seven city central labor bodies.

The League has locally as well as nationally a membership among both individuals and organizations sympathetic with its aims and subscribing to its platform, although not themselves part of the labor movement.

It is impossible to give any idea of the number of women who are organized. Only few states make an effort to collect the figures. The ascertaining of this and of many other facts concerning the relation of women to industry is part of the work that will fall to the share of the Women's Division in the Department of Labor at Washington, as soon as it is placed upon a permanent basis, with an appropriation adequate to its needs and commensurate with the importance of the service it can render. To enable such a division to answer to the challenge of the time, it will be necessary that there be established in every state department of labor a corresponding women's bureau or division, to see to the enacting of the laws and to their administration, as the function of a federal bureau is necessarily mainly educative and advisory. Only four states so far have even made a beginning in this direction: Minnesota, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, and New York.

In their own districts the local leagues play an important part in labor activities concerning women, whether it be in time of strike, creating public opinion when the workers find all ordinary channels of publicity closed to them, or again, assisting weak organizations to become strong; educationally in maintaining classes and holding meetings; or in the legislative field, where, in co-operation with other groups, **they persistently** work for suffrage and such other legislative reforms as will benefit the workers, especially the women workers. But as

a federation of women's trade unions, its most important function is to foster unceasingly the spirit of solidarity among the exploited women wage-workers, whether these be doffers in an Eastern textile mill, city waitresses, women in a furniture factory in the Middle West, or teachers in Chicago.

Following is a list of groups in which League organizers have been active, some of which required close attention and the full time of organizers and students:

Artificial Flower and Feather workers; Bakery workers; Broom makers; Candy makers; Cigar and Cigarette makers; Corn Products workers; Dress makers; Electrical workers; Film inspectors; Fur workers; Hospital employees; Ladies' Tailors and Dressmakers; Laundry workers; Leather workers; Librarians; Machinists; Millinery workers; Office workers; Piano and Organ workers; Playground directors; Retail Clerks; Scrubwomen; Soap makers; Sweater makers; Teachers; Telegraphers; Telephone operators; Textile workers; Upholsterers; Waistmakers; Waitresses; Workers in Packing Plants.

The League has taken an active part in the struggle to maintain industrial standards, and to ensure the appointment of trade union women upon such public bodies which deal with industrial conditions affecting women workers.

The office of the League in Washington, D. C., has become a center both for direct legislative work in Congress, and for publicity service, sent out weekly, covering all the League's activities.

The Educational Department from its headquarters in Chicago continues its work for the training of organizers and has constant calls for many more organizers than it can supply. The Department stands ready to train fair-thinking and far-seeing leaders for the thousands of girls who are now standing at the doors of the labor movement waiting to be led in.

A number of interstate conferences have been held in Philadelphia, New York, Boston, and Chicago. These serve as opportunities for co-operation in both organizing and Legislative work and fill a very real need in the two-year period between national conventions and go into detail regarding local needs and progress.

The appointment of Miss Mary Anderson, organizer of the Women's Trade Union League, and for many years a member of the Executive Board of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, as assistant director to the Chief, Miss Mary Van Kleeck, of the Women-in-Industry Service of the U. S. Department of Labor, has meant much to the working women of this country.

Miss Agnes Nestor and Miss Melinda Scott, both officers of the League, were elected as members of the Labor Mission to Europe sent by the American Federation of Labor in the spring of 1918.

The League sent over Miss Mary Anderson and Miss Rose Schneiderman, president of the New York League, to represent the organized working women of this country at the Peace Conference. They were able to get in touch with the working



women in both France and England, and plan with them reconstruction work.

### THE PHILADELPHIA CONVENTION

The Seventh Biennial Convention was held in Philadelphia June 2 to 7, and was attended by over a hundred delegates. The work outlined in Kansas City for social and industrial reconstruction, and the part the League may play therein, was reported upon through the channels of almost every committee. The importance of the international basis for all permanent reconstruction was further emphasized by the appointment of a committee on international relations and the intention to call a working women's international congress in Washington during the early fall, about the time the first International Labor Congress under the proposed League of Nations meets at the call of the Government of the United States.

The women's labor and co-operative movement in Great Britain was strongly and ably represented at the Philadelphia Convention by Mary R. MacArthur, of the British Women's Trade Union League; Margaret Bondfield, of the National Federation of Women Workers, and the first woman fraternal delegate from England to the American Federation of Labor; and Mrs. Eleanor of the Women's Co-operative Guild.

Alice Henry.

### STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS IN THE UNITED STATES IN 1917 AND 1918<sup>1</sup>

The disturbances do not seem to have been confined to any district or industry. One-seventh of the strikes occurred in New York City and vicinity. It is difficult to particularize the more important strikes of the two-year period, 1917 and 1918. Many of them were short and involved large numbers of employees. In both years strikes of miners, shipbuilders, longshoremen, machinists, and workers connected with the erection of cantonments throughout the country attracted general attention. In 1917 probably the largest disturbances were those that occurred in the oil fields of Louisiana and Texas; in the telephone systems in Arkansas and the Pacific Northwest; in the packing houses in St. Louis and Omaha; among the sugar-cane workers in Porto Rico; in the sugar refineries in New York and Philadelphia; among the potters in Ohio and New Jersey; in the silk mills in Hoboken and vicinity; in the iron and steel industry in Pittsburgh; among the cigar makers in Porto Rico and New York City; hatters in Danbury, Conn.; shoemakers in New York City; in the various clothing industries in New York City, Philadelphia, and Chicago; in the northwest lumber industry; and the general strike in Minneapolis and St. Paul. In 1918 probably the largest disturbances were those that occurred

<sup>1</sup> From *Monthly Labor Review*, June, 1919, pp. 307-25.

among the tailors of New York City; in the textile industry in New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Philadelphia; among the garment workers in Chicago and the tailors in New York City; the paper mills in northern New York; the cigar makers of New York City and St. Louis; the trolley systems of Buffalo, Kansas City, and St. Louis; the molders and teamsters of Chicago; the retail clerks of St. Louis; the pressmen and waiters and subway laborers in New York City; the General Electric strike; and the general strike in Kansas City.

#### CITIES IN WHICH 25 OR MORE STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS OCCURRED IN 1917 OR 1918

The largest number of disputes occurred in the leading manufacturing states:—New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Illinois, over one-half of the strikes being in these states.

<i>City</i>	<i>Strikes</i>		<i>Lockouts</i>	
	1917	1918	1917	1918
Baltimore, Md. ....	33	44	3	1
Boston, Mass. ....	81	62	5	1
Bridgeport, Conn. ....	25	11	....	2
Buffalo, N. Y. ....	27	24	....	....
Chicago, Ill. ....	118	91	5	9
Cincinnati, Ohio ....	33	24	....	2
Cleveland, Ohio ....	67	38	9	1
Denver, Colo. ....	25	17	1	2
Detroit, Mich. ....	18	17	1	....
Hartford, Conn. ....	17	7	....	....
Holyoke, Mass. ....	9	17	....	....
Jersey City, N. J. ....	23	7	1	....
Kansas City, Mo. ....	36	17	....	2
Milwaukee, Wis. ....	13	11	1	....
Newark, N. J. ....	47	36	3	....
New York City ....	470	462	13	16
Paterson, N. J. ....	26	20	1	....
Philadelphia, Pa. ....	86	78	3	2
Pittsburgh, Pa. ....	35	18	2	1
Providence, R. I. ....	46	18	....	....
Rochester, N. Y. ....	27	34	....	1
San Francisco, Cal. ....	35	29	2	1
St. Louis, Mo. ....	51	69	2	1
Seattle, Wash. ....	46	26	3	2
Springfield, Mass. ....	27	12	....	....
Toledo, Ohio ....	16	24	....	3
Trenton, N. J. ....	15	11	....	....
Youngstown, O. ....	1	5	....	....
Wilkesbarre, Pa. ....	25	8	....	....

#### RELATION OF STRIKES TO TRADE-UNIONISM

In 1918 the employees were connected with unions in 1,811 strikes and 73 lockouts; they were not connected with unions in 356 strikes and 4 lockouts; in 26 strikes they were not so connected at the time of striking, but organized almost immediately thereafter; in 988 strikes and 27 lockouts the relation of employees to unions was not reported. In 1917 the corresponding figures were 2,277 strikes and 95 lockouts, 201 strikes and 3 lockouts, 55 strikes, and 1,700 strikes and 28 lockouts.

## PRINCIPAL CAUSES OF STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS, 1917 AND 1918

The causes of strikes and lockouts were numerous. Aside from wages few strikes occurred in which the cause was confined to one matter in dispute. The principal causes are shown in the table following:

<i>Matter in dispute</i>	<i>Strikes</i>		<i>Lockouts</i>	
	1917	1918	1917	1918
Increase of wages.....	1,507	1,352	17	14
Decrease of wages.....	34	34	2	2
Nonpayment of wages.....	17	31	1	....
Increase of hours.....	18	6	....	....
Decrease of hours.....	122	79	5	....
Increase of wages and decrease of hours..	372	248	4	2
General conditions .....	95	54	4	2
Conditions and wages.....	70	50	1	2
Conditions and hours.....	17	2	1	....
Conditions, wages, and hours.....	26	8	....	....
Conditions and recognition.....	13	7	....	....
Recognition of the union.....	275	186	39	35
Recognition and wages.....	148	95	5	2
Recognition and hours.....	27	16	1	....
Recognition, wages, and hours.....	56	66	....	....
Discharge of foreman demanded.....	37	53	1	....
Discharge of employes.....	203	137	3	....
Employment of non-union men.....	76	61	1	....
In regard to the agreement.....	75	41	3	....
New agreement .....	22	4	2	....
Sympathy .....	68	34	1	1
Jurisdiction .....	20	16	....	....
Miscellaneous .....	173	170	5	9
Not reported .....	762	431	30	35
Total.....	4,233	3,181	126	104

## NUMBER OF STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS, BY CLASSIFIED NUMBER OF PERSONS INVOLVED, 1917 AND 1918

<i>Number of persons involved</i>	<i>Strikes</i>		<i>Lockouts</i>	
	1917	1918	1917	1918
1 to 10.....	151	135	7	9
11 to 25.....	268	256	8	10
26 to 50.....	318	318	9	9
51 to 100.....	343	337	3	13
101 to 250.....	338	354	10	13
251 to 500.....	281	272	3	9
501 to 1,000.....	191	139	1	2
1,000 to 10,000.....	217	200	4	4
Over 10,000 .....	67	16	1	1
Not reported .....	2,059	1,154	80	34
Total.....	4,233	3,181	126	104

In 1918, in 2,027 strikes and 70 lockouts the number of persons involved was reported to be 1,192,418 and 43,041, respectively, or an average of 588 and 615 respectively. Omitting the 200 strikes and 5 lockouts in which the number of persons involved exceeded 1,000 each, the average number involved in the remaining strikes was 113 and in the lockouts was 127. In 1917, in 2,174 strikes and 46 lockouts, the number of persons involved was reported to be 1,193,867 and 19,133 respectively or an average of 549 to 416, respectively. Omitting the 234 strikes and 5

lockouts in which the number of persons involved exceeded 1,000 each, the average number involved in the remaining strikes was 169 and in the lockouts 105.

NUMBER OF STRIKES IN THE LEADING INDUSTRY GROUPS IN WHICH  
THE LARGEST NUMBER OF STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS  
OCCURRED 1917 AND 1918

<i>Industry</i>	<i>Strikes</i>		<i>Lockouts</i>	
	1917	1918	1917	1918
Building trades .....	439	410	21	17
Clothing industries .....	475	410	12	18
Furniture industry .....	40	25	3	1
Iron and steel workers.....	56	71	....	2
Leather workers .....	19	15	....	1
Lumber industry .....	295	74	4	1
Meat cutting .....	35	39	2	....
Metal trades .....	504	435	31	23
Mining .....	405	177	2	5
Paper manufacturing .....	36	34	1	....
Printing and publishing.....	40	39	3	4
Shipbuilding .....	101	136	....	2
Stonework .....	23	14	....	....
Textile industry .....	233	202	5	3
Tobacco .....	44	47	2	2
Transportation .....	330	186	1	....

NUMBER OF STRIKES IN INDIVIDUAL OCCUPATIONS IN WHICH THE  
LARGEST NUMBER OF STRIKES OCCURRED, 1917 AND 1918

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Strikes</i>		<i>Lockouts</i>	
	1917	1918	1917	1918
Bakers .....	92	41	13	4
Boiler makers .....	43	27	1	....
Boot and shoe workers.....	37	48	1	2
Brewery workers .....	22	26	....	....
Brickmakers .....	9	5	....	....
Building laborers .....	72	26	2	....
Carpenters .....	97	75	3	3
Freight handlers .....	58	24	....	....
Glassworkers .....	19	13	2	....
Hat and cap makers.....	43	34	3	....
Inside wiremen .....	33	44	2	4
Longshoremen .....	61	29	....	....
Machinists .....	195	203	13	7
Metal polishers .....	23	24	6	1
Miners, coal .....	339	149	2	5
Molders .....	155	108	5	6
Painters .....	41	57	4	1
Plumbers and steam-fitters.....	53	70	4	3
Rubber workers .....	15	13	....	1
Sheet-metal workers .....	32	45	2	....
Street railway employees.....	111	115	1	....
Structural iron-workers .....	15	19	....	....
Tailors .....	53	48	1	1
Teamsters .....	163	127	6	2

RESULT OF STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS, 1917 AND 1918

<i>Result</i>	<i>Strikes</i>		<i>Lockouts</i>	
	1917	1918	1917	1918
In favor of employers.....	366	417	13	5
In favor of employees.....	581	591	17	15
Compromised .....	679	659	21	17

Employees returned pending arbitration....	131	198	6	5
Not reported .....	142	212	1	21
Total.....	1,889	2,077	58	63

## DURATION OF STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS, 1917 AND 1918

Duration	Strikes		Lockouts	
	1917	1918	1917	1918
Less than 1 day.....	88	84	....	....
1 day .....	190	140	2	2
2 days .....	107	164	2	3
3 days .....	89	119	3	....
4 days .....	57	108	1	1
5 days .....	45	66	1	1
6 days .....	61	63	....	....
7 days .....	86	112	2	2
8 days .....	25	55	....	3
9 days .....	25	37	2	....
10 days .....	39	54	1	....
11 days .....	23	23	....	....
12 days .....	37	24	....	1
13 days .....	12	16	....	....
14 days .....	37	47	1	2
15 to 18 days.....	69	84	1	4
19 to 21 days.....	42	64	2	2
22 to 24 days.....	21	36	1	....
25 to 28 days.....	31	33	3	2
29 to 31 days.....	28	55	....	2
32 to 35 days.....	26	27	....	....
36 to 42 days.....	33	37	1	1
43 to 49 days.....	25	29	3	1
50 to 63 days.....	35	39	....	7
64 to 77 days.....	19	16	3	....
78 to 91 days.....	11	15	1	....
92 to 199 days.....	49	28	4	2
Over 200 days.....	9	21	....	....
Not reported .....	580	479	24	28
Total.....	1,899	2,077	58	63

Included in the above table as "not reported" are 127 strikes and 4 lockouts in 1918, and 200 strikes and 3 lockouts in 1917 designated in the reports as "short" but their exact duration is not given.

In addition there were, in 1918, 68 strikes and 8 lockouts and in 1917, 75 strikes and 1 lockout in which the places of the employees were filled very soon after the strike occurred, and the work became normal in a few days, but the bureau has no record that these disturbances were ever formally settled.

The total duration of these strikes was 28,386 days and of the lockouts 1,096 days in 1918, the average duration of the former being 18 days and of the latter 31 days. If, however, the disturbances lasting more than three months were omitted from consideration, the average was 13 days and 24 days, respectively. In 1917, the total duration of these strikes was 24,076 days and of the lockouts 1,904 days, the average of the former being 18 days and of the latter 56 days; or, considering only those disturbances that lasted less than three months, the average was 13 days and 27 days, respectively.

The commissioners of conciliation of the Department of Labor handled 596 strikes and lockouts in 1918, and 303 in 1917, and settled 317 of them in the former year and 137 in the latter. In 136 strikes and lockouts the employees returned to work, agreeing to leave the settlement of their disputes to the War Labor Board. In 1918, labor leaders ordered strikers back to work in 58 cases and in 1917, in 72. Between April 6, 1917, the date of our entrance into the war, and November 11, 1918, the date of the signing of the armistice, 6,026 strikes and lockouts occurred. The bureau has statements that 388 strikes and lockouts occurring during the 19 months of actual warfare, were in the war industries, but inasmuch as practically all the strikes in the shipbuilding, iron and steel, and metal-trade industries, and most of those in the leather, men's clothing, and textile industries, and many of those in the various building trades, railroad, and mining occupations were connected with the war more or less directly, the number of war strikes is doubtless much larger.

#### THE STRIKE OF THE AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America in 1918 again was the vanguard of the progressive labor movement of the United States and Canada by leading the struggle for the establishment of the forty-four hour week. The Amalgamated led other American trade unions in 1917 in the establishment of the forty-eight hour week.

The struggle for the shorter work week was begun in New York City on October 28 when the Joint Board of the Children's Clothing Trades began a general strike to enforce the demand for the establishment of the forty-four hour week and for wage increases of 20 per cent. In the midst of negotiations with Dr. William Z. Ripley, Administrator of Labor Standards for Army Clothing, leading to arbitration of the demands, the American Men's and Boy's Clothing Manufacturers' Association on November 9 locked out the workers in the men's clothing industry, adding 50,000 to the number on strike in the children's clothing trade.

The New York Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers on November 11 called out all workers from independent factories in a general strike to fight the lockout and to enforce demands for the forty-four hour week and for wage increases.

The demand for the reduction in the work week was made primarily to provide places in the shops for thousands of clothing workers who had entered the nation's fighting forces and to ensure employment in civilian clothing factories of the workers who had been making military clothing. Soldiers and sailors who were discharged from the army and navy showed their approval of this fight for them by leading the strikers on the picket line.

The employers' association complained to Secretary of War Baker against the presence of uniformed men on the picket line, bringing a reply from the private secretary of the Secretary of War in which Secretary Baker was quoted as declaring the presence of uniformed men on the picket line "improper."

The uniformed men continued to be active at strike meetings, however.

Jacob H. Schiff, New York financier, endeavored to bring an end to the strike on December 18 by inviting representatives of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the Employers' Association to a conference to discuss possible arbitration. The employers assumed such a hostile attitude at the conference that the negotiations fell through.

The strikers were encouraged to fight until victory when announcement was made on January 7, 1919, that the firm of Hart, Schaffner and Marx of Chicago granted the forty-four hour week and wage increases to 8,000 clothing workers in amicable negotiations with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

The victorious conclusion of the New York strike was brought about at conferences initiated by Chairman Felix Frankfurter of the War Labor Policies Board. Frankfurter on January 15 invited both parties to come together to discuss possible means of ending strife in the clothing industry. At a meeting with Frankfurter the union and the employers' association agreed to continue conferences with an Advisory Board composed of Frankfurter, Dr. William Z. Ripley and Louis Marshall.

The Advisory Board on January 22 recommended the establishment of the forty-four hour week not only for the New York market affected by the general strike but also throughout the clothing industry. The Advisory Board urged the scientific computation of the effect of the increased cost of living before the granting of wage increases and recommended the selection of an impartial chairman to adjust differences in the shops.

The award of the Advisory Board was approved at mass meetings of the strikers on January 23, and the return to work, with the forty-four hour week established, was begun on January 27. George R. Bell, Executive Officer of the National War Labor Policies Board, left that post on February 11 to become Impartial Chairman in the relations between the Amalgamated and the New York Employers' Association and the machinery for amicable relations was established.

An investigation of the effect of the cost of living on the wages of clothing workers was ordered. Investigations were made at the same time by representatives of the Amalgamated and the Employers' Association. The wage award was made on March 4. Week workers were given a wage raise of \$2.00 a week; knee-pants workers were given a 12½ per cent wage raise and all other piece workers were awarded a 10 per cent increase. All wage increases were fixed to begin April 1.

The victory in the New York strike was followed by victories

in Rochester, Baltimore, Boston, Philadelphia and other cities where the forty-four hour week was granted by the employers to avoid general strikes. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers celebrated International Labor Day on May 1 with the eight hour day and Saturday half holiday established in every important clothing manufacturing center of the United States and Canada.

A remarkable feature of the New York strike was that it was financed solely by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, with the exception of contributions of about \$11,000 from friendly organizations. An efficient strike relief organization was formed which took charge of the payment of strike benefits to thousands of men and women so that the difficult task of relief payment was performed without a hitch for nearly three months.

IRA W. BIRD.

### THE NEW YORK HARBOR STRIKE

Never has a better demonstration of industrial power been displayed than that shown by the two strikes of the 17,000 harbor workers of the Port of New York, organized in the eight local unions and banded together in the Marine Workers' Affiliation as a fighting unit.

Early in January 1919, the men went on strike, and for five days the harbor was as calm as a mill pond. Even the ferries, which connect the populous suburbs with the city proper, ceased running. Tugs, lighters, ferries, scows, barges, the entire harbor equipment was at a standstill with the exception of hospital boats and tugs necessary to stand by transports filled with returning soldiers of the American Expeditionary Forces.

The attention of the entire world was centered on the Port and brought about the intervention of the President who was attending the first session of the Peace Conference. He asked the National War Labor Board to take up the case. The workers acceded, but the boat owners spurned the suggestion. The men went back to the boats on the recommendation of their officers, confident in the Board's decision.

Allowing but one of the towing companies to be represented at the hearings which followed by their counsel, the boat owners precipitated a long wrangle in which they tried to entangle Frank P. Walsh, formerly joint chairman on the War Labor Board, who had resigned that position but a short time before, and became the workers' chief counsel before the Board.

The harbor workers submitted demands for an eight-hour day for all crafts including captains, mates, engineers, harbor boat-men, lighter captains, hoisting engineers, firemen, scow captains, and miscellaneous crafts of the port and terminal work as well as requests for substantial increases in wages.

When the testimony came before the full War Labor Board of six representatives of the employers and six representatives



of the labor unions, the employers' group struck against the admission of any evidence on the eight-hour day demand, thus hopelessly deadlocking the board. They appointed V. Everett Macy, who had been previously selected by the President, as umpire of the dispute.

Macy soon afterward handed down an award which was less than the employers' members of the war board were willing to give. This so enraged the harbor workers that on March 4 they went on strike a second time. The boat owners who had carefully refrained from appearing before the board during the hearings now claimed that they were willing to be bound by the decision of the government's umpire saying that the men were opposing their own tribunal.

The U. S. Railroad Administration a few days after the strike began admitted the inadequacy of the Macy award and granted the basic eight-hour day to the crews of ferry boats, tugs, and steam lighters. For the other craft controlled by the railroad administration, compromises were affected with the hope of attracting the private boat owners who continued to remain stubborn.

Then followed six weeks of strike in which perfect solidarity was displayed until an official of the International Longshoremen's Association by his influence over the Tidewater Boatmen's Union and the Lighter Captain's Union induced this group of strikers to settle with the employers and then had the Railroad Administration demand that these men be permitted work with the scabs that had been recruited for a number of tugs. Faced by division in the ranks and dissention created by this international official, the strikers were ordered back to work by the Affiliation leaders, and the case of the workers on the vessels of the private boat owners was referred to a committee from the unions and the owners created at the suggestion of Mayor Hylan.

While the full fruits of the splendid strike of the Marine Workers' Affiliation were lost by internal disorder, yet the strikes brought big improvements. On government craft the basic eight-hour day with time and a half for overtime as well as substantial increases was won. The previous rate was a basic ten-hour day and twelve hours work for each shift. Since the various government departments controlled at least 65 per cent of the shipping, more than half of the strike was won.

The men on the private boats went back for the basic ten-hour day and received substantial increases granted by the companies as individuals.

The idea of the Affiliation of the harbor crafts remains strong among the much divided harbor workers and its second attempt to improve conditions will probably bring a greater victory. The two strikes of 1919 were the first efforts of the Marine Workers' Affiliation of the Port of New York, which

is just one year old. The backing of 45,000 longshoremen aided the harbor workers considerably.

CHARLES LAUE.

### THE SEATTLE GENERAL STRIKE

The five-day general strike which took place at Seattle, Washington, February 6 to 11, 1919, attracted wide attention, not only because it was the first of its kind in America, but also because it was heralded by the press of the country as an attempted revolution. The claim has also been made that it was inspired by Russian agitators and promoted by the I. W. W.

The fact is that the strike was conceived and carried out entirely by craft unions of the American Federation of Labor with the sole object of assisting shipyard workers to win their strike for an increase in wages. Nevertheless, the general strike would not have been possible had it not been for the radicalism of the Seattle labor movement.

This radicalism with its propaganda of solidarity and class militancy, and its demand for new methods and policies in the labor movement, seems to have grown up during the war, or concurrently with the growth of the shipbuilding industry, which doubled the union membership.

The influx of young, transitory workers in the shipyards, the news of the Russian revolution received through their own daily newspaper, the success of the Metal Trades Council with its "blanket agreement" experiment in industrial unionism, and, in a minor degree, the I. W. W. propaganda against craft isolation, these are probably some of the factors in the growth of the new spirit.

Twice during the war a shipyard strike had been narrowly averted by patriotic appeals. On January 21, the 32,000 shipyard workers struck to force a revision of the wage scale set by the Macy Wage Adjustment Board. The following day the Central Labor Council was asked to take a referendum for a general, sympathetic strike on the plea that the shipyard strike was for the benefit of the unskilled workers, that it involved the principal industry of the city, and that its failure might mean open shop conditions for half of the labor organizations.

The response was immediate and hearty. Conservative unions voted for the strike by large majorities. One hundred and ten unions in all responded to the call on February 6. Street cars stopped running, restaurants, theatres, barber shops, laundries were closed. Most stores remained open, but with little business. No newspapers were printed until the third day, when a makeshift edition of one paper was distributed by the police. A few exemptions were allowed by the strikers "for public health and safety." Garbage wagons and funeral cars bore permits from the Strike Committee.

Milk was sold from 35 stations by the Milkmen's Union. The people were fed at 22 improvised eating places by the

culinary carts. An unarmed Labor Guard patrolled the quiet streets.

#### MAYOR HANSON'S PART

A committee, supposed to represent 32 business and civic organizations met to try to end the strike by military force. Mayor Ole Hanson elected as a "progressive" was caught between the two forces. He dickered frantically with the strikers without result. Then he arranged a conference between the two committees. The business men's conferees, after a preliminary meeting, reported that their body had declared the strike to be a revolution and instructed them not to confer with the strikers any further.

The mayor was now forced to choose between the two contending sides. He elected to stand with the business men. Realizing that it meant the wreck of his political fortunes locally, he grasped at the possibilities in a national role as a suppressor of an imaginary revolution. He issued an ultimatum that if the strike were not called off by 8 o'clock in the morning of February 8, the city would be placed under martial law. He issued also a series of bombastic proclamations and sent out sensational interviews to the outside press. One of his later interviews with the *San Francisco Call* reports him as saying: "The revolutionary element in Russia has established common use of women, and that's what they tried to do in Seattle."

The time limit for the general strike had been left to be determined by the course of events. A divergence of opinion soon developed between those who wanted to stay out until the shipyard strike was won, and those who considered the general strike merely a temporary demonstration. A few of the unions taking the latter view had voted to call their strike off the night of the 8th, but the mayor's attitude angered them and they reconsidered and decided to continue, the only important exception being the Street Carmen.

The mayor failed to make good on his threat of martial law, and on February 11, several unions having declared that the strike had served its purpose and that they would not remain out any longer, the general strike was declared off by an almost unanimous vote. Exactly a month later the shipyard workers returned under the same conditions they had left, including the closed shop.

The outstanding feature of the strike was the monotonous quiet that prevailed. Arrests fell from an average of over fifty per day to an average of twenty for the first four days. General Morrison, who would have had charge in case of martial law, expressed his amazement. None of the arrests had any connection with the strike.

A similar strike, though not so complete, took place at the same time in Tacoma.

HULET M. WELLS.

## THE LAWRENCE TEXTILE STRIKE

The Lawrence Textile Strike of 1919 is one of the most significant labor struggles of the reconstruction period. Beginning on February 3, as a result of an agitation for an eight-hour day by the United Textile Workers' Union of the A. F. of L., it continued without a serious break until a complete victory was achieved on May 20.

The reason for the walkout on February 3 was simple and clear. After the demand for a 48-hour week had been made upon the mill men by a United Textile Workers' Union of about 200 members, the American Woolen Company, one of the largest concerns in Lawrence, inserted a slip in the envelopes of their workers asking whether they wanted six hours less pay. This threatened reduction aroused much feeling among the workers and they immediately elected delegates to a central committee pledged to fight against the reduction. The mill men at once announced that they would grant the 48 hour week and time and a half for overtime. This was rejected and the strike was called to secure a 48-hour week without reduction in pay. 48-54 became the slogan.

For the first few weeks practically all the 32,000 mill operatives were out. About 10,000 English speaking workers, mostly French-Canadians and Irish-Americans, rapidly drifted back to the mills. Later, most of the Greeks, the Portuguese, the Turks, and straggling groups among the other nationalities drifted back. The Italians, Poles, Lithuanians, Russians, Ukrainians, Syrians, Franco-Belgians, Germans and Jewish, numbering between 15,000 and 20,000, were the backbone of the strike, and there was never a serious break among them in the 16 long weeks of the strike.

The strikers, the General Strike Committee, and the leaders who came to help, suffered every form of vilification and persecution. Newspaper hostility, citizen committees, police brutalities, denial of open air meetings even on private property, paid spies in the Strike Committee and among the people, attempts to frame up the leaders, and finally the use of lynch law by masked Vigilantes upon two of the strike leaders.

The most significant development growing out of the struggle is the organization of the Amalgamated Textile Workers of America, a new international textile industrial union which is already a great power in the textile industry. This organization was made possible by the foresight of the officials of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, who committed their organization to a program of active co-operation with the Lawrence strikers through contributing experienced organizers and financial support. A convention on April 12 in New York City brought together delegates from the leading textile centers of New Jersey, Paterson, Passaic, Hackensack, and Hoboken, as well as from Lawrence, and the new union was formed.

The co-operation secured through this organization might well be considered the deciding factor in the victory achieved.

Too much cannot be said about the wonderful spirit of solidarity, the idealism, and sacrificing endurance of the Lawrence workers. Time after time, they surprised their leaders by the determination and enthusiasm with which they continued the struggle. They were prepared to leave Lawrence and the United States rather than to submit to a reduction of wages, and they published this fact far and wide. Although the workers of the country contributed nearly \$100,000 to the support of the strikers, during the last three terrible weeks, no regular relief could be issued for lack of funds. But it was this exhibition of determined courage which many believe to be the real cause of the victory. The mill men came to know that they could never again have their workers back unless their demands were granted, and on May 20, nearly all the mills announced that an increase of 15 per cent would go into effect June 2, and that there would be no discrimination against their striking workers. The 48-hour week without reduction of pay has now been achieved for practically all of the textile workers of the northern states. The Lawrence workers do not claim all the credit for this general improvement of conditions, but they do know that the general propaganda about the textile industry made possible by the long Lawrence struggle, has had a very large part in the general victory won.

HARVELL L. ROTZEL.

### THE CLEVELAND CLOAKMAKERS' STRIKE

The end of the summer of 1918 brought to a close a remarkable chapter in the book of struggles of the makers of women's wear in the Middle West.

The peace in the Cleveland cloak controversy came ostensibly after a strike of four weeks duration, but in fact it marked the finale of "Seven Years' War," intense and bitter and full of sacrifice and persecution. It had begun in 1911, and upon two occasions reached the high climax of a general strike.

Unlike New York, Philadelphia, Boston and other centres, the women's wear trade of Cleveland is concentrated in a few large shops controlled by wealthy employers or corporations. In these big factories, for most part modern and sanitary, the employers have been lording it over their "hands" ever since the beginning of the industry in Cleveland. The cloakmakers were largely imported or have drifted into Cleveland from New York and Chicago, and, once in the grip of the "shop," obediently had to bow to its ironclad laws, for which they were compensated with longer seasons and more steady work. These longer seasons were, however, the result of smaller wages and longer working hours, by means of which the Cleveland firms were able to compete successfully with Eastern manufacturers on cheaper lines of garments, and these longer work seasons

were, in the end, of no advantage to the workers. In order to fasten down the workers to their jobs an extensive practice of fictitious home-owning under heavy mortgages to their employers, was fostered among them, which put them completely under the thumb of the men who owned their jobs and homes.

In order to ward off any spark of self-reliance and independent action among their employees the Cleveland firms have further introduced in their shops a system of section-work which made it possible for newcomers to get employment after a short apprenticeship and opened the shops to a flood of Hungarian and Italian girls, welcomed as excellent material for exploitation and as a whip over the heads of the men. In addition to that, most of the bigger shops introduced "efficiency" systems and surrounded the workers with an impenetrable barrier of voluntary espionage, weekly reports, tempered with free lunches, shop dances, etc., etc.

### THE STRIKE OF 1911

It was against all these antagonistic factors and elements that the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union took the field early in the spring of 1911 in an intensive campaign of organization and education. The response of the workers, after a few months of agitation, was truly remarkable. In spite of the rigid system of control that permeated their shops and home life, the workers broke loose from the spell under which they were held and began to join the union in large numbers. In order to save the men and women from wholesale discharges and discrimination it was decided best to call a general strike in the industry and to fight out the issue in one assault. The strike was called in the summer before the beginning of the fall season, and at once brought to a standstill the entire trade. The New York cloakmakers, who had won their big strike just a year before, rallied to the support of their Cleveland co-workers with remarkable zeal. This strike lasted for twenty-five weeks and cost the International Union more than \$400,000. It was finally broken through the concerted efforts of the combined employers of Cleveland backed to the limit by the local police and the courts. Injunctions, numerous arrests of the workers, persecutions of the strike leaders, foreclosures of mortgages on workers' homes, was too much even for the remarkable fighting vigor of the cloakmakers. So the strike was given up.

### THE LAST CONFLICT

The opportune moment finally came in the summer of 1918. Like many other garment shops those of Cleveland were, during that summer, engaged in making large orders for the Government. The local unions had during the preceding six months grown stronger and the International decided on a general strike. Demands were presented to the employers for a raise in wages, standard union hours coupled with a request for

arbitration. The employers flatly and arrogantly refused and the strike followed. As usual, the cloakmakers responded with a splendid show of courage. In two days ninety per cent of them left the shops. The city authorities and the press, with rare exceptions, again ranged themselves on the side of the employers and the police, as of old, did its best to break the spirit of the strikers. The National War Labor Board and Secretary of War Baker, however, quickly took a hand in the situation. The War Department asked both sides to agree to arbitration and the manufacturers who already saw defeat staring them in the face, accepted the invitation. Secretary Baker forthwith appointed a Board of Referees, headed by President Hopkins of Dartmouth College, then an assistant to the Secretary of War, which took up the grievances of the workers for investigation with powers of awarding an adjudication. The workers meanwhile returned to their shops elated over their first victory.

After an exhaustive study of the conditions of the cloak trade in Cleveland and elsewhere, the earnings of the workers and their standards of work, the referees rendered a decision which was highly favorable to the workers. Later this decision was amplified; it provided for a scale of wages covering every part and section of the trade and for its thoroughness was equal to the best scales in the union towns in the East. It recognized shop committees and also recommended a Board of Arbitration to pass upon matters that could not be settled between the union and the employers. These were the maximum demands to which the Cleveland workers had ever aspired. President Benj. Schlesinger, of the International Union, has contributed enormously towards the final settlement of the Cleveland campaign and has guided the organizing work in that city during all these trying four years.

MAX DANISH,  
*Asst. Sec'y-Treas.,*  
*International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.*

### THE MOONEY CASE<sup>1</sup>

Thomas Mooney was convicted on the charge of murder on February 9, 1917, and on February 24, he was sentenced to be hanged on May 17. Labor all over the country took up the case at once because there was sufficient evidence on the surface to warrant the belief that Mooney had been convicted on perjured evidence. It was discovered that the chief witness of the prosecution, Oxman, had confessed in certain letters that he had committed perjury.

The legal proceedings involved in the case dragged along until November 28, 1918. In the meantime, the execution of the sentence of death was several times postponed because of various

<sup>1</sup> For an account of the earlier stages of the Mooney case see the *American Labor Year Book*, 1917-18, pp. 80-83.

legal steps taken by the defense who pushed the case to the court of last resort, and then kept it there until all possible technicalities had been exhausted.

During this time, due to the pressure of the labor agitation and also for international reasons, President Wilson twice asked Governor Stephens of California to give Mooney a new trial. Governor Stephens took the attitude that the matter was in the hands of the state court and that neither he nor President Wilson could act.

Later President Wilson directed a committee of the War Labor Board under the chairmanship of Felix Frankfurter, who was then in Bisbee, Ariz., to proceed to California and to look into the Mooney trial. This was by far the most important legal development of the case. After inviting a considerable number of witnesses and after investigating conscientiously and carefully into the proceedings of the trial, the committee reported to President Wilson among other things as follows:

"We find in the atmosphere surrounding the prosecution and trial of the case, ground for disquietude. This feeling has been re-enforced by one factor of controlling importance. The most damaging testimony produced against Mooney came from a witness named Oxman, who testified with convincing detail of the presence of Mooney and Billings at the place and at the time where it was essential for them to have been—if proof of their participation in the crime was to be established. After Mooney's conviction there came to light letters written by Oxman prior to his having been called to testify. The plain import of these letters is an attempt by Oxman to suborn perjury in corroboration of vital testimony which he was to give—and did give—against Mooney. The fact is that he did write letters which tend completely to discredit any testimony he might give, and no testimony from Oxman, in the light of the letters—would receive credence necessary to lead to conviction. In fact, after the exposure of Oxman, the District Attorney did not question him, though valuable as a witness in the trial of Mrs. Mooney.

When Oxman was discredited, the verdict against Mooney was discredited. If the Supreme Court should find error, reverse and grant a new trial, the relief the situation needs would be provided. If the Court finds the record discloses no reversible error and therefore affirms the conviction, relief will have to be supplied through executive action of the Governor of California and co-operation of the prosecuting officer."

This report called forth a storm of abuse from District Attorney Fickert and his associates. Fickert attempted at one time to impugn the character of Frankfurter, claiming that Frankfurter had made private statements expressing his belief in Mooney's guilt. Frankfurter denied this assertion vehemently.

Events in Russia made of the Mooney case a *cause celebre*, equal to that of the famous Dreyfus case. Radical labor determined to call a general strike for May 1, 1918. This project



was dropped at Mooney's own request. Finally on September 16, the Supreme Court of the State of California denied a writ of error. This exhausted the legal possibilities of the case and Mooney was sentenced to be hanged within 90 days of the passing of the sentence. This date was definitely settled by the court for December 13.

Finding that all possibility of legal recourse was gone, labor determined again that it would not permit Mooney to be hanged, and threatened a general strike. Governor Stephens responded finally to popular pressure by commuting the death sentence on November 28, 1918, to life imprisonment. He expected evidently that the workers would be satisfied by this concession. While it is true that the commutation of the sentence caused a temporary cessation of activity in Mooney's behalf, the workers are not yet satisfied that justice has been done in the Mooney case. Mooney himself expressed dissatisfaction with the commutation of his sentence.

His position is that if he is guilty, he ought to suffer the full penalty of the law, and that if he is not guilty, he ought to be set free. Labor all over the country has expressed its dissatisfaction with the commutation of the sentence.

In the meantime, most of the charges against Mrs. Mooney have been dropped. Nolan has been freed and all the charges against him have been dismissed. Bail for Mrs. Mooney has been reduced to \$2500.

On January 14-17, 1919, the National Labor Congress on the Mooney Case, called by the International Workers' Defense Union and attended by over 1000 delegates representing labor unions, voted to call a general strike for July 4, if Mooney were not released or granted a new trial before that time. A referendum of the local unions was taken throughout the country on the question of the general strike. About 900 unions had sent in their affirmative votes by the end of May.

While the four day strike in behalf of Mooney did not assume the proportions the leaders of the movement expected, the International Workers' Defense Union reports that nearly one million workers were idle on those days, with Chicago alone having 200,000 on strike. With the American Federation of Labor leaders opposing the strike, the Mooney forces consider the results a great showing.

DAVID P. BERENBERG.

## AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA

The history of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America is a long chain of successful struggles which have made the organization known throughout the country. Its aggressiveness, vigor, fighting capacity, and thorough democracy account for its phenomenal growth and success.

Since its existence it has fought battles that other organizations, much older and richer, have not dared to undertake.

## ANTECEDENTS

In 1891 an organization known as the United Garment Workers of America was organized. Nominally the organization is still in existence, but it is no longer a factor either in the industry or in the labor movement. It has failed to organize the clothing workers of the country or to hold the confidence of those clothing workers who happened to be in the organization. The only bond between the officers and the members was mutual antagonism. Space will not permit a discussion of the reasons for the failure of the U. G. W., but its inherent incapacity for organization is proven by its failure and the success of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers in the same industry, with the same people, and in less than one-fifth of the time.

The strikes of 1913 served as a turning point in the history of the clothing workers' organization. The workers began to build strong local unions against the wishes of the general officers. The fear of the increasing membership, which was aggressive and militant, made the reactionary general officers so blind with madness, that they excluded without warrant almost all the clothing workers' delegates from the biennial convention of the organization held in October, 1914, in Nashville, Tenn., disfranchising at least seventy per cent of the membership. The delegates who were allowed to take their seats were almost entirely from the locals of overall workers, whom the general officers had then and still have at their mercy by means of the union label.

If there was any one thing that the clothing workers abhorred, it was the union label. By that label the workers were crushed between the upper millstone of the employers and the nether millstone of the union officials.

## THE NASHVILLE SPLIT

The delegates who were barred from the convention by the general officers, and also some of the delegates who had been seated, held their own convention in the same city. They elected Sidney Hillman, General President; Joseph Schlossberg, General Secretary, and a General Executive Board, and established a complete machinery for the work of the organization. Their action was quickly ratified by the rank and file, who immediately began to pay dues to the new administration, thus supplying a fighting treasury.

When the convention of the American Federation of Labor in Philadelphia, in 1914, was appealed to by the clothing workers, the convention refused to listen to the appeal. The disfranchised members were pronounced secessionists. The deposed officers thought that that term of anathema from the lexicon of trade union officialdom would be sufficient to annihilate the spirit of self-consciousness among the workers.

## THE BALTIMORE CONFLICT

Immediately upon its assuming office the new administration was confronted by a serious industrial conflict in Baltimore. Without a treasury, without effective machinery, because of the lack of time to establish it, and against terrible odds, the General Executive Board took up the fight. The situation was particularly complicated and aggravated by the fact that a section of the locked-out workers, the cutters, adhered to the deposed officers, while the tailors pledged allegiance to the new administration. The cutters' refusal to work in harmony with their fellow-workers in the other branches of the industry was mainly due to the fact that for about a quarter of a century the general officers had intentionally and deliberately cultivated feelings of antagonism between the cutters and the tailors. Until the advent of the A. C. W. of A. the cutters had been taught to consider themselves the labor aristocracy in the clothing industry as against the tailors, and whatever little efforts were made by the general officers to organize the clothing industry were mostly confined to the cutters' branch. As a result the cutters would remain at work when the other branches were striking and vice versa.

The magnitude of the new administration's task in Baltimore will be better understood if cognizance is taken of the fact that while the new administration had no funds at all to take care of the tailors, numbering about 2500, the deposed officers had in their possession a large treasury with which to take care of the small number of cutters involved. Such was the spirit of enthusiasm among the locked-out tailors in Baltimore for the rejuvenated organization, that, though penniless, they rejected with scorn all offers of financial assistance made to them by representatives of the former administration if they would agree to stand by it. The cutters were actually led to betray the tailors and returned to work while the tailors were still out. In spite of that treachery, and in spite also of the poverty of the locked-out workers, they won the fight gloriously. Thus, the first struggle led by the new organization was also its first victory.

It needs no stretch of imagination to realize how greatly that victory strengthened the spirit of the "secessionists," for it has for the first time brought to the clothing workers a realization of confidence in their own strength, irrespective of what the so-called official labor movement may do.

## THE ORGANIZATION OF THE A. C. W. OF A.

Having passed through their first baptism of fire the new administration, which still went under the name of U. G. W. of A., brought its house in order—brought order out of chaos and called the organization to a special convention, held December 26-28, 1914, in New York. At that convention the new name was adopted, the name of the Amalgamated Clothing

Workers of America. The change of name became necessary because of litigation begun by the deposed officers.

The career of the A. C. W. of A. begins with the New York convention. Some of the acts of the New York convention were the laying down of the principle of reducing unemployment by shortening the working week, emphasizing the necessity of organizing the various crafts in the industry along the lines of the "One Big Union" principle, and making May 1, the international labor holiday, a legal holiday of the organization. An organization campaign was undertaken on a large scale. Until that time all organization work had been sporadic, carried on at irregular intervals, always of a local character, never with any system, or under central direction. The A. C. W. of A. undertook a systematic organization campaign under the direction of the International office.

That special convention adopted the following as the preamble to the constitution.

#### PREAMBLE

The economic organization of labor has been called into existence by the capitalist system of production, under which the division between the ruling class and the ruled class is based upon the ownership of the means of production. The class owning those means is the one that is ruling, the class that possesses nothing but its labor power, which is always on the market as a commodity, is the one that is being ruled.

A constant and unceasing struggle is being waged between these two classes. In this struggle the economic organization of labor, the union, is a natural weapon of offense and defense in the hands of the working class.

But in order to be efficient, and effectively serve its purpose, the union must in its structure correspond to the prevailing system of the organization of industry. Modern industrial methods are very rapidly wiping out the old craft demarkations, and the resultant conditions dictate the organization of Labor along industrial lines.

The history of the class struggle in this country for the past two decades testifies amply to the ineffectiveness of the form, methods, and spirit of craft unionism. It shows also how dearly the working class has paid for its failure to keep pace with the industrial development.

The working class must accept the principles of Industrial Unionism or it is doomed to impotence. The same forces that have been making for Industrial Unionism are likewise making for a closer inter-industrial alliance of the working class. This inevitable process will eventually lead to a universal working class organization, united along the entire line of the class struggle, economically and politically, instead of being split up and divided against itself, as it unfortunately is at present, under the antiquated teachings and methods.

For the consummation of this great end the education of the working class is most essential. This must, therefore, be a very important part of the mission of the labor movement.

Every oppressed class in history achieved its emancipation only upon its attaining economic supremacy. The same law operates also in the struggle between Capital and Labor. The industrial and inter-industrial organization built upon the solid rock of clear knowledge and class consciousness will put the organized working class in actual control of the system of production, and the working class will then be ready to take possession of it.

The principles and policies enunciated in this preamble show the conflict of ideas which prevailed between the rank and file of the clothing workers and the controlling elements in the old

organization, whose conception of the purpose of the labor movement was bounded by collective bargaining and friendly relations with employers.

### THE NEW YORK AND CHICAGO STRIKES

The two outstanding movements in the period between the special convention of December, 1914, and the second biennial convention in Rochester, May, 1916, were the general strikes of July, 1915 in New York, and September 1915 to January, 1916 in Chicago. The strike in New York was of very short duration. The demands of the workers were won before the organization had an opportunity to call out the whole industry. In Chicago the strike was of long duration, bitterly fought by both sides. Two strikers were killed, many were wounded and thousands arrested. It involved an expenditure of over one hundred and forty thousand dollars. The entire administration of the A. C. W. of A. was at the service of Chicago, with New York and other cities lending moral and financial aid. The Chicago strike was not won if we are to consider official surrender by the employers as constituting the winning of a strike for the workers. Nor was that possible. Chicago was the home of the most powerful clothing manufacturers' association in North America, operating very effectively a thoroughgoing blacklist system. The association had unlimited funds and the fullest support of the city administration.

When the workers returned to work, it was after the employers had made material concessions to them, although not as a result of official negotiations with the union. The great achievement of that strike was the consciousness that the workers brought with them into the factories, that they have proved to themselves and the employers that they knew how to fight. Though the strike may officially be classed as lost, the defeat of the workers was of such a peculiar kind, that it was they who felt as victors and the employers as the losers. The spell of the blacklist system was broken. So different was the atmosphere in the industry after the strike, that it became perfectly clear to the employers and employees that the spirit of the workers had undergone a revolution. The difference between the defeat of 1910, when the workers returned to the factories with contempt for their general officers and bitter feelings for their fellow workers in other cities who had scabbed against them, and the "defeat" of 1915, when they returned to the factories with confidence in the officers of the organization and gratefulness to the workers in the other cities, was in itself nothing short of a revolution.

It was the defeat of 1915 and the unrelenting campaign for organization and education conducted by the A. C. W. of A., that led to the complete victory in 1919 when all the employers, who had fought the workers in every conceivable way, signed agreements with the organization, and the Chicago clothing industry became 100 per cent organized under the A. C. W. of A. It is

in this sense that a strike conducted by the A. C. W. of A. is never lost, even if it is not won.

#### THE 48-HOUR WEEK

At the second biennial convention, May, 1916, in Rochester, the organized clothing workers became conscious for the first time of the fact that their convention constituted the parliament of the clothing industry, and that the convention had it in its power to legislate for the industry. It was that convention that passed a resolution giving expression to the dream of many years of clothing workers—the establishment of the 48-hour week.

In order to fully realize the great significance of that act it must be remembered that but a few years ago the workers in the clothing industry had no limit to their working week. The employers opposed all efforts to inaugurate the 48-hour week. A number of real fights were necessary to carry that out. We succeeded all along the line, and it was made clear to the employers that the legislation of the Amalgamated conventions is no mere pious wish, but acts that the industry must recognize.

A large number of strikes and organization campaigns were successfully conducted in the several clothing centers in the United States and Canada during the two years between the Rochester convention in 1916 and the Baltimore convention in 1918. The most conspicuous struggle of that period was the one in the summer of 1916 in Baltimore. In that situation we had a remarkable exhibition of the two extremes in the labor movement uniting against us. In that city the A. F. of L. joined forces with the I. W. W., supported by the entire machinery of the A. F. of L., and conducted a fierce battle against the A. C. W. of A. Baltimore probably never saw a labor battle of that sort before. It was a long and bitter fight from which the Amalgamated came out with flying colors.

#### THE 44-HOUR WEEK

When we met in convention, in May 1918, in Baltimore, the General Executive Board reported the complete victory of the 48-hour week. That convention enacted the 44-hour law for the clothing industry. It seemed a rather unusually hasty way of making progress. A number of our friends thought that our judgment was affected by our success; our enemies had hoped that we had undertaken more than was within our power, and that we would break under the burden. Those who had judged us that way only showed that they did not know the Amalgamated. However aggressive we may be in our actions, the tremendous responsibilities resting on us have taught us to be deliberate and cautious in our judgment and decision. Our action in legislating the 44-hour week immediately after we had secured the 48-hour week was due to a cause which permitted no delay.

The Baltimore convention was held at the time when America

was already in the war. We saw many of our young men drafted into the army. It must be remembered that the clothing industry is largely a young men's industry. We saw the employers filling the gaps in various ways. With our habit of looking ahead we found ourselves facing a problem immediately after the war, when our fellow workers would return from the front. There would be no room for them in the factories. The question for us was: Shall we permit the employers to make room for them by displacing us, thus rendering them obedient tools of the employers against their own fellow-workers, or shall we make it possible for our brothers, when they come back, to work alongside of us in the factories, in the union, and on the picket line if necessary. In order to make room for them the working week had to be reduced. Accordingly, we enacted a 44-hour week for the industry.

On the day that the armistice was signed the employers in New York opened fire by locking us out from the factories on the 44-hour issue. Their challenge to us was such that we were compelled to fight lest we lose all we had gained. The employers undertook the tremendous task of destroying our organization, choosing the most propitious time for such a purpose. A struggle involving 60,000 people, representing a population of perhaps a quarter of a million souls, and lasting about three months, determined the issue. We won the 44-hour week. Most of the other clothing centers agreed to give us the shorter week without a test of strength.

This is now the official and legal working week in the clothing industry and will so continue until the Amalgamated will legislate a shorter week. It will not be amiss to note that while that great struggle cost the organization a half million dollars, all of that money, with the exception of \$11,000 given to us by friendly organizations as an expression of solidarity, and without our solicitation, was raised by the membership throughout the country.

Since the 44-hour victory in New York, the Amalgamated has made giant strides in organizing the clothing industry throughout North America.

#### THE CINCINNATI STRUGGLE

One of the bitterest conflicts ever fought by any labor organization in this country was the one fought by us this year in Cincinnati, Ohio. Cincinnati is one of the clothing centers in which the workers had been betrayed by their leaders. As a result they had nothing but the bitterest sort of hostility for organization. All previous attempts on our part to organize Cincinnati proved fruitless. But the tremendous victory in New York thrilled the workers in Cincinnati as everywhere else. They called upon us to come and organize them, which we promptly did. That produced a situation which was the counterpart of the struggle in Baltimore three years earlier. The em-

ployers lined up with the so-called official labor movement and the city administration, who had the assistance of hired sluggers, and a reign of terror was inaugurated. The strikers were sluggish, arrested, sentenced, prosecuted, and persecuted. The strikers exhibited a truly wonderful spirit. This, too, was a long and bitter struggle. As a result of the unfurling of our banner in Cincinnati, the workers in that city now enjoy the benefits of a 44-hour week, better wages, better treatment, and a well established organization.

### THE NEW VS. THE OLD UNIONISM

It will be impossible to enumerate all of the successful struggles conducted by the A. C. W. of A. The above is a mere outline of our activities, but it should be enough to give the reader an idea of the character of the organization.

We publish six official papers in the following languages: English, Yiddish, Italian, Polish, Bohemian, and Lithuanian. Our papers are not mere chroniclers of current organization events, but we strive to make them real working class educators. Those who are familiar with our English journal "Advance" can judge to what extent we have succeeded. Our interest is not confined to our own industrial limits.

We have always striven to give a helping hand to other labor organizations. The financial and moral support we have given to the textile workers, both in their strikes and in their efforts to organize the industry, may serve as an illustration. Though the official labor movement has excommunicated us, we see in the rank and file of the labor movement nothing but brothers and sisters engaged in the same struggle against a common foe. We have no grievance against them and are happy to help them whenever an opportunity presents itself.

The Amalgamated is organized in the form and spirit of industrial unionism and on the basis of true democracy. In the earlier organization the members had no voice in the election of the general officers; the Amalgamated members elect their general Executive Board by referendum vote. The members determine when a strike should be called or settled. Under the former régime strike settlements were made without the knowledge or consent of the strikers; today no strike can be settled except with the approval of the strikers.

The A. C. W. of A. has been very active in the Socialist campaigns and has contributed greatly towards the Socialist political victories of recent years.

There is complete harmony between the officers and the rank and file, which is the greatest asset of any labor organization.

The A. C. W. of A. is a true melting pot in which all nationalities unite as one in spite of the differences in language, race, creed, etc. Any one who is familiar with the bewildering chaos that existed in the clothing industry of the past thirty years will be amazed at the order that our united strength has brought



out of that chaos. Any long established labor organization would be proud of the labor conditions now prevailing in the clothing industry under the protective wing of the A. C. W. of A., achieved within the short space of four or five years.

Let those who charge the immigrant workers with lowering the American standards of living study our work and judge for themselves.

JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG, *Gen. Sec'y*,  
JACOB POTOFKY, *Ass't Sec'y*,

*Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.*

## THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS

The first teachers' union was formed in Chicago in 1902. It came after a five year struggle on the part of the Chicago Teachers' Federation which had been organized in 1897. As is the case with most unions, their struggle at first was for a living wage. The maximum salary of the elementary school teachers after eleven years of service was \$825. Tired of repeated excuses of "no money," the teachers determined to find money for the city. Their search led very soon to the discovery that the great majority of the wealthy corporations in the city had not been paying a cent into the municipal treasury for years. Then began a long fight to force these predatory corporations to pay their share of the taxes. There were writs, mandamuses, appeals, and stays. All the ingenuity of the capitalist forces abetted by corrupt city officials was employed to defeat the aims of the teachers. By 1902, five corporations were finally forced to pay \$600,000 as their share of the annual taxes. It was in the course of this struggle, at a time when the teachers seemed beaten, that they turned to the only element that stood ready to aid them, namely, organized labor. The Chicago Federation of Labor invited the teachers to affiliate with the labor movement, and after some hesitation they did so.

Following the Federation, several other groups of Chicago teachers affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and fought together with labor for equal suffrage, for the wider use of the public schools by the public, and for public ownership; they fought against the book trust, and against Big Business domination of the schools.

In May, 1914, the teachers of Cleveland decided to follow in the footsteps of the Chicago teachers. Nine hundred out of the 1800 teachers voted in favor of affiliation, but no sooner was this accomplished than the Board of Education dismissed eleven of the leaders and ordered all teachers to sign a contract not to join a union. In spite of the assistance of labor and the intelligent part of the public, the union was effectively destroyed.

It was not until 1916 that the union movement spread beyond Chicago. The most notable additions were in New York City,

Washington, D. C., Scranton, Pa., Gary, Ind., and several other cities. In May 1916, the various locals met in Chicago and organized the American Federation of Teachers, an international organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. In the same year the forces of corruption in Chicago were gaining the upper hand, and the Chicago Teachers' Union was practically destroyed at one blow by the reactionary Board of Education, which never forgave the action of the Teachers in forcing the tax-dodgers to pay their taxes. About fifty of the officers and active leaders of the union were dismissed from the schools at the end of the school term, June 1916, although every one of them had been rated excellent. No reason was given for the dismissals, but it was clear to all that the destruction of this troublesome union was the aim. Recourse to the courts on the part of the teachers resulted in the famous decision that a Board of Education could discharge a teacher *for any reason whatever, or for no reason at all*. A teacher could be discharged for belonging to a union. It was entirely the Board's business as to how it managed the schools. In June 1917, as a result of some arrangement between the Board and the teachers, it was agreed that the dismissed teachers would be reinstated if the Chicago teachers' federation severed all connections with the labor movement. This the teachers did as a result of the decisions of the Supreme Court of Illinois, and with the advice of John Fitzpatrick, President of the Chicago Federation of Labor. The teachers resolved, however, to join again at the first favorable opportunity.

Since 1917, there has been a steady growth of unionism among teachers especially during the last year. Starting in September 1918, with about 20 locals and 3,000 members, the A. F. of T. has now over 100 locals with about 10,000 members and is growing almost every day. There are locals in such cities as St. Paul, Norfolk, Sacramento, New Orleans, Buffalo, Newark, Boston, Philadelphia, to name the largest cities only. There is a growing consciousness throughout the profession that only through active affiliation with their fellow workers can teachers find relief from the many evils that surround them.

The Teachers' Union of New York has had the most interesting experience in the Federation. During the war several of its active members were persecuted because of their political and economic views. Three teachers at the De Witt Clinton High School were dismissed because they were known to possess radical views and were active in the union. After the armistice was signed, a teacher of the Commercial High School, another active union worker, was dismissed for alleged statements in defense of the Russian Bolsheviks. At the same time the union which was carrying on a determined effort to expose the autocratic control of the schools, was barred by the Board of Education from the use of the schools and was declared an outlaw organization. But the only result of this persecution has been

to increase the strength of the union and the support of organized labor.

The official organ of the A. F. of T. is the *American Teacher* published monthly in New York ever since 1912. Like all other unions, the A. F. of T. makes every effort to safeguard the economic rights of its members and to promote their interests as far as possible. But it aims at more than merely securing increases in salary. On the contrary, its chief aim is to destroy the autocratic control of the schools and educational policies by small groups which are subservient to the vested interests. The union teachers demand that the control and management of the public schools be democratized. They demand that the workers—the teachers—be given a definite share in the management of the schools, in the formulation of courses of study; that they be represented on Boards of Education, on Teachers' Trial Boards to prevent arbitrary dismissal for political reasons; that unnecessary supervision be abolished; and that the little czars of the school system be shorn of their powers.

BENJAMIN GLASSBERG,  
*Teachers' Union of New York.*

### THE LIBRARY EMPLOYEES' UNION

The first trade union to be formed by librarians in the United States was organized in New York City, in May 1917. The conditions which brought about this movement were the extremely low salaries paid librarians and because the workers found that the large city libraries had no standard entrance examinations, did not provide for graded service and promotion from the ranks was not practiced. (Vacancies were frequently filled from outside the service.) The tenure of position was uncertain (assistants may be dismissed without charges on a month's notice), seniority of service was not recognized and no pension was provided for the employees.

The immediate and pressing need among the workers in the Public Libraries as among the teachers in the Public Schools is for a living wage. The average salary paid in 1917 to library workers was less than that of domestic servants being about \$50.00 a month—or 20 cents an hour. The difficulties of organization which are encountered are opposition by library authorities, fear, class prejudices and indifference or inability to realize their responsibilities as members of a group on the part of the workers themselves.

The union has carried on an active publicity campaign to secure higher salaries and better working conditions and bring about the democratization of library service. The organization and management of the New York Public Library is probably typical of many of the large public library systems of the country partly publicly supported and partly privately endowed. The N. Y. Public Library, although its Circulation Department is entirely supported by City funds and the Reference Depart-

ment almost entirely from private funds, is a private corporation and the management of its affairs are entirely in the hands of a self-appointed, self-perpetuating board of trustees, who until the agitation started by the union, knew little of the library's inside affairs which are managed by a director, who exercises the utmost freedom in his dictation and has in reality unlimited power. The union has declared for Civil Service as a remedy.

One year after the New York libraries had organized, the Boston librarians, encouraged by the example and success of its activities in New York, organized a Boston Library Employees' Union, also affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

This movement on the part of Boston and New York has marked an entirely new step in the library world. Before this time, although there had been numerous library organizations, none had voiced the sentiments of the library assistants or carried on a campaign for higher salaries and better working conditions. In fact, there had been no medium for expression on the part of the rank and file in the work.

TILLOAH SQUIRES,  
*New York Library Employees' Union.*

## ORGANIZATION OF OFFICE WORKERS

Up to very recently the office workers as a class were impossible to organize into trade unions. Within the last two years, however, a decided impetus has been given to organization among various kinds of office employees. Thousands of employees of the Federal Government have organized into a strong national union, under the name of Federal Employees' Union, with branches all over the United States. At present there is an organizing drive among railway clerks, and already on many of the railway systems they are solidly organized in the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks.

In twenty of the principal cities of the United States, office workers unions have been formed. They are federal local unions of the American Federation of Labor, and the name under which they usually are chartered is Stenographers', Typists', Bookkeepers' and Assistants' Union. Office workers of all kinds are admitted: Accountants, bookkeepers, stenographers, typists, operators of multigraph, stenotype, and all other office machines, and all kinds of clerical workers.

The oldest of these unions are the Indianapolis, Washington, and New York unions. In Chicago there are two locals, one of which is composed of the highly skilled and highly paid court reporters. The New York local, Bookkeepers', Stenographers', and Accountants' Union No. 12646, was chartered by the A. F. of L. eleven years ago. It started in Brooklyn as a union of bookkeepers and accountants. The Bookkeepers', Stenographers' and Accountants' Union is known as one of the most progressive unions of New York. Its delegates to all of the

central bodies and the State Federation of Labor are prominently identified with progressive labor movements.

The most remarkable growth of any of the office workers' unions occurred in Schenectady, where in two large organized plants thousands of office workers are employed. Organized in June 1918, with fifty members, by September it had over nine hundred members. Last fall the union, which was affiliated with the Metal Trades Federation, made demands upon the General Electric Company and the American Locomotive Works for an increase in wages proportional to the increased cost of living. The demand was submitted to the War Labor Board and in December 1918 a decision was rendered which granted increased wages to over 2000 office workers. Male employees received 15 and female employees 20 per cent raises. The minimum wage for girls was made \$16.50 a week and for men \$22.50. Early in 1919 the Metal Trades Federation called out all the workers of the General Electric Company. Thus, this young union was subjected to the severe test of a sympathetic strike in the first months of its existence. It stood the test and when the strike was declared off, the Schenectady office workers union had the greater part of its membership intact and the spirit of its members unbroken.

Recent industrial conditions have been peculiarly favorable to the organization of office workers. Wages in offices, always low in comparison with that of other workers, have increased slightly, while the wages of other workers have forged ahead. The Industrial Commission of the State of New York reported, in October, 1918, that the average wage of factory office employees throughout the state showed an increase of 26 per cent over that of 1914. For the same period the wage paid to all factory employees (shop and office combined) rose 81 per cent, and during the same period the retail price of food rose 73 per cent.

Several of the office workers unions have joined in an application for a national charter from the American Federation of Labor, but it has not been granted because the Executive Council deemed that many of the locals were too weak numerically. However, the progress made during the last year is sufficient to warrant in the near future a lively and strong national organization of office workers.

LEONARD BRIGHT,

*Vice-President, B. S. & A. U., 12646.*

### BROTHERHOOD OF METAL WORKERS

"The purpose of the Brotherhood of Metal Workers is to organize all the workers in the machine and metal industry and those under the jurisdiction of the metal industry into an industrial organization, and to educate them to the necessity of economic as well as political action; so that they shall understand the class struggle and may procure for themselves the full fruits of their toil."

The above is the declaration of principle and purpose adopted by referendum vote on June 10, 1910, when the name of Brotherhood of Metal Workers was adopted.

Four thousand machinists, who constituted the greater part of District 15 of the International Association of Machinists, seceded from that organization in 1910 and formed the Brotherhood of Machinists, which functioned for a time as a dual organization with the object of making the I. A. of M. a truly progressive labor organization.

Great friction existed between these rival organizations to the detriment of both. Some members of the seceding organization considered the advisability of putting an end to the dualism which existed among the machinists, and as a result of that agitation the Brotherhood of Metal Workers was organized in the spring of 1913 as an industrial labor organization.

The Brotherhood of Metal Workers has organized many thousands of workers in the past six years. It has to its credit such achievements as the 1916 Sugar Trust strike of ten days duration and the 1916-17 Agate Ware strikes of Woodhaven and Laurel Hill, L. I., of twelve days duration, involving altogether about 14,000 workers. The gain was a reduction in each case of eight hours per week, with time and one-half for overtime, and a ten to twenty per cent increase over the wages previously paid for sixty-hours work.

District 1 of the Brotherhood had 48 strikes ranging in duration from 2 to 77 days, altogether 832 days, and at an average of 17 days per each strike. The Brotherhood has settled 6 demands without strikes with 14,607 workers involved. Two-thirds of the strikes with which the organization was involved were won by the workers.

The hours of labor were reduced from 2 to 9 hours per week in different shops, or an average of 6 $\frac{1}{2}$  hours per week.

Wages were increased through the efforts of the Brotherhood as follows:

14 shops.....	10 per cent
16 " .....	15 " "
5 " .....	20 " "
5 " .....	25 " "
1 shop .....	30 " "

Industrial unionism, to which the majority of unions within the American Federation of Labor are opposed, is an accepted policy of the Brotherhood of Metal Workers. A resolution was unanimously adopted at the convention of the Brotherhood in 1917 recommending to the members the Socialist movement as the only political weapon of the workers. The organization has steadfastly held to the right to strike throughout the war and has never endorsed the war as a means of bringing democracy to the workers.

The Brotherhood of Metal Workers functions on a national basis and is affiliated with the International Metal Workers Federation. The headquarters of the organization is in New

York City, where the main strength of the organization lies. The initiation fee is \$1.50; the monthly dues are \$1.00; the organization pays strike and death benefits; and accepts for membership all workers regardless of sex, creed, or race. It advocates the control and operation of industries by the workers themselves as a means for establishing industrial democracy.

F. G. BIEDENKAPP,

*General Sec'y-Treasurer, Brotherhood of Metal Workers.*

## THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

Although the Industrial Workers of the World was organized in 1905 and engaged in a number of important strikes in the eight years following, it really became an important factor in 1914, for at this time a new determination manifested itself among the migratory workers to retain some of the good things they had created. For about one year this activity was confined to the agricultural workers, working in the wheat fields of the middle west, but quickly spread among other migratory workers, mainly the lumber workers, miners, and construction workers. The membership increased steadily and at the time of the Tenth Convention it numbered 40,000.

At the Tenth Convention the form of organization was materially changed. This change brought about the abolition of the National Industrial Union and made the unit of organization the industrial union with branches and the General Recruiting Union, instead of locals.

The Industrial Workers of the World continued to grow and in May 1917, the Lumber Workers in the Northwest had approximately 30,000 members; the Metal Mine Workers throughout the Rocky Mountain region and on the Iron Range of Minnesota and Michigan, 40,000; the Agricultural Workers numbered 24,000; the Construction Workers 15,000; other industrial unions and the General Recruiting Union, together with locals not transferred into industrial unions, numbered about 10,000.

In the early spring of 1917 a number of small strikes occurred among the loggers of Idaho and Eastern Washington. These strikes were repeated until about the 1 of June. Two-thirds of the lumber workers of Idaho, Montana, and Eastern Washington were out and the strike had spread to the eastern slope of the Cascades in Washington. It was at this time that a series of persecutions started which continued throughout the war. Two camps of the 3rd Oregon Infantry were sent to Cle Elum and they rounded up all the pickets, threw them into the stockade at Ellensburg, Wash., where they were held for months without charges being placed against them.

Soldiers were sent to many points in Washington and Idaho where the same thing occurred. In the meantime the strike had spread into the rich timber belt of Puget Sound and by July 15, 1917, 50,000 lumber workers were on strike, their demands being a basic eight-hour day and sanitary camp conditions.

On June 12, 1917, 14,000 miners in the city of Butte, Mont., went on strike following the loss of two hundred and sixty lives in a fire in the Speculator Mine. The strike was principally for the abolition of the Blacklist and for union control of safety appliances underground. This strike was called and conducted jointly by the I. W. W. and the Independent Miners' Union of that city. The strike was, however, taken up by the I. W. W. miners in Arizona, where 24,000 miners went out.

On July 10 nearly a hundred miners at Jerome, Ariz., were taken from their homes early in the morning by the so-called "Loyalty League." They were loaded on cattle cars. The train was headed towards California but was turned back at the state line by the officials of that state. The men were then taken to Prescott, Ariz., where they were held in jail three weeks before they were released.

#### THE BISBEE DEPORTATION

At Bisbee, Ariz., at five o'clock in the morning of July 12, 2,000 company officials, gunmen, businessmen, etc., armed with rifles, similarly dragged 1,200 strikers and sympathizers from their beds and compelled them to march miles to Lowell, and neighboring towns. They were finally corralled into a ball park at Lowell, until a train of cattle cars was made up. The miners were forced into the cars amid rioting, in which one man, a striker, was killed. The train was sent through the desert and finally taken charge of by the United States soldiers encamped at Columbus, N. M.

Here they stayed for three months, being furnished army rations, waiting for the Government to give them protection in returning to Bisbee. This the government steadfastly refused to do, and finally, when the army rations were cut off, the camp broke up. Some of the men drifted back to Bisbee where they were promptly arrested. Others scattered to different parts of the country.

#### THE CAMPAIGN OF PERSECUTION

On August 1, 1917, Frank Little, a member of the General Executive Board, was kidnapped by company gunmen early in the morning, taken to a railroad trestle and hanged.

The press of the entire country started at this time a campaign of lies and vilifications, the keynote of which was "Crush the I. W. W." In all press dispatches weird stories were concocted, alleging the I. W. W. to be cutthroats, outlaws, and in the pay of the German Government. Whether or not any credence was given to these stories in official circles, we do not know. At any rate persecutions started all over the country at the same time as the stories appeared.

On September 5 almost every hall in the country occupied by the Industrial Workers of the World was raided, and all literature, and in many cases all office fixtures, seized. This was followed by the arrest, a few days later, of most of the



officials of the organization. A grand jury was hastily called in Chicago and one hundred and sixty-six members, including nearly all of the officials, were indicted. On September 28 every hall was again raided and many members arrested.

Then followed a series of persecutions unequalled in the annals of labor. In the Northwest the lumber workers' strike was still in progress, and the employers used every means at their command to break up the organization. In the following six months more than one thousand members were arrested on various pretexts, most of them being held for two or three months without even a charge being placed against them. Especially was this true of the alien members of the organization who were arrested and turned over to the Immigration authorities and held for deportation. Some have been held for more than a year, and few, if any, have been deported.

Starting about August 10, 1917, the lumber workers adopted new tactics. The strike was carried to the job. Men would go to work as usual and after eight hours of work would walk in a body to the camp. If one or more of their number were discharged, the rest of the crew quit, and the next crew would be sure to do the same thing. Inexperienced lumbermen had to be shown how to place a "choker" and did not know how to handle a saw. Needless to say these tactics secured the eight-hour day and a few months later blankets and beds were installed. This latter improvement in conditions was secured by the men by simply refusing to carry their own blankets with them on the job, as had been the custom for years.

The raids throughout the country on the I. W. W. halls did not have the desired effect, for many of the halls were opened soon after. The Construction Workers' Industrial Union had reorganized and a convention was called in Omaha, Nebr., on November 13, 1917. The convention was raided the first day it was in session and all attending delegates, numbering forty-seven, were arrested. Most of the men were held for months before they were indicted. A number of those originally arrested were released for various reasons, mostly to respond to the draft call. The rest were held until December, 1918, when they were released on bonds.

During the winter of 1917-18 many outrageous acts were committed upon members of the I. W. W. Local secretaries were tarred and feathered. In Tulsa, Okla., on November 5, 1917, eleven members were arrested, taken to jail and that night taken a few miles out of the city and tarred and feathered. Their clothes were taken from them and burned, and in this condition the men were forced to walk until morning before relief could be found.

In Red Lodge, Mont., on November 17, 1917, two Finnish coal miners, members of the I. W. W., were taken to the basement of the Court House and questioned as to their **membership** in the I. W. W. and also asked to give information as to who

the other members of the organization were in that city. When they refused to give this information they were hanged by the neck and lashed with a "blacksnake" until blood formed in pools at their feet.

### THE CHICAGO TRIAL

In Chicago, where preparations were being made for the trial of officials and members who had been gathered in the September raids, local and federal authorities interfered in every possible way. Mail was being held up and many important members of the defense committee were arrested. Defense offices throughout the country were raided. Funds, fixtures, and mail were confiscated and persecutions continued all through the spring of 1918 and throughout the trial. Witnesses for the defense were intimidated and many other acts committed to prevent the defense from properly presenting the case. A verdict of "Guilty" was returned on August 17, 1918, and ninety-five of those arrested were sentenced to terms ranging from ten days to twenty years. Ninety-three of our members are now serving sentences at Leavenworth penitentiary.

Immediately after the sentencing of these men a bomb was exploded in the Adams St. entrance to the Federal Building in Chicago. Every known member of the I. W. W. in the city was arrested and questioned. Several of the officials were held for more than a week and two members, J. W. Wilson and Taro Yoshihari, were held as suspects for about two and one-half months.

It was at this time that the organization reached its lowest ebb. Upon the release of the then acting officials organization activities increased.

### I. W. W. PUBLICATIONS

The I. W. W. press is an important factor in the organization. Before the persecutions there were seven foreign language papers in the field and two English papers. Besides the newspapers about twenty-five pamphlets of industrial union propaganda were published. A temporary set-back was experienced by all the papers following the September raids, but it was not until after second-class mailing privileges were denied them, that the majority of the papers ceased publication. Attempts were made to keep them in the field as long as possible, and all sorts of subterfuge was resorted to in order to get them out at all. However, at the present time, although third-class mailing privilege is all that is allowed, the papers are being started up again and we have eight foreign papers in the field and four English papers namely: Swedish, *Nya Varlden*; Spanish, *La Nueva Solidaridad*; Hungarian, *Felszabadulas*; Russian, *Golos Truzenika*; Jewish, *Der Industrial Arbeiter*; Italian, *Il Nuovo Proletario*; English, *The New Solidarity*; *The One Big Union Monthly*,<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Published at the I. W. W. Headquarters, 1001 W. Madison Ave., Chicago.

*The Industrial Unionist*, Seattle, Wash.; *The Rebel Worker*, New York; *Der Klassenkampf*—Jewish. In addition to these papers, four pamphlets dealing directly with the Chicago trial, have been published since the close of the trial.

#### ORGANIZATION AND MEMBERSHIP

The organization is now composed of twelve industrial unions, the General Recruiting Union, and a few locals that have not been formed into industrial unions as yet.

The General Recruiting Union, with twelve branches, has about 4,000 members.

The Metal Mine Workers' Industrial Union No. 800, with approximately five open branches and a large number of field delegates, has about 15000 members. The headquarters of this industrial union is at Butte, Mont.

The Construction Workers' Industrial Union No. 573, with the same number of branches, and headquarters at Chicago, Ill., has a membership of about 5,000.

The Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union No. 400 has but a few branches. However, as this industrial union is comprised of migratory workers, a large number of delegates travel from place to place and very few stationary branches are formed. There are three central points and the headquarters is at Chicago. This union has approximately 6,000 members.

The Lumber Workers' Industrial Union No. 500, with headquarters at Portland, Ore., was at one time the strongest branch of the I. W. W. Before the persecutions, starting in the fall of 1917, the membership totalled between forty and fifty thousand. The advent of the Four L's, a government organization organized by the Spruce Production Corps of the United States Army, made great inroads through the use of various tactics. The arrest of everyone found carrying an I. W. W. card followed. However, at the present time, the rate of increase in the membership of No. 500 is greater than the decrease, and the membership is now estimated at 20,000.

The Metal and Machinery Workers' Industrial Union No. 300, with headquarters at Chicago, composed largely of skilled mechanics, never exceeded at any time two to three thousand members. Many unskilled workers from the large steel mills and manufacturing plants, which began laying off men as soon as the armistice was signed and war contracts cancelled, are now coming into this union, and the Metal and Machinery Workers' Industrial Union promises to become a very powerful factor in the future of the I. W. W. Their membership can safely be estimated at 4,000.

There are approximately 2,000 railroad men organized into the Railroad Workers' Industrial Union No. 600, the headquarters of which union is also at Chicago. The growth of this union is very rapid considering the conservative element employed in this industry.

The Hotel, Restaurant, and Domestic Workers' Union, an industry which is largely organized by the A. F. of L., is also making good progress. The membership of this union is estimated at 1,000, and is composed mostly of household workers and of some of the lower paid workers in hotels and restaurants.

The Marine Transport Workers' Union No. 100 on the Atlantic Coast, and No. 700 on the Pacific Coast, have fluctuated widely in membership. The increase in membership in this industry during the last month or two has been remarkable, and the future holds great promise. The membership of each union is about 2,000.

The Ship Builders' Union on the Pacific Coast was formed during the war and is largely a war industry. The membership of this union numbered about 1,000 before the closing of the hall in Seattle. The present membership is hard to estimate, but the reports show that it has not fallen off to any great extent.

A large number of new members have been taken in since the close of the war.

Textile Workers' Industrial Union No. 1000, with headquarters at Paterson, N. J., has a membership of about 1,000. Great strides have been made in this industry recently, several new branches having been formed in the New England states.

The latest addition to the industrial unions of the I. W. W. is the Printing and Publishing Workers' Industrial Union No. 1200, recently organized in New York City.

There are perhaps six or eight local unions that have never been transferred to industrial unions. This is largely due to the fact that the persecutions and arrests started about the time that reorganization was taking place. The largest of these is Local 8, of the Marine Transport Workers, in Philadelphia. This local has a membership of 5,000. The other locals, mainly in the Northeast, have a total membership of about 2,000, and are comprised largely of marble workers, bakers, rubber workers, and some textile workers.

At the present time the I. W. W. is undergoing a period of reorganization and its officials are temporary. However, these circumstances will in no way interfere with the present growth of the organization and there is every indication that the I. W. W. will be, within a short time, the most powerful union of workers the world has ever known.

#### THE CONSTITUTION OF THE I. W. W.

The constitution itself has undergone very few changes since it was drawn up in 1905. Perhaps the most radical change was made at the Tenth Annual Convention, in 1916. Originally the whole structure and plan of the organization could be summed up as follows: The unit of organization was the local union, and in each district or territory where five local unions existed a district council was formed. An unlimited number of locals, with a minimum membership of 3,000, however, could form a National

Industrial Union. Two or more National Industrial Unions formed a department.

The Constitution to-day, as changed at the Tenth Annual Convention, provides that the unit of organization is an industrial union. Each industrial union is to have its own by-laws to cover its own industry and to organize branches in its own industry. Their jurisdiction has no limit. Five or more branches in any given locality may form an industrial union district council, this to serve practically the same purpose as the former local district council, and might be compared to a Central Labor Council of the A. F. of L. However, the component parts are more closely allied. Although the constitution provides for industrial departments, up to the present time, no such department has been formed.

The constitution also calls for a General Recruiting Union, which takes in workers in industries not having enough members to form an industrial union of their own.

The officers provided for by the Constitution are General Secretary-Treasurer, and a General Executive Board composed of seven members. These are all the national officers provided for. Each Industrial Union provides for its own officers somewhat on the same general plan; a general secretary-treasurer and an Organization Committee of five members. Each branch of an industrial union elects its secretary and a local Organization Committee. However, the regular officials in the different industrial unions may differ slightly.

Some of the outstanding features of the constitution are that none but wage workers are eligible to membership; also that no officer of the I. W. W. may run for any political office without permission granted through a referendum of the entire organization; and a free transfer system—that is, any member belonging to one industrial union is allowed to transfer into any other industrial union without paying an additional fee.

The Constitution also fixes the initiation fee at a maximum of \$5.00. Provisions are also made for the monthly dues, the per capita to be paid to General Headquarters and the disposition to be made thereof, together with other minor matters in connection therewith.

#### RELATION OF THE I. W. W. TO OTHER POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ORGANIZATIONS

It can be stated that the I. W. W. stands by itself in its relation to other political and economic organizations inasmuch as it recognizes the class struggle and is revolutionary in character. While not recognizing the necessity for political action, it is non-political rather than anti-political. The I. W. W. is not definitely opposed to political action, but it does not recognize it as a fundamental factor in the class struggle.

PETER STONE,  
*Acting Secretary-Treasurer, I. W. W.*

## ELEVENTH ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

In many respects the 11th Annual Convention of the I. W. W., held at Chicago May 5-16, 1919, was the most remarkable in the history of the organization. Emerging from two years of systematic persecution, the I. W. W. held its most successful convention, with more delegates present, with a greater spirit of solidarity; and formulated a more thorough and concrete plan of organization than was possible in previous conventions.

The Convention opened quietly on May 5. For several days preceding the Convention the Chicago papers did everything possible to incite the populace to mob it. Commercial bodies appealed to the Mayor to stop the Convention. The delegates were reported to be criminals who were meeting to plan the overthrow of the government. However, the urged violence did not materialize and the Convention was not interrupted in any way. The only apparent sign of watchfulness by the authorities was a court stenographer, who came on the second day and stayed until the end.

The Convention was called to order by acting secretary-treasurer, Thomas Whitehead. Fifty-four delegates answered the roll call. By the unanimous vote of the delegates Pietro Nigra, recently released from Fort Leavenworth, was seated to represent the class war prisoners.

After the seating of the delegates the first order of business was the sending of greetings to all political and industrial prisoners. Greetings were also sent to the Soviet Governments of Russia and Hungary.

Much important and constructive work was accomplished at the convention. It was not found necessary, furthermore, to deviate in the slightest from the fundamental principles of the organization. Some of the more important matters decided at the Convention are as follows:

### THE JOB DELEGATE

The official adoption of the universal delegate system is already in operation. This is a system of organizing that originated with the I. W. W. and is typical of its democratic spirit. This system makes it possible to organize the workers in the most hostile territory or industry. The idea is to make every member of the I. W. W. a job delegate or organizer. The job delegates receive no pay but are empowered to initiate new members and collect dues. Travelling delegates are members under pay who travel from job to job to consult with job delegates and keep them supplied with literature, due books, etc. When this system is perfected, every member will carry universal credentials and will, therefore, be enabled to initiate a worker into his respective industrial union.

A resolution was passed barring any member addicted to intoxicating liquors from holding office in the organization.

The Convention voted that no officer should hold office for two consecutive years. This means that if a member holds office for one year, he must return to his work before being eligible again to office. It also voted that paid officials could not act as delegates to the general convention.

The policy of papers published by any subdivision of the organization is to be controlled by the General Executive Board, and no I. W. W. paper is authorized to accept commercial advertising.

The Convention went on record as being opposed to any member or group of members taking part in or helping to build up any labor organization outside of the I. W. W. This does not prevent a member from holding a membership in any labor body and in no way interferes with his political beliefs.

#### DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

On the last day of the Convention the following declaration was adopted:

We, the delegates of the Industrial Workers of the World, in convention assembled, hereby reaffirm our adherence to the cause of the International Proletariat, and reassert our profound conviction that the program of industrial unionism not only furnishes a method of successful resistance against the aggression of a rabid master class, but provides a basis for the reconstruction of society when capitalism shall have collapsed. We regard the great European war as convincing evidence of the ripening of the capitalist system and its approaching disintegration; and we hail the rising workers' republic in Russia and other countries as evidence that only the proletariat, through its economic force and by reason of its strategic position in industry, can save the world from chaos and guarantee the fundamental rights of life.

We publish again the preamble to our constitution and call upon the working class of the world to unite with us upon the basis of the principles there declared in order that we may by our combined power displace the wage system with its horde of parasitic exploiters and substitute for it the communal system of industrial democracy, thereby liberating humanity from its age-long degradation and freeing it to go forward, not only to universal happiness, but also to a high and noble culture.

Workers of the world, unite! You have only your chains to lose. You have the world and life to gain.

L. S. CHUMLEY.

#### THE AMERICAN LABOR PARTY

The Labor Party movement has sprung up spontaneously in many sections of the country since the summer of 1918 without centralization or even without initial communication between the leaders of the movement. The achievements of the British Labor Party and especially its famous Reconstruction Program, which was widely known among the trade unionists of this country, has caused a number of progressive labor leaders to consider the advisability of organizing a political movement of labor. The moving spirits in this movement were the labor men who have always believed in political action on the part of labor and some of them had previously supported the Socialist Party in its political campaigns.

The first to start the movement for a labor party were the

machinists of Bridgeport during their strike when they walked out as a protest against the award of the National War Labor Board. A labor party was organized in Bridgeport and Hartford, New Brunswick, Meriden and Danbury.

The second and leading attempt to marshal the labor movement into a political party was in Chicago in November 1918, when President John Fitzpatrick and Secretary E. N. Nockels of the Chicago Federation of Labor, asked the Federation to take steps towards starting a labor party. They presented a series of political demands which came to be known as labor's 14 points and which served as a basis for a platform for other labor parties.

### THE CHICAGO PROGRAM

1. The unqualified right of workers to organize and to deal collectively with employers through such representatives of their unions as they choose.

2. Democratic control of industry and commerce for the general good by those who work with hand and brain, and the elimination of autocratic domination of the forces of production and distribution either by selfish interests or bureaucratic agents of governments.

3. An eight-hour day and a 44-hour week in all branches of industry, with minimum rates of pay which, without the labor of mothers and children, will maintain the worker and his family in health and comfort and provide a competence for old age, with ample provision for recreation and good citizenship.

4. Abolition of unemployment by the creation of opportunity for steady work at standard wages through the stabilization of industry and the establishment, during periods of depression, of government work on housing, road building, reforestation, reclamation of desert and swamp, and the development of ports and waterways.

5. Complete equality of men and women in government and industry, with the fullest enfranchisement of women, and equal pay for men and women doing similar work.

6. Reduction of the cost of living to a just level, immediately and as a permanent policy, by the development of co-operation, and the elimination of wasteful methods, parasitical middlemen and all profiteering in the creation and distribution of the products of industry and agriculture, in order that the actual producers may enjoy the fruits of their toil.

7. Democratization of education in public schools and universities through the participation of labor and the organized teachers in the determination of methods, policies and programs in this fundamental field.

8. Continuation after the war of soldiers' and sailors' insurance; extension of such life insurance, by the government without profit, to all men and women, and the establishment of governmental insurance against accident and illness, and upon all insurable forms of property.

9. Liquidation of the national debt by the application of all inheritances above a hundred thousand dollars, supplemented as may be necessary by a direct capital tax upon all persons and corporations where riches have been gained by war or other profiteering; and payment of the current expenses of government by graduated income taxes, public profits from nationally owned utilities and resources, and from a system of taxation of land values which will stimulate rather than retard production.

10. Public ownership and operation of railways, steamships, stock yards, grain elevators, terminal markets, telegraphs, telephones and all other public utilities; and the nationalization and development of basic natural resources, water-power and unused land, with the repatriation of large holdings, to the end that returning soldiers and sailors and dislocated war workers may find an opportunity for an independent livelihood.

11. Complete restoration, at the earliest possible moment, of all fundamental political rights—free speech, free press and free assemblage; the removal of all war-time restraints upon the interchange of ideas and the movement of people among communities and nations; and the liberation



of all persons held in prison or indicted under charges due to their championship of the rights of labor or their patriotic insistence upon the rights guaranteed to them by the constitution.

12. Representation of labor, in proportion to its voting strength, in all departments of government and upon all governmental commissions and agencies of demobilization and reconstruction; and recognition of the principles of trade unionism in the relocation of soldiers, sailors and war workers in peace pursuits, with adequate provision for the support and extension of the Department of Labor as the principal agency therefor.

13. Representation of the workers, in proportion to their numbers in the armies, navies and workshops of the world, at the peace conference and upon whatever international tribunals may result therefrom, with the labor of this nation, represented by the President of the American Federation of Labor and such other delegates as the workers may democratically designate.

14. Supplementing the League of Nations, and to make that instrument of international democracy vitally effective for humanity, a league of the workers of all nations pledged and organized to enforce the destruction of autocracy, militarism and economic imperialism throughout the world, and to bring about world-wide disarmament and open diplomacy, to the end that there shall be no more kings and no more wars.

A referendum among the local unions affiliated with the Chicago Federation of Labor resulted in an overwhelming vote to organize such a party and the labor party of Cook County was formed in January 1919 with 125 local unions joining the party and paying the necessary per capita tax. John Fitzpatrick was its candidate at the Chicago Municipal election in April 1919 and he polled 56,000 votes.<sup>1</sup> The *New Majority*, a weekly paper owned by the Chicago Federation of Labor was started with the organization of the Labor Party and was later endorsed by the Labor Party of Illinois.

The Illinois State Federation of Labor, at its annual convention in the fall of 1918 also ordered a referendum on the starting of a state-wide labor party. This measure also carried by a large majority, and the state convention was held in April 1919 at which the state party was formed. In the municipal elections in Illinois, Labor candidates were elected in many cities. In Aurora, the Labor Party elected its candidates for mayor, clerk, treasurer and attorney, by a plurality vote of about 1,200. In Kuwanee, the Labor Party elected its candidates for mayor and two commissioners out of four. In Collinsville, it elected the mayor, treasurer and two aldermen. In Batavia, a Labor mayor, treasurer, clerk and alderman were elected. Beardstown elected a Labor mayor and five aldermen while Westville and Morrisville elected the entire Labor ticket. In Kankakee, five out of seven aldermen were elected on the Labor Party ticket. In Hartford, Conn., the Labor Party polled 1,700 votes out of the 12,000 cast in the election.

Other localities in which labor parties have sprung up are the following: The Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor at its

<sup>1</sup> In this connection it must be noted that the combined Labor and Socialist votes equaled the previous Socialist vote, thereby challenging the allegation that the Labor Party won votes from the Republican and Democratic parties.—Ed.

annual convention in May ordered a state-wide Labor Party to be organized and a daily paper established.

The North Dakota State Federation of Labor will vote on the proposal at the next state convention. Minnesota, where a local party was started at Winona and another at Minneapolis, and spread into a state-wide party. Topeka, Pittsburg and Kansas City, Kansas; Sault Ste. Marie, Mich., where a very radical platform was adopted; Fort Madison, Iowa, where the Party's candidate for mayor and other officers were elected; Omaha, Neb., and Portland, Ore.

On January 11, 1919, the joint reconstruction committees of the Central Labor bodies of Greater New York called a convention of representatives of labor unions for the purpose of organizing a Labor Party. At this convention, the labor organizations of New York City were represented by 884 delegates and included the Central Federated Union of New York, the Central Labor Union of Brooklyn, the Woman's Trade Union League, the United Hebrew Trades, as well as delegates from 152 local and 41 international unions. This convention organized the American Labor Party of Greater New York. The platform adopted by the convention was somewhat similar to that of the Chicago Labor Party and is also based to a great extent on the Reconstruction Program of the British Labor Party.

The Cleveland trade unionists have also formed a Labor Party and are planning to participate in the next municipal elections.

The governing elements of the American Federation of Labor, led by Samuel Gompers, have consistently opposed the attempt on the part of labor elements in various localities to organize labor parties. On the eve of the New York convention called to organize the Labor Party, Samuel Gompers, the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., members of the A. F. of L. Reconstruction Committee and other leading members of the A. F. of L., invited to a conference those who were active in the movement to organize a Labor Party in New York. Gompers reviewed at this conference the attitude of the American Federation of Labor toward politics, alluding to the political gains which the A. F. of L. had obtained for its membership without organizing a distinct political party, and warning against such a condition like in England where the political labor movement is the dominant factor in the affairs of labor in that country. The Executive Council then officially went on record as opposed to a national movement for a labor political party calling attention to article III, section 8 of the A. F. of L. Constitution providing—"Party politics, whether they be Democratic, Republican, Socialistic, Populistic, Prohibition, or any other, shall have no place in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor."

The Labor parties which already have been formed have evinced a desire to secure the support of the Socialist elements in the labor movement and have even gone so far as to urge the

Socialist Party to unite its forces with them in the labor political movement. Thus, the Illinois Labor Party adopted, at its convention, the following resolution:

Resolved that the first state convention of the Labor Party of Illinois desires to place on record a statement of appreciation of the great service rendered to the cause of labor by the Socialist movement by its campaign of education carried on so vigorously and at such noble sacrifice, and we urgently invite all Socialists who see larger hope for the workers through the plans of the Labor Party to come into this party and become fellow-workers with us.

The constitution of the American Labor Party of New York provides "that no candidate of the Labor Party shall accept endorsement of either the Democratic or the Republican parties nor of any other parties that stand for private ownership of public utilities; nor shall the Labor Party endorse any candidates of the above-mentioned parties," allowing therefore an endorsement of its candidates by the Socialist Party and *vice versa*.

A conference of delegates from all the Labor parties already organized and those in the process of formation was held in November, 1919, at Chicago, where a National Labor Party was formed, with the aim of unifying the various local labor parties and participating in the next presidential election.<sup>1</sup>

### THE UNITED LABOR EDUCATION COMMITTEE

Upon the initiative of the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America several conferences of the labor organizations, engaged or interested in educational work were held, which resulted in the organization of the United Labor Education Committee in the fall of 1918.

The Committee is composed, at present, of representatives from the following organizations: Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, Fancy Leather Goods Workers' Union, Joint Board Furriers' Union, United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America, United Hebrew Trades, Women's Trade Union League, and Workmen's Circle, with a total membership of over 200,000 in the City of New York.

To stimulate independent thought and aspiration for the beautiful, the Committee has conducted once a week during the last season, four Art, Labor, and Science Centers in different parts of the city. In every center there was given a lecture on some phase of social science or art, which in many cases was followed by discussion; also a concert with the selections made for the purpose of both recreation and the appreciation of music; the program was concluded by educational moving pictures, mostly on travel and natural science. For the coming season the number of forums will be increased, and the program in the forums will be systematized; so that there will be some coherence in the consecutiveness of the lectures, music, and moving pictures given in each and every center.

The hours of labor and conditions in the shops are at the present time such, that the majority of workingmen cannot be

<sup>1</sup> See article on Chicago Convention at end of the book.

expected to have the time and the disposition to attend systematic classes. Nevertheless, a growing number of elementary classes are being established, and during the last season, several such classes in English, in the History of the Labor Movement, and in Trade Union Problems attracted a considerable number of workingmen.

The great masses of the working people can perhaps be best reached through their shop meetings and local union meetings. These meetings are to a degree always educational, giving the workman an inkling of the problems of control and management of his own organization, which is the first step in the understanding of democracy in the state and in industry. The Committee made an effort to increase the educational value of the local union and shop meetings by introducing special educational features, such as lectures, music, and debates. During the past season several such lectures and concerts were arranged at local meetings with considerable success and an effort is being made at present to extend this work to the majority of local union meetings and to an increasing number of shop meetings.

Steps have been taken also towards making accessible to labor the masterpieces of drama to be produced by noted artists. The organization of a Workmen's Theatre has been undertaken by the Committee in co-operation with prominent artists. Arrangements have been made also to have the Jewish Art Theatre give special performances of the Committee's own selection for the workmen, as well as to incorporate other educational features in their theatre.

The music given at the Art, Labor and Science Centers has been of a nature to stimulate the interest and the desire for the best in music. In order to satisfy that want, arrangements have been made, through the co-operation of our Section on Music, to make the symphony accessible to the working people. Beginning with next season, we expect to have special concerts of the Philharmonic Orchestra given especially for our members, at which the arrangements shall be, as in our theatres, with a single admission price for all seats. There is also at present under consideration the possibility of having a people's orchestra directly under the auspices of the United Labor Education Committee.

J. M. BUDISH,  
*Chairman, United Labor Education Committee.*

## THE EDUCATIONAL WORK OF THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union began its educational work in 1914 in conjunction with the Rand School of Social Science. About 150 members of the union were sent to school to receive instruction in Labor Problems, the History of the Trade Union Movement in the United States and abroad, Economics, Sociology, and other cultural subjects.

The New York Waist and Dressmakers' Union, a local of the International, inaugurated later independent educational activities for its members, which were conducted in a Public School building.

The Philadelphia Convention of the International in 1916, instructed the General Executive Board to extend the educational work among the members of the union. An educational committee was appointed to organize and conduct educational activities of a popular nature.

In order to reach the large membership of the union, arrangements were made with the New York Board of Education to open educational centers in public school buildings in different parts of New York City. Classes in Economics, Literature, and English were conducted at these centers. Reading circles were **organized in the centers** to stimulate interest in books and discussion. Physical Training was provided, and lectures on Hygiene illustrated with stereopticon views, as well as moving pictures, were a part of the program. Concerts and local affairs were also organized to develop social spirit among the members. Instructors in English, Physical Training, as well as those who were supervising the educational work, were provided by the Board of Education.

The central educational work of the union in New York City, was carried on at the Washington Irving High School, under the name of the Workers' University of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. The classes in this center were of a more advanced character. A special course was offered to business agents and officials, with the idea of better equipping them with the theoretical and practical knowledge of the labor movement.

The aim of this educational activity is to develop among the members of the union, a spirit of fellowship and comradeship, and a devotion to the ideals and interest of the working-class. It is also the aim of the organization to stimulate in the members a desire for knowledge, and cultivate in them an appreciation of beauty as well as the desire to study the social sciences from the point of view of the worker.

In addition to the educational work, the union has also encouraged co-operative enterprises among its members. In New York City a group of waist-makers are conducting a home on the co-operative basis, and the Italian cloakmakers have established a co-operative grocery store for their members. The Dress and Waistmakers' Union has also a country home where members of the union go for their vacation.

The educational work of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union was made the subject of special study by a committee of the American Federation of Labor, which reported its finding to the Convention of the Federation at Atlantic City. The Committee found great encouragement in the progress made by the International in training its members for more useful

service in the labor movement and recommended that the American Federation of Labor inaugurate a campaign among its affiliated organizations for educational work similar to that conducted by the ladies' garment workers of New York.

FANIA M. COHN,  
*Vice-Pres., Int'l Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.*

### BOSTON TRADE UNION COLLEGE

During the spring of 1919 the Trade Union College, under the auspices of the Boston Central Labor Union, was organized, and its first courses of instruction opened on April 7.

The committee in charge was made up of 11 representatives from the Boston Central Labor Union and five representatives of the instructors giving courses in the college.

The courses were open to all trade unionists of the American Federation of Labor and to members of their immediate families, and it is possible that the admission may, in the future, be extended to include non-union workers as well.

The lectures were given in the rooms of the High School of Practical Arts in Roxbury. The courses during the spring term have been of 10 lectures each, meeting once a week from 8 to 10 p.m., the first hour usually being devoted to the lecture and the second hour to a general discussion. The fee charged for the course of 10 lectures has been \$2.50.

The opening term began very modestly with only about 160 students enrolled, but it is hoped that in the autumn the scope of the work and the number of students enrolled may be largely increased.

The courses given during the spring were the following: English, Masterpieces of Literature, Shop Committees and Collective Bargaining, Introduction to American Law, Representative Government, Economics, Physics, Psychology and Logic.

Among the instructors in the various courses were several members of the faculty of Harvard including Professors Wm. Z. Ripley, Roscoe Pound, Felix Frankfurter, Harold J. Laski; Professor Irving Fisher of Yale and a number of publicists and students of labor problems.

H. W. L. DANA.

### THE RAND SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

The Rand School of Social Science is an autonomously organized educational auxiliary to the Socialist and Labor movements of the United States. It is owned by the American Socialist Society, a membership corporation operating under the laws of the State of New York, and its affairs are conducted under the control of an annually elected Board of Directors, by a teaching and administrative staff headed by Algernon Lee as Educational Director, and Mrs. Bertha H. Mailly as Executive Secretary.

The regular instructors, in addition to the Educational Direc-

tor, are David P. Berenberg, Benjamin Glassberg, Scott Nearing, and Alexander Trachtenberg; but many others, including a number of college professors and prominent Socialists and Trade Unionists, give more or less extended courses.

The Rand School was established in 1906 and has had a steady and, in recent years, a very rapid growth in respect both to the magnitude of its work and the scope of its activities. Since 1912 it has ranked as a national institution, drawing students from all parts of the United States and even from foreign countries. In the school year of 1918-19 the number of its registered students, excluding extension and correspondence classes, ran above 5,000, the number of class sessions or lectures attended by each student ranging from six to about 400.

The teaching work of the Rand School falls into two parts—that which offers opportunities for the general public to study Socialism and related subjects, that which gives Socialists such systematic instruction and training as may render them more efficient workers in and for the Socialist Party, the Trade Unions and the Co-operatives. The former is the more extensive, the great majority of students being residents of New York and the vicinity, who devote only an evening or two a week to such courses as they may select from the large number offered. The second branch is the more intensive with a smaller body of students. The Workers' Training Course is taken up each year by a group of young working men and women, mostly from outside New York, who give their whole time to study for six months, from November to May. Essentially the same course is followed also on a part-time plan by a group of local students who attend classes six hours a week through the greater portion of two years. Many of the training course graduates later enter the service of the movement as secretaries, organizers, propagandists, editors, or in other capacities.

Extension classes are organized from time to time in places within a moderate distance from New York, and there are correspondence classes in all portions of the country.

Economic, political, and social-historical subjects, together with English, Public Speaking, and Organization Methods, constitute the central feature of the curriculum; but the scope of the teaching work has been very widely extended so as to include such subjects as Natural Science, Philosophy, Literature, Drama, Music, and Art, in their social aspects.

The teaching methods employed are modern and non-dogmatic. Field work and classroom discussion are combined with lecture, quiz, assigned reading, and theme-writing.

Besides its teaching work the Rand School has several other lines of activity, among them being:

The *Department of Labor Research*, which prepares the *American Labor Year Book* and conducts original investigations, statistical and other, and collects data on a great variety of

topics and puts them at the service of the students, journalists, social workers, and labor organizations.

The *Reference Library and Reading Room*, which contains several thousand bound volumes and a very great number of pamphlets and periodicals including many that are rare and historically valuable. This is open to the public without charge.

The *Correspondence Department*, which offers to groups and individuals outside of New York courses in Economics, Socialism, and Labor Problems sending printed lessons, suggestions for reading, and guiding the students in their work.

The *Rand Book Store*, which does a large local and mail-order business, chiefly in books and pamphlets relating to social and labor questions, but by no means limited to these. The book store has published about a dozen original brochures, besides some reprints.

The Rand School is supported partly by moderate tuition fees and by surplus from the book-store trade, but this income has to be largely supplemented by contributions from individuals and organizations.<sup>1</sup>

Inquiries should be addressed: Rand School of Social Science, 7 East 15th Street, New York City.

ALGERNON LEE,  
*Educational Director.*

## LABOR DIRECTORY <sup>2</sup>

### I. AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

Headquarters: A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.

#### *Officers of the Federation*

President, Samuel Gompers.

Vice-Presidents: James Duncan, Jos. F. Valentine, Frank Duffy, William Green, W. D. Mahon, T. A. Rickert, Jacob Fischer, Matthew Woll.

Treasurer: Daniel J. Tobin.

Secretary: Frank Morrison.

#### *Departments:*

Building Trades Department: Sec'y, William J. Spencer, Rooms 501-3, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.

Metal Trades Department: Sec'y, A. J. Berres, Rooms 402-4, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.

Mining Department: Pres., James Lord, Room 406, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.

Railroad Employees Department: Pres., A. O. Wharton, Room 507, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.

Union Label Trades Department: Sec'y, John Manning, Room 202 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.

### II. Unaffiliated Labor Organizations

The following labor organizations are not affiliated with the A. F. of L. but maintain friendly relations with the Federation:

<sup>1</sup> See articles on the "Prosecutions of the Rand School" and the "Prosecution of Scott Nearing and the American Socialist Society."

<sup>2</sup> For a directory of International and National Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, see *American Labor Year Book*, 1917-18, page 63, and for a directory of official trade-union publications, see *American Labor Year Book*, 1916, page 26.



- Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers: Warren S. Stone, B. of L. E. Building, Cleveland, Ohio.  
 Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen: W. S. Carter, 901 Guardian Building, Cleveland, Ohio.  
 Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen: A. E. King, American Trust Building, Cleveland, Ohio.  
 Order of Railway Conductors of America: C. E. Whitney, The Masonic Temple, Cedar Rapids, Iowa.  
 National Women's Trade Union League: Emma Steghagen, 64 W. Randolph Street, Chicago, Ill.

*III. Miscellaneous Labor Organizations*

- Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America: Sec'y, Joseph Schlossberg, 31 Union Square, New York, N. Y.  
 Amalgamated Textile Workers of America: Sec'y, A. J. Muste, 113 E. 26th Street, New York, N. Y.  
 Brotherhood of Metal Workers, Sec'y, Fred Biedenkapp, 7 E. 15th Street, New York, N. Y.  
 Industrial Workers of the World: Sec'y, Thomas Whitehead, 1001 W. Madison Street, Chicago, Ill.  
 Journeymen Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union: Sec'y, August Burkhardt, 1551 Second Avenue, New York, N. Y.  
 United Cloth. Hat and Cap Makers of America: Sec'y, Max Zukerman, 41 Union Square, New York, N. Y.  
 Workers' International Industrial Union: Sec'y, H. Richter, P. O. Box, 651, Detroit, Mich.

## PART THREE

### LABOR AND THE LAW

#### LABOR LEGISLATION OF 1917 AND 1918

During 1917 Congress and forty-four state legislatures held regular sessions, while a dozen states had special sessions; in 1918 there were sessions of Congress and twenty-two state and territorial legislatures. Naturally the labor laws enacted during these two years bear the impress of the world conflict then in progress.

Labor laws enacted specifically because of the war fall into two distinct groups: protective, and repressive or coercive. Among the first group may be mentioned the federal provisions for soldiers' and sailors' insurance and for vocational rehabilitation of army and navy cripples. Among the second group are the suspension of the eight-hour law on federal government work, the laws of four states authorizing suspension of labor legislation during the war, the prohibition in one state of strikes in munition plants during the war, anti-sabotage acts in seven states, the laws of eleven states making work compulsory for able-bodied males. Other prominent developments, not directly connected with the war, are the adoption of the eight-hour day for women in two states, six new workmen's compensation laws, the creation of eight commissions to study workmen's health insurance, and the adoption of minimum wage acts for women in Arizona and the District of Columbia.

#### MINIMUM WAGE

Minimum wage laws were passed during the war for Arizona and the District of Columbia, making thirteen such statutes now effective in the country. The District of Columbia law, passed in 1918 (Public 215, 65th Cong.), applies to women and to children under the age of eighteen. It provides for an unsalaried board of three to investigate whether wages in any occupation are "inadequate to supply the necessary cost of living" to employees "to maintain them in good health and to protect their morals." If women's wages are found to be below this standard, the board may call a conference composed of three representatives of the employees, three of employers, and three of the public, to decide on minimum time or piece rates. If children's wages are found below the standard, the board may fix minimum rates directly. The customary provisions are

included for public hearings before the rulings become effective and for special rates for learners and less efficient workers. Enforcement is by the corporation counsel of the District, to whom violations must be reported. The Arizona act is of another type, known as "flat rate" law (L. 1917, C. 38). Instead of creating a board to investigate and fix rates, it establishes a uniform wage of \$10 a week for women in stores, offices, shops, restaurants, dining rooms, rooming houses, laundries, or manufacturing establishments. Violation is made a misdemeanor. Colorado (L. 1917, C. 98) transferred the power to determine minimum wage rates from its state wage board to its industrial commission. Washington (L. 1917, C. 29) extended the authority of its industrial welfare commission to telegraphs in cities of less than 3,000 and in rural communities. Louisiana (L. 1918, No. 126) created a joint legislative commission to investigate minimum wages and maximum hours for women and children, and to report in 1920. A commission to study minimum wages and other matters was also appointed in Connecticut. (L. 1917, C. 163.)

For public employees of various sorts a number of states and the United States raised minimum wages. Especially important was the federal law of 1917 (Public 381, 64th Cong.), granting employees in the legislative, executive, and judicial departments an increase for the fiscal year 1918 of 5 per cent. to those receiving between \$1,200 and \$1,800, and 10 per cent. to those getting less than \$1,200. In 1918 (Public 181, 65th Cong.) Congress appropriated \$5,500,000 to enable the Secretary of Labor to furnish information during the war, and to assist in the employment of wage-earners and in standardizing all wages paid by the Government or its agencies; it was provided, however, that no money "appropriated for the payment of wages not fixed by statute shall be available to pay wages in excess of the standard determined by the War Labor Policies Board."

#### HEALTH, OLD AGE AND GENERAL SOCIAL INSURANCE

Foremost among the social insurance measures of the war period is the Congressional Act of October 6, 1917, which established government accident, health, and life insurance for soldiers and sailors (Public 90, 65th Cong.). Compensation for death in the service was set at \$25 a month for a widow alone, up to \$75, according to the number of dependents. For total disability compensation varied from \$30 a month for a single man up to \$75, according to the number of dependents, or up to \$100 for certain extreme injuries. Provision was made for the rehabilitation and vocational retraining of those who were permanently disabled. In addition voluntary term insurance for \$1,000 to \$10,000 was offered at extremely low rates, the Government carrying administrative expenses and the extra war risk. Monthly separation allowances of from \$5 to \$50 were also provided for wives and children of enlisted men, the men

being required to allot equal amounts up to half their pay, and being permitted to extend the arrangement voluntarily to cover other close relatives. In 1918 the act was amended to make the compulsory allotments uniform at \$15 a month, and the voluntary allotments to relatives at \$5, and women in the service were put on the same basis as men (Public 175, 65th Cong.). In 1917 Congress (Public 20, 65th Cong.) provided also insurance for masters, officers, and crews of American ships for death, injury, or capture, and the following year extended this provision to crews under friendly foreign flags (Public 195, 65th Cong.). Employment of attorneys or claim agents under the act was discouraged. (Public 151, 65th Cong.)

Official commissions to investigate workmen's health insurance legislation were established in California (L. 1917, C. 312) and in Massachusetts (L. 1917, Res. 130), in both of which states earlier commissions had reported in favor. Similar commissions were provided for in six other states, namely, Connecticut, to include old age pensions, minimum wage, public employment offices, and several other subjects (L. 1917, C. 163); Illinois (L. 1917, p. 488); New Hampshire (1917 House Jrnl., p. 697—not appointed); Ohio, to include old-age pensions (L. 1917, p. 520); Pennsylvania (L. 1917, No. 414); and Wisconsin (L. 1917, J. Res. 24). The New Jersey commission on old age pensions and insurance continued its study of health insurance also, bringing in a favorable report toward the end of 1917. At the California general elections in 1918 an amendment to the state constitution submitted by the legislature (L. 1917, Res. 57) to permit the passage of a health insurance law was lost.

Investigation of old-age pensions was authorized in Pennsylvania (L. 1917, No. 413), and New York (L. 1918, C. 414) created a commission to study retirement allowances for civil service employees. Pension laws for limited groups of public employees were passed in 1918 by three states. Massachusetts (L. 1918, Res. 70) appropriated \$5,000 to encourage mutual sickness, disability, and old-age insurance in industrial plants.

#### WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION

During the two years under consideration six new states—Delaware, Idaho, New Mexico, South Dakota, Utah, and Virginia—enacted workmen's compensation laws establishing employees' rights to medical care and financial indemnity in case of industrial accident. Thirty-eight states, three territories, and the federal government for its own civilian employees, numbering more than 1,000,000, now have such statutes, to which must be added the federal soldiers' and sailors' insurance act already described.<sup>1</sup> Thirteen of these laws make the payment of compensation obligatory upon the employer. Four of them base indemnity on

<sup>1</sup> Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Tennessee have no compensation laws.

55 per cent of wages, four on 60 per cent, three on 65 per cent, and five on 66-2/3 per cent. Sixteen provide a state-managed fund in which the employer may (in five states *must*) insure his liability to pay compensation benefits. In all but four of the laws medical care is provided, and in five of them no limit is set on the amount of medical care which may be given.

The new compensation act in Delaware (L. 1917, C. 233) allows the employer to elect to come under it or not, as he pleases. Unless he proves his ability to pay the required benefits directly, the employer who elects to come under the law must insure his risk in a stock or mutual company. Failure on the part of a workman to use a reasonable safety device provided, or to obey a safety law, bars him from compensation. Compensation for total disability is 50 per cent of wages up to 270 weeks, and thereafter 20 per cent. No benefits are paid for the first fourteen days and medical care is limited to \$25. The act is administered by an industrial accident board appointed by the governor at \$2,500 a year.

The law in Idaho (L. 1917, C. 81) is compulsory. For total disability compensation is 55 per cent of wages up to 400 weeks, thereafter \$6 weekly. The waiting period (before compensation begins) is seven days and medical care must be given for a reasonable time. Unless the employer can deposit satisfactory security, he must insure in the state fund. Administration is by an industrial accident board of three members appointed by the governor at \$3,000 a year.

The New Mexico Law (L. 1917, C. 83) is elective. For total disability compensation is 50 per cent of wages for 520 weeks. The waiting period is twenty-one days during which time medical care must be provided up to \$50. The amount of compensation is decreased 50 per cent for the employee's failure to obey the safety law and increased 50 per cent for the employer's failure. The employer must prove his ability to carry the compensation risk or else insure. No provision is made for administration except through the district courts.

In South Dakota (L. 1917, C. 376) the law is elective. Compensation for total disability is 50 per cent of wages up to \$3,000 or four times average yearly earnings. The waiting period is 14 days unless disability lasts more than eight weeks, in which case benefits are paid from the day of injury. Medical care is required up to \$100 for four weeks. Employers must insure in either a mutual, reciprocal, or stock company or else prove ability to pay directly. The law is administered by an industrial commissioner.

The Utah law (L. 1917, C. 100) is compulsory. Compensation for total disability is 55 per cent of wages for five years, thereafter 40 per cent. The waiting period is ten days and medical care must be provided up to \$200. Employers may insure in the state fund, or in a mutual or stock company, or carry self-

insurance. Administration is by an industrial commission of three members appointed by the governor at \$4,000 a year.

The Virginia act (L. 1918, C. 400) is elective. It applies to all employers with more than ten employees, except farm and domestic help and railroad workers. The waiting period is fourteen days and medical care must be furnished for thirty days. For total disability compensation is 50 per cent of wages for 500 weeks, but not more than \$4,000 in all. Failure by a workman to use a safety device or to perform a duty required by law, or the wilful violation of a shop rule, bars him from compensation. An effort to prevent discrimination against crippled soldiers and sailors as well as against industrial cripples because of increased compensation risk, is made by providing that if a person previously injured receives a second injury, his compensation shall be only as much as he would have received for the second injury alone. This prevents the discrimination mentioned, but does not provide just compensation for the workman who may become totally disabled because of the combined effect of both accidents. Employers must insure in a state fund, or mutual, or a stock company, or carry self-insurance, but no state fund is established by the law. An industrial commission of three members appointed by the governor at \$3,600 a year is to administer the act.

In addition to these six new workmen's compensation laws some thirty states amended their existing statutes on the subject. The general tendency was to extend the laws to new classes of employees or to employees of smaller establishments, to shorten the waiting period, and to liberalize the amounts of cash or medical benefits. Congress (Public 82, 65th Cong.) extended to longshoremens the rights under state workmen's compensation laws for which they had been declared ineligible by the United States Supreme Court in the Jensen case (Southern Pacific Co. vs. Jensen, 224 U. S. 205, May 21, 1917). Michigan (L. 1917, C. 249), and Oregon (L. 1917, S. J. R. 19) authorized investigations of workmen's compensation problems. Louisiana (L. 1917, No. 37) established a legislative committee to investigate the adoption of state workmen's compensation and other similar insurance.

#### VOCATIONAL RE-EDUCATION

Congress (Public 178, 65th Cong.) amended the federal vocational education bill to provide for the rehabilitation and vocational re-education of crippled soldiers and sailors, and their return to self-sustaining employment. Massachusetts (L. 1918, C. 231) established a division of vocational training in the industrial accident board for the re-education of persons disabled by industrial accidents.

#### HOURS

The spread of women into new occupations where they were little known before the war is reflected in two statutes regulating

their working hours. New York (L. 1918, C. 434) prohibited women entirely from night messenger service and from day messenger service under the age of twenty-one, and extended to women day messengers the fifty-four hour and six-day week and existing regulations for washing and toilet facilities. Massachusetts (L. 1918, C. 147) broadened the women's hour laws to cover woman and child elevator operators. Two states, Montana (L. 1917, C. 18, 70), and Nevada (L. 1917, C. 14), established the eight-hour day for women, making six western states and the District of Columbia which now have this standard. California (L. 1917, C. 582) extended the existing eight-hour law to lodging and apartment houses, hospitals, and places of amusement, but excluded graduate nurses in hospitals, and women in fish, fruit, and vegetable packing establishments when work is necessary to prevent spoiling of the product. Connecticut (L. 1917, C. 300) prohibited work at night for more than forty-eight hours a week for women and children in restaurants, cafés, barber shops, and photograph galleries, and forbade employment as night messengers under the age of eighteen in large cities (L. 1917, C. 261). Delaware (L. 1917, C. 230) extended the women's ten-hour law to hotels, restaurants, places of amusement, and dressmaking shops, and prohibited work at night, or for more than six days a week. Minnesota (L. 1917, C. 248) raised the age for employment for more than ten hours a day from fourteen to sixteen years. New York (L. 1917, C. 535) extended to restaurants the existing law which restricted women's employment to nine hours a day and to fifty-four hours and six days a week and prohibited night work. Ohio (L. 1917, p. 149) reduced women's legal hours from ten a day to nine and from fifty-four a week to fifty and prohibited night work. Oregon (L. 1917, C. 163) permitted women in fruit, vegetable, and fish packing industries to work beyond ten hours daily provided they receive one and a half the regular time or piece rates. In Pennsylvania (L. 1917, No. 524) the industrial board was authorized to modify, but not to extend, the legal hours of women except in manufacturing. Tennessee (L. 1917, C. 77), and Vermont L. 1917, No. 177) established an eight-hour day and six-day week for children and prohibited their employment at night. Utah (L. 1917, C. 80) reduced children's hours to eight a day, and from fifty-four to forty-eight a week. Virginia (L. 1918, C. 214,414) extended the women's ten-hour law to canneries and stores in country districts, and to laundries and offices. New Hampshire shortened the hours of women and children from fifty-five a week to fifty-four (L. 1917, C. 196) but provided that the law was not to apply to munition factories during the war. The only state to reduce its hour standards for women during the war was Wyoming, where (L. 1917, C. 106) several provisions were repealed and several others were amended so that on the whole women's legal working hours were probably longer than before. Alaska adopted a universal eight-hour law (L. 1917,

Ch. 55) but allowed for its suspension during the war upon request of the Council of National Defense. The entire law has, however, since been declared unconstitutional on the ground that it included partners and officers of corporations and hence did not conform to the principle of "reasonable classification" (*U. S. vs. Northern Commercial Co. and George A. Coleman*, March 23, 1918). Alaska (L. 1917, C. 4) adopted also an eight-hour law for underground mines. Work in lead or zinc mines was similarly restricted in Kansas (L. 1917, C. 252). Louisiana (L. 1917, No. 126) authorized an investigation of working hours for women and children.

With regard to public work California (L. 1917, C. 52) and Montana (L. 1917, C. 30) extended the eight-hour day to new groups of public employees, while Kentucky (L. 1918, C. 23) required eight hours actual labor from county road employees. Congress in the act of 1917 providing a civil government for Porto Rico (Public 368, 64th Cong.) declared an eight-hour day for public laborers and mechanics on the island, and the following year (Public 185, 65th Cong.) set an eight-hour day for certain post office laborers and clerks in the United States. Shortly before the American declaration of war, the President was authorized to suspend the eight-hour law on public contracts during national emergency, provided time and a half were paid for overtime (C. 180, 64th Cong.).

Rest periods figured in federal acts which required compensatory time off for certain railway postal clerks if they were required to work on Sundays or holidays (Public 185, 65th Cong.), and which regulated the hours and rest periods of deck officers in port and at sea (Public 147, 65th Cong.). Porto Rico (L. 1918, No. 3) broadened its one day of rest in seven law to take in employees in establishments exempted from the Sunday closing law. Mississippi (L. 1918, C. 494) gave women employees of the state a Saturday half-holiday during the summer. A few other states made slight changes also in the rest period laws affecting public or private employees.

#### CHILD LABOR

In so far as the laws of the war period affected children's working hours, they have been described in the foregoing section. Other regulations dealing with child labor continued the general trend of increasing the minimum age for going to work and adding to the number of prohibited employments. Arkansas (L. 1917, Act 391) and Vermont (L. 1917, No. 177) empowered the appropriate officials to make rules for the issuance of working permits, which were to conform to any rules made under the Federal Child Labor Law of 1916, since declared unconstitutional in *Hammer v. Dagenhart* (247 U. S. 251, June 3, 1918). Delaware (L. 1917, C. 232) set up minimum ages of twelve for work in canneries handling perishable fruits or vegetables, fourteen for other canneries, and eighteen for powder factories



and certain kinds of electrical work. Kansas (L. 1917, C. 227) prohibited child labor under the age of fourteen in mills or canneries. Maryland (L. 1918, C. 495) raised the minimum age from twelve to fourteen for vacation work or canneries. Michigan (L. 1917, No. 280) permitted children aged fourteen or more to work out of school hours in certain occupations, including factories, stores, offices, and messenger service, and provided for attendance at continuation schools, and also (L. 1917, No. 293) created a commission of three to study child labor. New York prohibited (L. 1918, C. 434) women from day messenger service under the age of twenty-one and from night messenger service altogether. New York (L. 1918, C. 190) reduced also the lower age limit for masters', pilots', or engineers' licenses on small steamers from twenty-one to eighteen. The employment of children under fourteen in Porto Rico was forbidden in occupation injurious to life, limb, health, or morals (Public 368, 64th Cong.). Tennessee (L. 1917, C. 77) forbade child labor under fourteen in canneries. Texas (L. 1917, C. 59) raised the minimum age to fifteen for factories, places of amusement, or messenger service in large cities, and to seventeen for breweries and places where explosives are used; and Virginia (L. 1918, C. 204) raised the minimum age to sixteen for mines and quarries and to eighteen for girl messengers. Wisconsin (L. 1918, C. 12) raised the lowest legal age to seventeen for street trades except where compulsory schooling ends at sixteen, and also (L. 1918, C. 2) excused children with working permits from attending evening school but made four hours' attendance weekly at evening or vocational school a condition of employment for illiterate minors over seventeen. California (L. 1917, C. 580), Delaware (L. 1917, C. 232), and Texas (L. 1917, C. 59) exempted farm work from prohibitions against child labor; and New York (L. 1918, C. 628) allowed children between fourteen and sixteen to work in stores and offices during the summer. Half a dozen states made minor modifications in the issuance of employment permits.

#### FACTORIES AND WORKSHOPS

The tendency toward setting up in the statutes general requirements for safety in workplaces and leaving it to the administrative authorities to issue detailed rules in accordance therewith, continues to grow. Utah (L. 1917, C. 100) authorized the industrial commission to fix reasonable standards which would make places of employment safe both in construction and maintenance. Idaho (L. 1917, C. 81) conferred similar powers upon its industrial commission, which was also authorized to prescribe necessary safety appliances. New Hampshire (L. 1917, C. 183) required employers to do everything reasonably necessary to lessen the dangers of accident and disease in their plants, and authorized the commissioner of labor to issue rules for applying this standard. Wyoming (L. 1917, C. 113) required the commis-

sioner of labor to establish necessary machine safeguards and fire escapes. Other states passed a number of more detailed statutes. Thus Delaware (L. 1917, C. 231) regulated factories employing women where lead or other poisonous substances are used. Louisiana (L. 1918, No. 158) required seats for female elevator operators. Massachusetts (L. 1918, C. 110) authorized the board of labor and industries to require facilities for warming lunches in factories with 100 or more employees. Montana (L. 1917, C. 171) provided for the protection of workmen in connection with electrical apparatus. New Jersey (L. 1917, C. 176, 229) strengthened its restriction of tenement house work and (L. 1918, C. 146) provided for zoning of factories in cities. In New York amendments were made (L. 1918, C. 627) in structural requirements for factories. Rhode Island (L. 1918, C. 1616) prohibited common drinking cups and towels, and (L. 1918, C. 1632) the use of the suction or "kiss of death" shuttle in textile mills, and also (L. 1917, C. 1522) made certain factory requirements more definite instead of leaving them to the discretion of inspectors. Texas (L. 1918, H. B. 94) established sanitary regulations for women in certain industries and stores. Virginia (L. 1918, C. 313) prohibited common drinking cups and (L. 1918, C. 260) required hoods and exhausts on grinding or buffing wheels. The federal law establishing a civil government for Porto Rico (Public 368, 64th Cong.) provided that nothing in the act was to be construed to limit the power of the legislature to pass laws to protect the lives, health, or safety of employees; the legislature of the island postponed (L. 1918, No. 6) until 1920 the date when an act of 1917 regulating weights that may be carried is to go into effect. Construction and maintenance of steam boilers were regulated in Arkansas (L. 1917, Act 428), California (L. 1917, C. 202), Michigan (L. 1917, No. 174), and New Jersey (L. 1917, C. 185, 251).

#### MINES AND TUNNELS

Detailed mining codes to replace earlier laws were enacted in Alaska (L. 1917, C. 251) and Washington (L. 1917, C. 36). Kansas (L. 1917, C. 239) provided for nine rescue stations and also (L. 1917, C. 238) authorized a commission to revise the coal mining law. West Virginia (L. 1917, C. 47) authorized a mine rescue car and empowered (L. 1917, C. 20) the chief of the department of mines to make necessary safety and sanitation rules for sand and clay mines and quarries. Certain other states made minor changes in their mining laws, and Pennsylvania adopted a detailed safety statute for workers in compressed air (L. 1917, No. 364).

#### TRANSPORTATION

Arkansas (L. 1917, Act 174) required glass or other screens to protect motormen in winter, and Kansas (L. 1917, C. 255) strengthened the requirements for heating vestibules on trolley

cars. Ohio (L. 1917, p. 590) required seats for motormen, and Connecticut (L. 1917, C. 106) removed the restriction against the use of such seats in the center of cities. New York (L. 1918, C. 649) required vestibuled cabs on locomotives, and Ohio (L. 1917, p. 560) made automatic or foot-power doors obligatory on locomotive fire boxes. The United States (Public 147, 65th Cong.) ordered certificated life-boat men on vessels under the seamen's act.

#### BUILDING CONSTRUCTION

In two states, Delaware (L. 1917, C. 234) and New Jersey (L. 1917, C. 168) scaffolding used in erecting or painting buildings was regulated.

#### EMPLOYMENT

One group of labor statutes that grew directly out of the war consists of the so-called "Lazy man's" or compulsory work laws. Acts of this kind were passed in eleven states: Delaware (L. 1918, C. No. not available), Georgia (L. 1918, C. No. not available), Kentucky (L. 1918, C. 178), Louisiana (L. 1918, No. 139), Maryland (L. 1917, C. 33), Massachusetts (L. 1918, C. 286), New Jersey (L. 1918, C. 55), New York (L. 1918, C. 625), Rhode Island (L. 1918, C. 1661), South Dakota (L. 1918, C. 62), and West Virginia (L. 1917, C. 12, 2d spec. sess.). These acts applied most frequently to able-bodied men between eighteen and fifty years of age and required during the war thirty-six or more hours work a week upon proclamation by the state council of defense or the governor that such labor was necessary to the protection and welfare of the state. Strikers and students were in nearly all cases exempted. Maryland established a legislative committee to confer with the War and Navy Departments for securing agricultural labor (L. 1918, Res. 9, 12), and Montana requested Congress to enact legislation for the registration and assignment of labor (L. 1918, H. J. R. 1). South Carolina passed four statutes (L. 1918, No. 417, 495, 502, 503) requiring county road work or providing for commutation of such duties by a money payment.

Investigations of unemployment were authorized in North Carolina (L. 1917, C. 170) and Oregon (L. 1917, H. C. R. 15). Connecticut ordered the study of public employment offices (L. 1917, C. 163), and such offices were provided for in Arizona (L. 1917, C. 21), Arkansas (L. 1917, Act. 11), Georgia (L. 1917, No. 209), New Hampshire (L. 1917, C. 198), North Carolina (L. 1917, C. 170), South Dakota (L. 1917, C. 376), and Utah (L. 1917, C. 100). New Jersey (L. 1918, C. 227) established a migrant welfare and employment bureau in its labor department, and New York (L. 1918, C. 356) authorized a branch public employment office for negroes. Congress (Public 178, 65th Cong.) appropriated \$45,000 for finding employment for crippled soldiers or sailors after their vocational rehabilitation, and \$55,000 for further studies of the subject. The sum of \$250,000

was appropriated (Public 109, 181, 65th Cong.) for use as a revolving fund by the Secretary of Labor in advancing transportation to war workers. Four states authorized co-operation between state and federal employment offices. Eight states: Arkansas (L. 1917, Act. 11), Georgia (L. 1917, No. 209), Louisiana (L. 1918, No. 145), Nebraska (L. 1917, C. 199), New Jersey (L. 1918, C. 227), Oklahoma (L. 1917, C. 181), Tennessee (L. 1917, C. 78), and Utah (L. 1917, C. 100), provided for further regulation of private employment agencies operated for profit. Oregon sent a memorial to the President (L. 1917, H. J. Mem. 2) against the age limit in government and public employment service.

A step toward provision of public works to reduce destitution in industrial crises was made by Pennsylvania, which set aside \$40,000 for the purpose (L. 1917, No. 411).

#### TRADE DISPUTES

Anti-sabotage laws were passed by seven western states: Arizona (L. 1918, C. 13), Idaho (L. 1917, C. 145), Minnesota (L. 1917, C. 215), Montana (L. 1918, C. 7), Nebraska (L. 1918, C. 9), North Dakota (L. 1918, C. 12), and South Dakota (L. 1918, C. 38)—and Montana urged Congress, furthermore, to take action on the subject (H. J. Mem. 1). The low chapter numbers of most of these laws, indicating adoption early in the sessions, show how important they were considered by the legislatures. The acts define sabotage usually as wilful or malicious injury to property or violation of constitutional or statutory rights as a method of attaining industrial or political ends, and make advocacy of such tactics a felony. Idaho specifically made driving metallic substances into lumber a crime (L. 1917, C. 136). New Hampshire forbade strikes or lockouts in munition plants during the war (L. 1917, C. 146); the same state also strengthened (L. 1917, C. 99) the law requiring that advertisements for workers during trade disputes mention the existence of the dispute, and provided (L. 1917, C. 142) that mediation or arbitration proceedings should not be evidence before any other tribunal. California declared (L. 1917, C. 689) that the home defense guard was not to be used in strikes. Massachusetts ordered its board of conciliation and arbitration to notify both workmen and employers of hearings (L. 1918, C. 251), and the industrial commission of Utah was directed (L. 1917, C. 100) to promote voluntary arbitration. The Foundation for the Promotion of Industrial Peace was instructed to return to the donor, Theodore Roosevelt, certain funds which it was unable to use (Public Res. 37, 65th Cong.).

#### PRISON LABOR

California required that certain prison-made goods be labelled (L. 1917, C. 164). New Jersey provided (L. 1917, C. 157) that prison labor is not to be used in strikes or lockouts, or in public

work if sufficient free workmen can be obtained; also (L. 1918, C. 147) that products of institutional labor might be sold on such conditions as not to compete unfairly with the product of free labor, and that convict labor was not to be used on public improvements together with free labor or to take the place of free labor during a strike or lockout. North Carolina (L. 1917, C. 286) and Tennessee (L. 1917, C. 46) abolished the system of contracting prison laborers to private employers. Louisiana, on the other hand (L. 1918, No. 210), repealed its law against employing convicts outside of prisons or penal farms for private purposes, and Maryland (L. 1918, Res. 13) asked its representatives and senators in Congress to hasten the passage of a bill to allow employment of prisoners on war supplies.

#### IMMIGRATION

In 1917 a new immigration act was adopted (Public 301, 64th Cong.) which retained the clause against importing laborers under contract but allowing skilled labor to be brought in if the same type of labor cannot be found unemployed in this country. Massachusetts adopted the principle that preference as teamsters on public work was to be given to citizens of the state and of the country, in the order named (L. 1917, C. 260).

#### WAGE PAYMENTS AND LIENS

Six states prohibited or restricted the payment of wages in scrip: Illinois (L. 1917, p. 363), Kansas (L. 1917, C. 229), Minnesota (L. 1917, C. 348), New Mexico (L. 1917, C. 16), Tennessee (L. 1917, C. 28), and Virginia (L. 1918, C. 389). The same Virginia statute brought railroad, steamship, and mining companies under the semi-monthly pay law and prohibited overcharging at company stores. Semi-monthly pay days were also established on railroads in Nebraska (L. 1917, C. 218), North Dakota (L. 1917, p. 206), and West Virginia (L. 1917, C. 50), for railroad, mining, and manufacturing corporations in New Mexico (L. 1917, C. 16); for all private employments in Tennessee (L. 1917, C. 28); and for certain public employees in California (L. 1917, C. 574), and Wisconsin (L. 1917, C. 448, 469). Massachusetts (L. 1918, C. 87) required club employees in cities to be paid weekly, forbade employers to take gratuities received by employees for checking clothing (L. 1918, C. 149), and prohibited deductions for tardiness in excess of the wages that would have been earned in the lost time (L. 1918, C. 192). Maine (L. 1917, C. 298) and Utah (L. 1917, C. 41) required the written consent of the wife to assignments of wages for small loans, while Arizona (L. 1917, C. 22) and Florida (L. 1917, C. 7366) empowered a surviving spouse to collect wages due the deceased. New Jersey authorized municipal employees to recover wages lost through illegal discharge (L. 1918, C. 139). The Virginia act which made it a felony to enter into a contract of employment with intent to defraud was made to include oral

as well as written contracts (L. 1918, C. 179). Laws protecting wages by mechanics' liens, contractors' bonds, or otherwise, were amended in about fifteen states.

#### MISCELLANEOUS

Congress (Public 181, 65th Cong.) appropriated \$1,335,000 to enable the Secretary of Labor to carry on among other things the administration of war labor "including mediation and conciliation in labor disputes, the working conditions of wage-earners in the most essential war industries, the acquiring and diffusing of information on subjects connected with labor, the employment of women in industry, and the training and dilution of labor." The United States Department of Labor was instructed to investigate the cost of living of wage-earners in the District of Columbia (Pub. Res. 39, 64th Cong.). Illinois (L. 1917, p. 519) created a commission to study conditions of women in industry, and a commission to study labor conditions of women and children was authorized in North Dakota (L. 1917, C. 181). Colorado (L. 1917, C. 54) made it swindling to cheat a person of his labor, and Tennessee (L. 1917, C. 48) prohibited misrepresentation of wages. New Hampshire (L. 1917, C. 3) set up a penalty for lumbermen who refused to return labor for wages paid. Job-selling was prohibited in California (L. 1917, C. 172) and Ohio (L. 1917, p. 614). Michigan (L. 1917, No. 92) and Ohio (L. 1917, P. 603) required that railroad employees be given a hearing before being discharged or disciplined. California forbade, furthermore, forcing employees to purchase goods from an employer or other specified person (L. 1917, C. 141), required employers to pay for necessary surety bonds or photographs (L. 1917, C. 108), and ordered public utility corporations to furnish service letters on discharge (L. 1917, C. 747). New York (L. 1918, C. 265) forbade the wearing of work-badges without authority, and Maryland (L. 1918, C. 224) established an examining board for road employees. Customary restrictions against the use of the stop-watch, motion studies, or the bonus system on government work were contained in the fortifications act (C. 54, 64th Cong.), two navy appropriation acts (C. 180, 64th Cong., Public 193, 65th Cong.), two army appropriation acts (Public 11, 189, 65th Cong.), and the sundry civil appropriation act (Public 21, 65th Cong.).

#### ADMINISTRATION OF LABOR LAWS

Prominent among administrative regulations adopted during the war were those passed by four New England States authorizing the officials to set aside the protective measures which had been secured in some cases only after decades of struggle. Connecticut (L. 1917, Ch. 326) and New Hampshire (L. 1917, Ch. 194) authorized the governors to modify or suspend the state labor laws for definite periods during the war upon request of

the Council of National Defense. Vermont (L. 1917, No. 172) empowered the commissioner of industries, with the approval of the governor, to suspend restrictions on the hours of women and children. Massachusetts (L. 1917, Ch. 342) established a war emergency industrial commission consisting of two employers, two employees, and the commissioner of labor as chairman, to consider applications from individual plants for the suspension of labor laws for stated periods. Several other attempts to break down labor legislation, especially in New York, were successfully opposed. (See "Labor Laws in War Time," *American Labor Year Book*, 1917-18, pp. 15-21, and the same article in this edition.)

In the second year of American participation in the war the emphasis swung again toward efficiency in enforcement of labor statutes. Massachusetts provided for five additional inspectors in the board of labor and industries (L. 1918, C. 276) and raised the salaries of the board of arbitration and conciliation from \$2,500 to \$3,000 (L. 1918, C. 225); the supervisor of administration was directed to investigate working conditions of state employees and to report on classifying positions and standardizing salaries (L. 1918, Res. 86). Massachusetts provided also that boiler inspection rules must in the future be approved by the council as well as by the governor (L. 1918, C. 257). New York, which had an unsalaried industrial council of employers and labor representatives to advise with the state industrial commission, provided that members of the council be paid \$10 a day of actual service, and traveling expenses (L. 1918, C. 355). The commission was also given power to reorganize its bureau of statistics and information in accordance with the divisions of work to be performed (L. 1918, C. 456); the salary of deputy in charge of the bureau of mediation and arbitration was raised from \$5,000 to \$6,000 and that of the commission's counsel from \$6,000 to \$7,000 (L. 1918, C. 595). The commission was required to furnish blanks to physicians outside of first and second class cities examining children for employment permits (L. 1918, C. 459). Louisiana (L. 1918, No. 232) raised the pay of the commissioner of labor and industrial statistics from \$2,000 to \$2,400, and Rhode Island (L. 1918, C. 1676) gave her assistant factory inspectors \$1,800 instead of \$1,500. The United States increased the pay of the chief inspector under the railroad safety appliance law to \$5,000, of inspectors to \$4,000, and of district inspectors to \$3,000 (Public 176, 65th Cong.). Kentucky (L. 1918, C. 25) created a department of mines and reorganized the mine safety work; New Jersey (L. 1918, C. 213) established a new boiler inspection bureau, raised the inspectors' pay from \$1,500 to \$2,000, and instructed the civil service commission to classify all state employments and to standardize employment conditions, services, hours, pay, and promotions. (L. 1918, C. 24).

SOLON DE LEON.

## FEDERAL CHILD LABOR LEGISLATION

The Federal Child Labor Act which took effect September 1, 1917, was declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court June 3, 1918. This act<sup>1</sup> prohibited the shipment in foreign or interstate commerce of the products of mines, quarries, mills, canneries, workshops, factories, and manufacturing establishments, if within 30 days prior to their removal the age and hour standards laid down by the act had been violated. The standards established were preventive of the employment of children under 16 years of age in mines and quarries, of children under 14 years in mills, canneries, workshops, etc., and of children between 14 and 16 years for more than eight hours a day, more than six days a week, or before six a.m. or after seven p.m.

## CONSTITUTIONALITY OF LAW

The question of the constitutional validity of the act came before the Supreme Court on appeal from the District Court for the Western District of North Carolina. As recited by Mr. Justice Day, who delivered the majority opinion of the Supreme Court, "a bill was filed in the United States District Court . . . by a father in his own behalf and as next friend of his two minor sons, one under the age of 14 years and the other between the ages of 14 and 16 years, employees in a cotton mill at Charlotte, N. C., to enjoin the enforcement of the act. . . . The District Court held the act unconstitutional and entered a decree enjoining its enforcement." The "next friend" of his two minor sons was Roland H. Dagenhart, whose name will be known to history through his connection with the so-called Dagenhart case. The injunction was issued August 29, 1917, three days before the act took effect everywhere in the country except in the Western District of North Carolina.

The Child Labor Division of the Children's Bureau was successful in enforcing the terms of the act in all outside territory, obtaining, between January and April, 1918, five convictions with penalties ranging from \$50 to \$160. Employers in states having lower corresponding standards than those of the federal measure were adjusting their businesses to the new legal requirements and were themselves becoming reconciled to these requirements when the act was declared unconstitutional.

Decision was rendered by a divided court, Justices Holmes, McKenna, Brandeis, and Clarke dissenting from the opinion of the majority. A few of the salient features of the majority opinion may be briefly pointed out. Mr. Justice Day, speaking for five of the nine members of the Court, said: "The act in its effect does not regulate transportation among the states, but aims to standardize the ages at which children may be employed at mining and manufacturing within the states." Here is em-

<sup>1</sup> For a fuller account of the Child Labor Law see *American Labor Year Book*, 1917-18, pp. 120-124.



phasis on the collateral effects of the act, and here is the underlying basis of the decision. The majority of the court regarded the act as a regulation rather of intrastate manufacture than of interstate commerce and hence as a contravention of the tenth amendment—that is, a violation of States' rights.

They stressed the harmlessness of the goods themselves. "The act permits them to be freely shipped after 30 days from the time of their removal from the factory. When offered for shipment, and before transportation begins, the labor of their production is over, and the mere fact that they were intended for interstate commerce transportation does not make their production subject to Federal control under the commerce power. . . . Over interstate transportation or its incidents, the regulatory power of Congress is ample, but the production of articles, intended for interstate commerce, is a matter of local regulation." The majority said that Congress, by no prohibition of interstate commerce, can "control the states in their exercise of the police power over local trade and manufacture." This control was thought to be imposed as one of the collateral effects of the act.

If the goods had been harmful in themselves, or at the end of their interstate journey had endangered the public health, morals, or welfare, it was intimated by the majority, their opinion on the case would have been different. They would then, presumably have admitted the applicability of the decisions in the lottery, white slave and other cases as precedents. In these cases regulation to the extent of prohibition was possible, we are told, because of the character of the commodity. When a commodity or its transportation runs counter to accepted ideas of morality, Congress may regulate by prohibiting it. This distinction between the morality and the immorality of the commerce is a leading feature of the decision.

We find it stated that in the transportation affected by the lottery, pure food and drugs, white slave, and liquor acts, "the use of interstate transportation was necessary to the accomplishment of the harmful results. In other words, although the power over interstate transportation was to regulate, that could only be accomplished by prohibiting the use of the facilities of interstate commerce to effect the evil intended."

The majority opinion concluded with the following paragraph:

"In our view the effect of this act is, by means of a prohibition against the movement in interstate commerce of ordinary commercial commodities to regulate the hours of labor of children in factories and mines within the states, a purely state authority. Thus the act in a two-fold sense is repugnant to the Constitution. It not only transcends the authority delegated to Congress over commerce but also exerts a power as to a purely local matter to which the Federal authority does not extend. The far-reaching result of upholding the act cannot be more plainly indicated than by pointing out that if Congress can thus regulate matters entrusted to local authority by prohibition of the movement of

commodities in interstate commerce, all freedom of commerce will be at an end, and the power of the states over local matters may be eliminated, and thus our system of government be practically destroyed."

The dissenting opinion, written by Mr. Justice Holmes, dealt in part with prohibitory regulation and the question of the intrinsic harmfulness of commerce which Congress may see fit to prohibit. He asserted that "it does not matter whether the supposed evil precedes or follows the transportation. It is enough that in the opinion of Congress the transportation encourages the evil. I may add that in the cases on the so-called white slave act it was established that the means adopted by Congress as convenient to the exercise of its power might have the character of police regulations." He continued: "The motion that prohibition is any less prohibition when applied to things now thought evil I do not understand. But if there is any matter upon which civilized countries have agreed—far more unanimously than they have with regard to intoxicants and some other matters over which this country is now emotionally aroused—it is the evil of premature and excessive child labor. I should have thought that if we were to introduce our own moral conceptions where in my opinion they do not belong, this was preeminently a case for upholding the exercise of all its powers by the United States.

"But I had thought that the propriety of the exercise of a power admitted to exist in some cases was for the consideration of Congress alone and that this court always had disavowed the right to intrude its judgment upon questions of policy or morals. It is not for this court to pronounce when prohibition is necessary to regulation if it ever may be necessary—to say that it is permissible as against strong drink but not as against the product of ruined lives.

"The act does not meddle with anything belonging to the States. They may regulate their internal affairs and their domestic commerce as they like. But when they seek to send their products across the State line they are no longer within their rights. If there were no Constitution and no Congress, their power to cross the line would depend upon their neighbors. Under the Constitution such commerce belongs not to the States but to Congress to regulate. It may carry out its views of public policy whatever indirect effect they may have upon the activities of the States. Instead of being encountered by a prohibitive tariff at her boundaries the State encounters the public policy of the United States which it is for Congress to express. . . . The national welfare as understood by Congress may require a different attitude within its sphere from that of some self-seeking State. It seems to me entirely constitutional for Congress to enforce its understanding by all the means at its command."

There is no doubt that the decision of the Supreme Court in

the Dagenhart case was unpopular. It was received, moreover, with unmistakable marks of disapproval by leaders both in and out of Congress, and competent students of constitutional law not only expressed surprise but also severely criticized the decision.

The act of 1916, though unenforceable, has been retained on the statute books, in the hope that at some future date a favorable opportunity for the consideration of its validity may be presented. Professor Thomas I. Parkinson of the Columbia Law School considers important the question "whether the federal commerce power must give way when it touches local conditions of production and trade or whether that power shall prevail in the interest of the national welfare. The settlement of this question requires a more conclusive determination of the exact limits of the congressional power to prohibit interstate commerce, and this we can only hope to have by preserving the original act and seeking a reconsideration by the court of its recent decision." Professor Thomas Reed Powell, also of the Columbia Law School, says: "Decisions which are out of joint with the times, which are not required by any clear mandate of the Constitution, and which meet with strong dissent from some of the ablest of the judges, are not likely to remain long unmodified."

#### FURTHER CONGRESSIONAL ACTION

What happened in Congress? On June 6, a bill was introduced in the Senate to re-enact, with slight changes, the provisions of the law declared invalid, with an added section declaring:

That the constitutionality of this act having been declared by the competent authority of Congress and of the President of the United States at the time of its passage shall only be questioned thereafter by Congress itself and by the people of the United States in their sovereign capacity as voters. Any executive or judicial officer who, in his official capacity, denies the constitutionality of this act shall *ipso facto* vacate his office. No judge of an inferior Federal Court shall permit the question of the constitutionality of this act to be raised in the court over which he presides, and the United States Supreme Court shall have no appellate power to pass upon such question.

On the following day a bill was introduced in the House of Representatives limiting the power of the Supreme Court judges to declare laws unconstitutional, and requiring for that purpose the affirmative vote of not less than three-fourths of the judges sitting in the case. On June 11 and 13, joint resolutions were introduced in the House proposing to amend the Constitution of the United States so as specifically to confer upon Congress the power to prohibit or regulate the employment of children under the age of 16 years.

In the course of a few months a number of child labor bills were introduced in Congress, designed to accomplish their pur-

pose under the Constitution as it stands and without any word of advice to the Supreme Court. One of these denied the use of the mails to employers not complying with its provisions; another made it unlawful to ship the products of the labor of children into any state within which the sale of such products might be declared by state to be unlawful; another proposed the levying of a tax of 25 per cent on the value of such products offered for interstate shipment; another imposed a prohibitive tax on the products of child labor, without reference to their destination.

Mention should be made of the war measure introduced by Representative Keating of Colorado, August 15, and based, in respect to constitutionality, on the war power of Congress. This bill, which the House Committee on Labor voted on favorably but which received little further attention after the signing of the armistice, directly forbade the employment of children under the conditions of the 1916 act.

On November 15, Senator Pomerene of Ohio introduced a bill, in the form of an amendment to the war revenue bill, imposing an excise tax of ten per cent on the entire net profits received during the taxable year from the sale or disposition of any goods in the production of which, at any time within the taxable year, children had been employed contrary to the same standards as those of the invalid act of 1916. This amendment was finally accepted by both the Senate and the House and became law April 25, 1919, sixty days after President Wilson affixed his signature to the War Revenue Act.

The annulment of that act left children in the mining, quarrying and manufacturing industries—fifteen per cent. of the total number of child laborers in America—entirely without federal protection. There arose, at once, loud cries from the States' righters: "Now let the States act, they will abolish child labor." At the time of the Court's decision, a bill had been framed for introduction in the Georgia legislature. It was not a very radical bill. It merely prohibited child labor in certain industries under the age of fourteen years without exemptions, and in its other terms embodied the standards that had been in force under the federal law. The bill was introduced and referred to the House Committee on Labor and Statistics, where it was killed decisively by a vote of nine to one. The record of other states during the past year has been a strengthening of child labor laws in several instances and a weakening of child labor laws in several other instances, besides a laxity or ineffectiveness of enforcement that has been country-wide.

But following the decision of the Court, the executive branch of the federal government, through the War Labor Policies Board, met the situation by causing it to be made a condition of all war contracts that—

The contractor shall not directly or indirectly employ in the performance of this contract any minor under the age of 14 years, or permit any minor

between the ages of 14 and 16 years to work more than eight hours in any one day, more than six days in any one week, or before 6 a. m. or after 7 p. m.

Immediately on the issuance of the ruling of the War Labor Policies Board, the American Cotton Manufacturers' Association, proclaiming itself to be actuated solely by motives of ardent patriotism, protested the ruling, and wired the state associations advising that no government contracts be taken until the disagreement had been adjusted. In October the American Association recommended to its members a continuance of the policy of refusing to take contracts, and at that time scores of cotton mill owners were saying that they would surrender their factories to the government for operation before they would submit to the proposed restrictions. Perhaps this would not have been fatal to public welfare after all. However, on November 12, newspapers carried dispatches from Washington saying that, on account of the imminence of peace, the controversy between the government and the cotton men was likely to be dropped.

One sequence—or consequence—of the Dagenhart decision was a quick and large increase in the amount of child labor throughout the country. This took place in spite of the enlightened action of the War Labor Policies Board, in spite of the opportunity which the states always possess of combatting child labor, and in spite of diligent efforts on the part of civic organizations. A statement issued November 6 by the federal department of Labor reads:

Reports of investigations which are now being received by the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor show a great increase in the employment of children since the federal child labor law was declared unconstitutional on June 3rd . . . During the nine months that the law was in operation, 686 factories and 26 mines and quarries distributed in 24 states and the District of Columbia were inspected by officers of the Child Labor Division of the Bureau. Reports of these inspections show 158 children under 16 years of age were found employed in mines and quarries and 363 children under 14 employed in factories; 1,024 children between 14 and 16 were found working in factories more than 8 hours a day or at night, in violation of the law. In the investigations made since June 3rd by the investigators of the Children's Bureau, 909 children under 14 years of age were found at work in 392 factories; 3,189 under 16 were working more than eight hours a day and 149 were employed at night. In 13 mines inspected, 62 children under 16 years of age were found employed. . . .

In 24 states the 8-hour day is not required by state statute for children between 14 and 16 years of age. Among these are all the New England states (except Vermont and Massachusetts), Pennsylvania and the Southern textile states. In these states, information on hand indicates that return to the 9, 10 and 11 hour day for children under sixteen is general . . . The Children's Bureau issued 18,148 working certificates for 14 and 15-year old children in the three states of North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia during the nine months the federal child labor law was in effect. In these states the 11-hour day and the 60-hour week are general. Inspections made indicate that most of these children and in North Carolina many more who are under 14 were put on the 60-hour week as soon as the federal restrictions were nullified. In the latter states, children from 5 to 14 years of age were found employed more than eight hours a day.

The history of the operation of the act of 1916 and story of the sequences and consequences of its annulment, confirmed the

advocates of federal child labor legislation in their belief in its desirability and necessity. The consensus of their opinion is that the federal taxing power furnishes a valid and the best available method of attack on the national evil of child labor. The first step in the expected contest over the constitutionality of the new federal child labor law was taken in the Western Judicial District of North Carolina when Judge Boyd on May 2, 1919, declared the law unconstitutional. Judge Boyd, who was first to declare the 1916 act unconstitutional, took the ground that the 1919 act sought to accomplish the regulation of unemployment by indirection, and was an invasion of the States' authority. The act is in force throughout the United States, except in this one district, and is being administered by a staff of workers under the Commissioner of Internal Revenue.

OWEN R. LOVEJOY,

*General Secretary, National Child Labor Committee.*

## STANDARDS OF WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION IN THE UNITED STATES

But ten states and the District of Columbia were without compensation laws on January 1, 1919, and at the time of this writing bills for general laws are before the legislatures of several of the delinquent states. However, with the all but universal indorsement of the main principles involved in such legislation, there still remains a large field for improvement in the matter of adequacy and efficiency; and to this fact no one bears more positive witness than some of the state officials charged with the administration of the laws.

Three chief factors are involved in the consideration of any compensation law—coverage, or the scope and incidence of the law; adequacy, or the measure and amount of benefits contemplated; and certainty, or the assurance that the injured man, or his beneficiaries in case of his death, will receive fully and promptly the benefits specified in the act.

### EXTENT OF COMPENSATION

Supposed constitutional difficulties have led many of the states to make their laws elective, *i. e.*, subject to acceptance or rejection at the option of employers or workmen, providing, however, a rigorous liability for employers refusing to come within the acts. The decisions on this point have not been unanimous, and various courts, including the Supreme Court of the United States, have sustained laws that abolished the common-law liability system, and made the compensation principle exclusive. Only so is it actual legislation, and not a mere alternative scheme subject to the individual will and to divergent and uncertain influences, so that the enactment of compulsory in lieu of optional statutes in all jurisdictions is a matter of prime importance. Moreover, as most of the laws are now phrased, large classes of employed persons are excluded from their benefits, so that

the numbers of workers potentially covered, *i. e.*, included under compulsory laws and subject to inclusion under elective laws, amount to less than one-half the employees in eight states of the Union; while the laws of eight or nine others, including some of great industrial importance, exclude more than forty per cent of their workers.<sup>1</sup> Among the most important exclusions are those classed as non-hazardous, and specifically agricultural and domestic service; casual employments; employments not for gain, and interstate commerce. Fortunately the indefensible classification of employments as hazardous and non-hazardous is losing ground. The purpose of the laws is to provide a remedy for the individual cut off from the self-support by reason of a disability incurred in his employment, and the number of fellow-sufferers neither adds to nor mitigates his loss. The question is one to be met actuarially, and if the industry is entitled to a low premium charge well and good; but that fact affords no warrant for depriving the workman engaged therein of proper protection. Some system of self-insurance should be made for casual employees, by which they would be protected by policies issued to them; or short term or job policies be provided for employers of such labor. But as a first step, the definition of casual employment should be so determined as to effectuate the spirit of the law rather than to encourage the making of technical exclusions.

The employee in interstate commerce is a distinct problem, but a federal statute providing for compensation, instead of perpetuation of the discredited liability system based on negligence, would go far toward alleviating the difficulties that are bound to arise as long as the question of interstate and intrastate service by the same person, or at least by members of the same group, remains an ever uncertain factor in the problem. Perhaps the day is near when it will be recognized that local mishaps and interstate business are so intimately related that a uniform federal control will be sought for the whole body of railroad workers.

The goal of a satisfactory compensation system is not reached until every person employed in industry, including the small self-employer, as blacksmiths, carpenters, and job workers, and the agricultural worker exposed to multifarious hazards, as well as the slightly exposed domestic or clerical employee, will be made safe against the crushing financial burden of accidental or other injury, not intentionally self-inflicted, incurred by reason of his employment. This requires the inclusion of industrial or trade diseases, and a broader view as to injuries "arising out of" the employment than some jurisdictions have accepted.

#### THE AWARD

The amount of the principal compensation payment is usually a fixed percentage of the wages received at the time the injury

<sup>1</sup> Bulletin, U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, No. 240, p. 30.

was incurred. Inasmuch as the amount paid to the worker can generally be made a charge upon production and its burden dispel the injured worker to bear an undistributable loss of one-half tributed, while the portion of which he is deprived while receiving compensation payments is a loss borne by himself alone, equity requires that as large a percentage of the wages be paid as benefits as is compatible with good administration. To combine his wages is obviously a disproportionate burdening of himself and his family. The effort to obtain a continuance of full wages while able to render no service combines excessive administrative difficulties with the economic burden on industry, and can hardly be recommended unless as an exceptional and temporary measure. The amount of two-thirds pay, with a liberal weekly maximum limitation, if any, would seem to be a fair basis of award. Care must be taken in fixing any maximum to leave room for higher wage scales and increased living costs than those in effect at the time of the enactment of the law—a fact which was overlooked in existing legislation, which seems to have regarded the cost of living as a fixed quantity.

#### THE WAITING PERIOD

Another factor affecting adequacy of relief is the matter of the length of waiting time after the injury before compensation payments begin. The period of two weeks generally adopted in the earlier laws has been reduced in a number of instances, and it seems not too much to expect that a shorter time—one week, or perhaps even less—will be accepted as a standard. The loss of even one week's wages is sufficiently serious in the household of many wage-earners, and the fear of claims for petty injuries should not be made a ground for working real hardship; nor is it just to deny benefits on the claim of expense, when the total result is to cast the whole burden of the expense on the victim of the injury, without the possibility of distribution.

#### LENGTH OF PAYMENTS

Besides the percentage amounts and maximum limitations, the term of the payments must be considered. To cut off the allowance made to a permanently disabled man at the end of five, eight, or even ten years is to fail to meet the needs of the helpless survivor of these periods. Doubtless the cases of such survival will be relatively few, as a disabling injury naturally reduces the life expectancy; but this only indicates that the question is less serious from an actuarial standpoint than from the point of view of the individuals affected. The same may be said of the widow cut off from her only support when advancing years have lessened her opportunities for self-support. Payments during the life of the totally disabled and during the widowhood of the surviving widow are the only adequate solutions of this problem, in the absence of a general old-age and invalidity insurance system.



## MEDICAL AID

But not compensation payments alone are to be provided. Medical, surgical, and hospital reliefs should be furnished, not with the niggardly and wasteful limitations of time and amount that some of the laws provide, but up to the measure of the injured man's need, and with the end in view of affording the fullest and earliest possible restoration of earning capacity. This is not merely the only humane position to take, but is also fully demonstrated as the most economical. Rehabilitation and replacing in a self-respecting status of self-support are necessary parts of any complete system; and the acceptance of the re-trained man, not as a matter of charity, but as a matter of equity and good business in every aspect of the question is one of the duties to which employers must be educated. This involves first of all the putting aside of a largely imaginary fear of second injuries to which the *mutilée* is supposed to be peculiarly subject, and a fair provision for their relief when they do occur—a movement that must receive considerable impetus by reason of the conditions produced by the war.

## THE INSURANCE FUND

The importance of securing to the beneficiary the amounts contemplated by the acts is increasingly recognized. Insurance is still optional in a few of the states, but their number is diminishing, and it is within bounds to pronounce a law seriously defective which leaves it possible for the will and ability of the individual employer to become the sole reliance of the injured man or his survivors for payments of benefits which may extend over long periods. The question of state versus stock company insurance is one that is earnestly and even bitterly controverted. In fifteen states a publicly administered insurance fund is in existence; in four of these it is exclusive, and in two others practically so. The states, having exclusive funds, declare strongly in their favor, claiming both economy of cost and efficiency of administration; while in some of the states in which the State fund is in competition with private agencies, the managers of the State fund are active and urgent in recommending insurance therein, especially on the claim of economy.

Experience has been sufficiently prolonged and extensive to warrant the conclusion that important savings of cost to the employer are effected under the State system, and that the beneficiaries are promptly and fully cared for up to the provisions of the law without the paring down and delay that have too often characterized settlements by companies concerned for profits. Where the state obligates the performance of a duty as a part of the public policy of the Commonwealth, it would seem the most reasonable and natural sequel that it should also provide for its accomplishment with the least expense and in the most direct manner possible.

## ADMINISTRATION OF COMPENSATION

Proper administration is likewise essential to security of payments, and the overwhelming opinion of legislature favors a central body—board, commission, or commissioner—to hear and decide with promptness and consistency of interpretation, such disputes as may arise under the acts. But eight states of the thirty-eight having compensation laws leave their administration to the courts. Some that have tried court administration have abandoned it, and in other states the officials and others interested are moving for the appointment of a central agency.

A co-operation of the work of administering the compensation laws with that of enforcing safety laws affords opportunity for the highest development of the work of accident prevention as well as facilitating the work of relief. A strong argument is also adducible from the medical aspect of the centralized administration; while the work of rehabilitation and replacement practically necessitates resources and continuity of effort that can be had only by the provision for a state administrative body, charged with both the making and the payment of awards.

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

To sum up: The acceptance of the principle of compensation in lieu of liability for negligence requires for its adequate development the adoption of more liberal and uniform provisions.

*First*—By securing the enactment of new laws in the delinquent jurisdictions and in behalf of employees in interstate commerce.

*Second*—By making the provisions of the laws compulsory, and extending their scope so as to include all employed persons in both public and private employments, with provisions for self-employers dependent on their earnings, giving relief for all classes of injuries properly classifiable as industrial, whether accidental or of gradual and cumulative effect.

*Third*—By paying benefits of not less than two-thirds the average weekly earnings, with a maximum limitation not below \$25, beginning not later than the eighth day after the injury (better the fourth or fifth day), and continuing while total disability lasts; in case of death, during widowhood; and to minor dependents, until the age of eighteen is reached. Medical and surgical aid to look toward the fullest possible restoration of the earning capacity, and not the initial cost, to the end that the burden of the injury may be made as slight as possible, and be borne as fully as is practicable by the industry and not by the victim of its processes. Retraining should follow wherever necessary.

*Fourth*—By providing for the insurance of all risks in a fund levied and administered by the state for the sole benefit of the parties in interest, costs to be fixed on the basis of merit, and awards determined by a state agency appointed for the purpose; the administrative body to have charge also of the enforcement of all laws enacted for the health and safety of workers.

The foregoing is offered as a reasonable and attainable program. In fact, with few exceptions, the individual points appear in existing laws; but no law embodies them all, and the majority show a wide departure from them. Well grounded complaints as to imperfect coverage and defective operations lead to the belief that standardization is necessary, and fortunately there is in evidence a growing feeling in favor of such a movement.

LINDLEY D. CLARK,

U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.

## WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION LEGISLATION IN THE UNITED STATES

STATE	Year effective	Legal status of act	Limits for medical care	Waiting period for compensation	General level of compensation (% of wages)	Limits for disability benefits	Percentage of employees covered
ALASKA	1915	Compulsory	No provision	2 wks.	.50	\$6,000	31.2
ARIZONA	1912	Compulsory	No provision	2 wks.	.50	\$4,000	52.4
CALIFORNIA	1911	Compulsory	Reasonable	2 wks.	.65	240 wks.	76.2
COLORADO	1915	Compulsory	30 days \$100	3 wks.	.50	Life	63.1
CONNECTICUT	1914	Compulsory	Reasonable	1 wk.	.50	520 wks.	81.9
DELAWARE	1918	Compulsory	Reasonable	2 wks.	.50	\$4,000	62.9
HAWAII	1915	Compulsory	\$150	2 wks.	.60	312 wks.	92.6
IDAHO	1918	Compulsory	Reasonable	1 wk.	.55	400 wks.	68.7
ILLINOIS	1912	Compulsory	8 wks. \$200	1 wk.	.55	\$4,000	55.4
INDIANA	1915	Compulsory	30 days	1 wk.	.55	500 wks.	79.4
IOWA	1914	Compulsory	4 wks. \$100	2 wks.	.50	400 wks.	62.7
KANSAS	1912	Compulsory	50 days \$150	1 wk.	.60	416 wks.	36.9
KENTUCKY	1916	Compulsory	90 days \$100	1 wk.	.65	416 wks.	60.0
LOUISIANA	1915	Compulsory	\$150	2 wks.	.55	400 wks.	35.2
LOUISIANA	1916	Compulsory	2 wks. \$30	2 wks.	.50	500 wks.	72.9
MAINE	1914	Compulsory	\$150	2 wks.	.50	\$5,000	45.9
MARYLAND	1914	Compulsory	2 wks.	10 days	.66 2/3	500 wks.	87.8
MASSACHUSETTS	1912	Compulsory	3 wks.	2 wks.	.50	500 wks.	83.1
MICHIGAN	1912	Compulsory	90 days \$100	1 wk.	.60	\$5,000	79.0
MINNESOTA	1913	Compulsory	2 wks. \$50	2 wks.	.50	400 wks.	50.9
MONTANA	1914	Compulsory	3 wks. \$200	1 wk.	.66 2/3	300 wks.	79.4
NEBRASKA	1913	Compulsory	90 days	1 wk.	.50	Life	76.2
NEVADA	1912	Compulsory	No provision	2 wks.	.50	300 wks.	56.0
N. HAMPSHIRE	1911	Compulsory	2 wks. \$50	2 wks.	.50	400 wks.	99.8
NEW JERSEY	1917	Compulsory	3 wks. \$50	3 wks.	.50	520 wks.	30.7
NEW MEXICO	1914	Compulsory	60 days	2 wks.	.66 2/3	Life	80.1
NEW YORK	1919	Compulsory	As required	1 wk.	.66 2/3	Life	.....
N. DAKOTA	1912	Compulsory	\$200	2 wks.	.66 2/3	Life	77.3
OHIO	1915	Compulsory	15 days	2 wks.	.50	500 wks.	34.6
OKLAHOMA	1914	Compulsory	\$250	None	\$30-\$50	Life	48.7
OREGON	1915	Compulsory	2 wks. \$25	2 wks.	.50	500 wks.	88.8
PENNSYLVANIA	1916	Compulsory	As prescribed	None	.50	\$4,000	20.6
PORTO RICO	1912	Compulsory	4 wks.	2 wks.	.50	500 wks.	80.0
RHODE ISLAND	1917	Compulsory	4 wks. \$100	2 wks.	.50	500 wks.	58.0
So. DAKOTA	1913	Compulsory	4 wks.	1 wk.	.60	401 wks.	47.9
TEXAS	1917	Compulsory	\$200	10 days	.55	\$4,500	73.1
UTAH	1915	Compulsory	2 wks. \$100	1 wk.	.50	260 wks.	55.2
VERMONT	1915	Compulsory	30 days	2 wks.	.50	500 wks.	45.6
VIRGINIA	1911	Compulsory	Proper	8 days	\$20-\$35	Life	51.5
WASHINGTON	1913	Compulsory	\$150	1 wk.	.50	Life	74.7
W. VIRGINIA	1911	Compulsory	90 days	1 wk.	.65	Life	75.4
WISCONSIN	1915	Compulsory	No provision	10 days	Life	\$4,000	42.0
WYOMING	1916	Compulsory	Reasonable	8 days	Lump sum	Life	100.0
U.S. EMPLOYEES					66 2/3		

PROGRESS TOWARD HEALTH INSURANCE  
LEGISLATION<sup>1</sup>

Notable progress was made during the past year and a half toward the enactment in the United States of social workmen's health insurance legislation.

In eight states—California, Connecticut, Illinois, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin—official commissions were investigating this subject. The New Jersey commission brought in a unanimously favorable report toward the end of 1917, in which it urged the enactment of social health insurance legislation as an important aid to national efficiency both during the war and in the period of reconstruction to follow. "Health Insurance," declared the commission, "should be made to cover all regularly employed wage-earners. Insurance should provide medical care and health instruction; so that its work may be both curative and preventive. To minimize the financial distress attending sickness, the system should provide a cash benefit during temporary incapacity for work. It should also provide maternity care to meet the special needs of working mothers. Health insurance should be democratically supported and managed by those directly concerned, the state bearing as its share the cost of general administration, as it does in workmen's compensation."

## THE OHIO REPORT

Early in 1919 the Ohio commission presented to the legislature a report favorable to the establishment of compulsory health insurance on a mutual plan also. It said:

We find that the burden of sickness is heavy and that it falls with crushing force upon some people, causing economic distress and destitution, and that the only way of distributing the burden is by means of insurance. We find that voluntary plans of health insurance distribute only a small fraction of the loss at present. Moreover, it does not appear likely that voluntary health insurance will ever be able to measurably solve the problem. The experience of the world does not warrant any hope that the problem can be solved except by a universal compulsory plan of health insurance. All of the leading European countries are solving the problem that way.

Health insurance should provide against three losses, namely, loss of wages, cost of medical care, and loss of earning power. A cash benefit should be given for an amount sufficient for the minimum necessities. Medical care, including hospital, dental and specialists' service and medicines should be provided. Opportunity for physical restoration and for vocational re-education should be provided, when necessary, in co-operation with public agencies. A death benefit should also be provided for an amount not exceeding \$100.

The cost should be divided between the employers and employees and the state should pay the costs of administration and provide adequate health protection and hospital facilities.

The insurance should be carried by local carriers democratically administered. Establishment funds or mutual benefit funds and local public mutuals are approved as carriers. All extra hazards should be reinsured

<sup>1</sup> See the *American Labor Year Book*, 1916, pp. 288-289, and 1917-18, pp. 126-128, for previous sketches of the movement.

by the carriers in a state fund. Insurance organizations or companies organized for profit should not be permitted to be carriers.

### THE PENNSYLVANIA REPORT

The Pennsylvania commission, which was handicapped by a very limited appropriation, pointed out the need for better methods of meeting the sickness problem and asked to be continued in order to study a suitable system. In its report it stated:

The road from independence to dependence is being traveled every day in the state by hundreds of our fellow citizens. It is the state's responsibility to see that the problems of sickness are reduced to a minimum. Your commission believes that the best way to close this sickness high road to poverty and dependency is to make available immediate and adequate medical care for sickness cases and to prevent the financial burden of sickness from falling entirely on the person least able to bear it—the sick wage-worker. In some way this burden should be distributed among all wage-workers, or shared by industry and by the community as a whole.

### WISCONSIN, MASSACHUSETTS AND CALIFORNIA REJECT IT

The Wisconsin commission recognized also the unsatisfactory nature of present methods of caring for sickness, but timidly went no further in its report than to approve the extension of group insurance. Two temporary reverses were encountered. In Massachusetts where a commission had reported favorably in 1917, the second body to be appointed brought in as was expected from the circumstances of its creation, largely adverse recommendations. In California a constitutional amendment permitting the passage of health insurance legislation was defeated on popular referendum after a bitter campaign against it by commercial insurance and Christian Science interests.

Two conferences—at Philadelphia in December, 1917, and at Cleveland in May, 1918—were held by the members of the investigating commissions for the discussion of methods of study and comparison of findings. The reports of progress that were given proved highly inspiring, and arrangements to avoid duplication of work were made.

### LEGISLATION IN NEW YORK

The most marked advance toward health insurance was in New York, where the State Federation of Labor, after two years' study by its committee on health, two representative conferences, and a practical state-wide referendum, approved a bill on the subject. Five instructive pamphlet reports on the subject were issued by the Federation, and widely distributed. In his inaugural message to the legislature, Governor Smith endorsed the principle of the measure in these words:

Nothing is so devastating in the life of the worker's family as sickness. The incapacity of the wage-earner because of illness is one of the underlying causes of poverty. Now the worker and his family bear this burden alone. The enactment of a health insurance law, which I strongly urge, will remedy this unfair condition. Moreover, it will result in greater precautions being taken to prevent illness and disease, and to eliminate the consequent waste to the state therefrom. It will lead to the adoption of wider measures of public health and hygiene, and it will operate to con-

serve human life. The large percentage of physical disability disclosed by the draft shows how deeply concerned the state is in this matter. Proper provisions should be made also for maternity insurance in the interest of posterity and of the race. Other countries are far ahead of us in this respect, and their experience has demonstrated the practical value and economic soundness of these principles.

Early in the session the bill of the State Federation of Labor was introduced in both houses of the legislature, and along with other important labor bills received the backing of the Association for Labor Legislation, The Consumers' League, the Women's Trade Union League, the Federation of Women's Clubs, the Suffrage Association, the Young Women's Christian Association, the city clubs of New York, and numerous other civic bodies. Numerous meetings throughout the state adopted resolutions in its favor, and a most spirited hearing was held at Albany on March 19, 1919.

The New York bill as introduced provided full medical and surgical treatment, medicines and appliances for twenty-six weeks a year for the insured employee and his or her dependents, and dental care for the insured person. Cash benefit, also for twenty-six weeks a year, was based on two-thirds of wages as under the accident compensation act; but in order not to interfere with existing trade union or fraternal benefit funds it was limited to \$8 a week, with a minimum in ordinary cases of \$5 a week, and each employee was permitted to carry as much additional insurance as he wished. A burial benefit of \$100 was included. Working women were insured on the same terms as men, and were allowed in addition a special maternity cash benefit for two weeks before and six weeks after childbirth on condition that they rest from employment during that time. For the wives of workmen as well as for working women themselves, medical, surgical, obstetrical and nursing care necessary for safe childbirth were provided.

The cost of these benefits was to be divided equally between employee and employer, the average share of each, it was computed, being not greatly in excess of 24 cents a week. If wages were lower than \$9 a week, the employee paid proportionally less, and if they were \$5 or less the employer was to bear the entire cost. Administration was in the hands of local mutual funds, democratically managed by representatives of employees and employers, under supervision of the state industrial commission. Commercial insurance companies were excluded from handling the business. The bill covered all sicknesses, and also accidents not covered by workmen's compensation. It applied to practically all employees in the state, and no physical examination was required for admission to a fund. Free choice of physician was guaranteed. Special attention was paid to the prevention of sickness by levying a higher contribution on the employer with an excessive sickness rate in his plant, and by providing for appropriations by the funds for preventive work and for the education of their members on health matters.

## THE ATTITUDE OF LABOR

Elsewhere in the country, also, organized labor upon closer study of the subject has more and more taken its stand in favor of compulsory health insurance laws. Upwards of forty state and national unions are now on record for this measure, including in addition to those named in the previous edition of the Year Book, the state federations in Alabama, Arkansas, Colorado, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Maryland, District of Columbia, Montana, and West Virginia, together with the International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees, Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, International Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union, International Fur Workers, Brotherhood of Operative Potters, International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers, Wire Weavers' Protective Association, Retail Clerks' Protective Association, United Garment Workers, International Wood Carvers, United Brewery, Flour, Cereal, and Soft Drink Workers, Broom and Whisk Makers' International Union, Journeyman Stonecutters' Association, the International Seamen's Union, as well as the Southern Labor Congress, California Building Trades Council, New Jersey Joint State Labor Legislative Board, and the Massachusetts Association of Letter Carriers. The International Typographical Union, and the state federations in California, Connecticut, Minnesota, Ohio, and Wisconsin, have reaffirmed their earlier endorsements. At its St. Paul convention in June, 1918, the American Federation of Labor instructed its executive council to take up the study of the subject. "The workman and his family," states the council's report, which was unanimously adopted by the convention, "suffer through the impairment of his earning power just the same when he is ill as when he sustains an injury." In addition the council urged that "as a part of such legislation there should be embodied fundamental principles of democratic administration and guarantee to the workers an equal voice and equal authority in the administration of all its features."

Among the planks of the independent labor parties which have been launched in Chicago, New York, and some fifty other cities, workingmen's insurance against sickness is frequently mentioned. It is one of the measures which Rose Schneiderman, president of the New York Women's Trade Union League, and Mary Anderson, Assistant Director of the Woman In Industry Service of the federal Department of Labor, on the eve of their sailing for the International Working Women's Conference proposed for endorsement by the conference to be written into the peace treaty through the Committee on International Labor Legislation of which Samuel Gompers was chairman. In taking this action the women delegates were in complete accordance with the sentiment of the Interallied Labor Conference at Leeds, England, in July, 1916, and a similar

conference between labor delegates from ten neutral countries and central powers at Berne, Switzerland, in October, 1917. At both of these gatherings the programs adopted declared that "countries which have not yet enacted insurance laws regarding sickness should pledge themselves to do so within the shortest period."

Social Insurance against sickness was a plank in the platform of the Socialist Party in the Congressional campaign of 1918.

#### OTHER ORGANIZATIONS ENDORSE

Official endorsements of health insurance were not, however, limited to state commissions or to organizations of the workers. At its annual convention at Atlantic City in September, 1917, the American Hospital Association, after favorable reports by its committees on legislation and on social insurance, adopted resolutions recognizing health insurance as an "inevitable social policy," and instructed its trustee to assist the movement. A social workers' conference in New York, two months later, attended by more than a hundred representative persons in this field, unanimously urged that "the evils of the pension system for our victorious troops, and of preventable poverty among wage-earners, be avoided by the further extension—especially to protection against sickness which is the largest single cause of dependency—of the social insurance principle already adopted in soldiers' and sailors' insurance and in workmen's compensation laws."

In its annual report in 1919, the New York State Board of Charities urged the enactment of workmen's health insurance as a "powerful factor in the prevention of dependency." The measure was also approved by Governors Milliken of Maine, and Edge of New Jersey, in their messages to their respective legislatures.

In the press, especially in labor organs, in public forums, and before civic groups, hardly any legislative measure was more keenly discussed during 1918 than that of social workmen's health insurance. It would appear that within a short time this plan would sweep the country as workmen's compensation for accidents swept within seven years into forty-one states and territories.

JOHN B. ANDREWS, PH.D.,

*Secretary, American Association for Labor Legislation.*

#### THE MINIMUM WAGE

Agitation for minimum wage legislation in this country was initiated in 1910 by the National Consumers' League. The same year Massachusetts passed a bill creating the first Minimum Wage Commission. In 1911, eight additional states followed suit: California, Oregon, Washington, Colorado, Utah, Nebraska, Minnesota and Wisconsin. Since then Kansas, Arkansas, Ari-



zona and most recently Washington, D. C. (1918), North Dakota, and Texas (1919) have been added to the roll. In New York a minimum wage bill passed the Senate in 1919 but was blocked in the assembly. The laws of Massachusetts and Nebraska have no compulsory clause, but rely for enforcement on education and public opinion. Utah and Arkansas provide flat rates. Most of the other states establish as their chief administrative body a minimum wage or industrial welfare commission with supervisory powers over hours, wages, and conditions of labor for women in all industries and occupations in the state and authorized to determine and enforce the payment of wages to women adequate to meet the cost of living and thus "to protect their health, morals, and welfare."

The right of workers, including common laborers, to a living wage was declared by the War Labor Board in the following language: "In fixing wages, minimum rates of pay shall be established which will insure the subsistence of the worker and his family in health and reasonable comfort." Women were to receive equal pay when performing equal work, but when on jobs not usually held by men, the Board based action on the old standard of paying them less than men. However, in recent awards the Board has begun to recognize a much sounder principle—that pay should be based not on the sex of the worker but on the duties and responsibilities of the position. This policy will materially improve the position of women workers and will increase minimum rates of wages.

The minimum wage movement did not originate in the United States, but was based on experiments long tried out in other countries.

#### EXPERIENCE IN OTHER COUNTRIES

In 1894 the first minimum wage legislation—the Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act—was enacted in New Zealand. This law is designed primarily for the settlement of industrial disputes, involving strikes and lockouts. It provides for a Council of Arbitration, composed of representatives of employers and employees with a permanent industrial commissioner as chairman. Cases of disagreement are referred to the Arbitration Court for final decision. The Court is composed of one judge of the Supreme Court and two members nominated by employers and employees. Among its provisions, the law authorizes the Court to fix a minimum rate of wages.

Following the action of New Zealand, similar legislation was enacted by New South Wales in 1901, by Western Australia in 1902, and by the Australian Commonwealth in 1904 for disagreements extending beyond state lines.

In 1896 the first act providing for special boards to fix minimum wages in any trade was enacted in Victoria. This type of legislation was later followed by South Australia in 1900, by Queensland in 1908, and Tasmania in 1910.

In 1909 the first act establishing wage boards, modeled upon the Victorian legislation, was enacted in Great Britain. The act applied immediately to four trades; in 1913 wage boards were established in four additional ones. More recently the principle of minimum rates has been extended to agricultural workers in England, and the enactment of compulsory minimum time wages to be universally applied is an integral feature of the program proposed in April, 1919, by the Joint Industrial Conference, which has the support of the Government.

#### MINIMUM WAGE LAWS AND THE COURTS

Since the Supreme Court of the United States upheld the Oregon law (April, 1917), the legal battle for the minimum wage for women is practically won. The Supreme Courts of successive states, such as Arkansas, Minnesota, Massachusetts, and Washington, have each in their turn supported the principle laid down by the Supreme Court of Oregon and affirmed by the United States Supreme Court, that under the police powers of the state the wages of women may be regulated in the interest of public health and welfare.

#### WHAT CONSTITUTES A FAIR STANDARD?

The last sentence of the decision of the Arkansas Supreme Court with regard to the Minimum Wage Law is particularly significant . . . "there is no standard more appropriate than the normal needs of the average employee regarded as a human being living in a civilized community." While legal decrees have set minimum wage rates which are higher than the wages existing in many unregulated industries, yet it cannot be denied that many of the rates are still below this humane standard. However, as public opinion becomes progressively more enlightened as to what constitutes the "normal needs of the average employee," and particularly as we enlarge our conception of a "civilized community," we may expect to see an increasing rise in minimum rates. The latest decree of the Minimum Wage Board of Washington, D. C., fixing \$15.50 as the minimum weekly wage for women in the printing trade is evident in point. This is far in advance of any previous award. The weekly rate in the famous Oregon Minimum wage fight was \$8.64.

In the brief<sup>1</sup> prepared by the National Consumers' League for the United States Supreme Court in the Oregon minimum wage cases, a mass of evidence is submitted which shows conclusively the social and economic benefits which have followed the establishment of these commissions. Among these benefits the following may be briefly set forth:

1. *Effect on Prices.*—One objection to the establishment of

<sup>1</sup> *Oregon Minimum Wage Cases*, Supreme Court of the United States, October Term, 1916. By Felix Frankfurter and Josephine Goldmark. Reprinted by the National Consumers' League, New York.

minimum rates of pay is that increased wages will lead to increased prices to consumers. Hence it is argued that the workers, having to pay higher prices for commodities, will suffer, rather than benefit, from the increase in wages. But this criticism ignores several important facts. Firstly, if prices are raised, the expense is borne by the entire body of consumers, only a portion of whom are wage-earners.

Thus in Victoria, in 1896, sweated mole trousers were sold for 6 d. a pair. In 1898, after a minimum wage went into effect, the price was raised to 9¼ d. each. But the average wages of 4,484 employees had been raised 2s. 9d. per week.

Secondly, even when prices are raised after a wage determination, experience shows that the increased price is not necessarily due to the rise in wages. Thus, in Great Britain according to the British Board of Trade, ready-made suits increased in price 7.5 per cent and overcoats 11.1 per cent between 1905 and 1912 before the minimum rates were set. This increase was due to the rise in cost of materials apart from any advance in wages.

Thirdly, the increase in cost, if any, caused by higher wages, is shown to be too small legitimately to affect the retail price to any marked degree. This is because the labor cost of most industries does not usually exceed and often falls below 20 to 25 per cent of the total cost of production, in some trades, dropping as low as 4 per cent of the total.

Fourthly, in some cases a rise in wages is not the cause but the excuse of the increased prices. Thus, according to Justice Henry Bournes Higgins, President of the Australian Court of Conciliation and Arbitration, when a wage board raised the pay of milk carters, milk vendors raised the price of milk far beyond the amount necessary to recoup themselves. Such a practice cannot be held obviously against the wage board system itself, but like all abuses of a benefit, must be separately combatted.

If, however, a rise in prices should prove inevitable after an increase in wages, the burden would justly be borne by the entire body of consumers who have previously profited unjustly by the underpayment of the workers.

2. *Benefit to Wages.*—Statistics prove that the establishment of a legal minimum wage has resulted in increased wages, especially to the worst paid workers.

Thus, the investigation made by the federal government into the effects of the minimum wage decrees in Oregon showed that the average weekly earnings of women employed in Portland retail stores increased ten per cent during 1914, as compared with 1913.

Even in Massachusetts, where the commission has no mandatory powers, wages in the brush industry rose above the minimum set. The total number of women in the industry markedly increased, and those receiving an average of \$9 or

more rose from 19.4 in 1915 to 45.8 per cent in 1917. Similarly wages increased in the women's clothing industry.

Investigation in Australia proves that while the cost of living has been increased as well as wages, there is no evidence to prove that the higher cost of living is due to the increase in earnings. Moreover, wages have risen more than the cost of living, so that the net result has enabled the workers to establish a higher standard of living.

3. *The Minimum Wage Is Not a Maximum.*—Where the minimum wage has been established, the fear that the minimum might prove also the maximum wage has not proved well grounded. On the contrary, the usual variation in wages appears to operate after a minimum has been set by law below which wages may not sink.

An investigation into the effects of the minimum wage made in Oregon by the Federal Government showed that the percentage of women receiving \$9.25 (legal minimum for experienced adults in Portland department stores) increased from 8.4 to 22.4 per cent. That this minimum did not prove to be the maximum wage also was shown by the fact that the percentage receiving *over* \$9.25 per week increased too, rising from 40.6 to 44.8 per cent. The proportion of the total force getting over \$12 likewise increased.

4. *Effect on Employment: Displacement of Workers.*—The fear that the minimum wage determinations lead to a wholesale dismissal of women workers and their displacement by men, not subject to the law, has proved groundless. The federal investigation of retail stores in Oregon, made five months after the minimum wage decree went into effect, showed that no effort had been made to fill women's positions by men and that little if any loss of employment among women can be attributed to the minimum wage rulings. The loss of employment in retail stores during 1914 is clearly due to other obvious causes such as the effect of the countrywide business depression and certain local changes. One of these was the new policy of charging for alterations of garments inaugurated in 1914 by the Portland Retail Merchants' Association. This reduced automatically the demand for such work and led to the dismissal of 48 per cent of the alteration force. The reduction of working hours and a 6 p.m. closing regulation operated further to reduce the labor force aside from any increase in wages.

In Australasia, similar fears as to the dismissal of workers under the wage board system have also been disproved. In some trades there has been a temporary decrease of workers after a wage determination, but in each case other factors have contributed, aside from the increase in wages, and after the period of adjustment, industry has followed its normal course.

Investigation of the effects of minimum rates in the tailoring trade in Great Britain corroborates these facts and furnishes additional evidence of their truth.

5. *Increasing Scope of the Acts.*—The best proof of the reasonableness of the wage board system is afforded by the continuous legislation extending the scope of the acts. This legislation has been neither local nor sporadic. On the contrary, it has been widespread and steadily increasing, successive acts extending the scope of the wage board upon the basis of their ascertained benefits.

In Victoria, special boards to fix minimum wages have been established more than 20 years. They have increased from 6 boards in 1896 to 141 boards in 1916, affecting the wages of more than 150,000 persons. Each board represents a separate branch of industry. Together they comprise practically all manufacture and important branches of distributive trade.

In Great Britain, the success of the first four trade boards, established in 1910, is shown by the establishment of trade boards in four additional trades in 1913, the extension to agricultural workers, and more recently, by the demand of the Joint Industrial Conference that minimum time wage rates be legally enacted universally.

6. *Success of the Acts.*—The experience of those states and countries which have longest had minimum rates of pay fixed by law has proved successful.

In Oregon, the country-wide business depression occurring immediately after the first wage rulings became effective, put the law to a severe test. Nevertheless, the Federal investigation into the effects of the minimum wage, made only five months after the first rulings, showed that the wages of women employed in Oregon retail stores increased almost ten per cent in 1914 as compared with 1913, while the increase in cost was only 3 mills on each dollar of sales.

#### SUMMARY OF MOST IMPORTANT DECREES

The most inclusive rates have been set in California, Washington, Oregon, Kansas, and Massachusetts. The highest decree to date (May 1919) is that of Washington, D. C., fixing the wage for women in the printing trade at \$15.50 per week. At present, wages for women in mercantile establishments are under consideration.

##### CALIFORNIA

In California the minimum rates in the industry employing most women in the state, *i.e.*, fruit and vegetable canning, were raised in May, 1918.

*Fruit and Vegetable Canning*—For experienced women (after 3 weeks' employment) on time work, not less than 20 cents per hour. Inexperienced women and minors, not less than 16 cents per hour. Piece rates for preparing different fruits range from 12½ cents to 50 cents per 100 pounds; lower rates specified for smaller amounts. In preparing tomatoes, rates are set per 12 quarts. For adult women, work over 8 hours in any one day or over six days in one week to be paid not less than one and a quarter times regular rate; work over 12 hours in any 24, to be paid not less than double regular time or piece rates. Minors may not be employed more than 8 hours a day or 48 hours a week.

*Fruit and Vegetable Packing*—\$10 per week for experienced workers, \$8 for inexperienced workers. Pay for over 8 hours or 6 days, same as above.

*Mercantile Establishment*—In April, 1919, rates were increased from \$10 to \$13.50 per week. The increase was made to keep pace with rising living costs. Special rates for learners under 18 years, between 18 and 20 years and over 20 years; women deemed experienced after employment ranging from eighteen months to two years, according to age. Only one-third of entire working body may be apprentices.

*Fish Canning Industry*—\$10 per week of 48 hours for adult women or minors. If employed less than 48 hours, not less than 25 cents per hour. Work over 8 hours in one day to be paid not less than one and a quarter times the rate paid during regular time; work on seventh consecutive day in one week to be paid not less than one and a half times rate paid during regular time. Minors may not be employed more than 8 hours a day or 48 hours a week.

*Laundry and Dry Cleaning*—Ranging from \$8 to \$10; women deemed experienced after 18 months.

*General and Professional Offices*—Ranging from \$7 to \$10; women deemed experienced after employment ranging from one year to 18 months, according to age.

*Unskilled and Unclassified Occupations*—\$9.60 for a 48-hour week or 20 cents per hour for experienced woman (after 3 weeks employment); \$7.50 for a 48-hour week or 16 cents per hour for inexperienced women or minors.

*Manufacturing*—\$10 for a 48-hour week or 25 cents per hour for less than 48 hours for experienced women or minors; \$7.50 to \$9 for a 48-hour week or 20 cents to 23 cents per hour for less than 48 hours for learners, according to age and experience. Workers deemed experienced after employment ranging from 6 to 9 months, according to age. Special rate per hour for women employed on home work.

#### OREGON

In Oregon minimum rates were raised in June, 1918.

*Mercantile Establishments*—\$11.10 for a 50-hour week in the city of Portland and a 54-hour week in the rest of the state.

*Manufacturing; Personal Service, Public Housekeeping, Telephone or Telegraph Establishments, and Laundries*—\$11.61 for a 54-hour week.

*Office Work*—\$48 a month for a 51-hour week in the city of Portland and a 54-hour week in the rest of the state.

Time and a half for overtime.

Adult apprentices, ranging from \$7.20 a week to \$9.60 at the end of 8 months to 1 year, which is the longest term of apprenticeship. For minors three months counts as one in the apprenticeship of an adult. When 18, if experienced, workers must receive minimum adult wage.

#### WASHINGTON

In Washington minimum rates were raised in September, 1918, effective November, 1918.

*Any Occupation, Trade, or Industry*—\$13.20 during the period of the war. Rates for minors raised from \$6 to \$9.

Previous rates were as follows:

*Factories*—\$8.90 per week for experienced workers over 18 years, \$6 under 18 years.

*Mercantile Establishments*—Ranging from \$6 to \$10 per week, according to age and experience.

*Laundries and Dye-Workers*—Ranging from \$6 to \$9.

*Telegraph and Telephone Service*—Ranging from \$6 to \$9.

*Office Work*—Ranging from \$6 to \$10.

*Hotel, Restaurant, and Lunch Room Workers (except Waitresses)*—\$7.50 per week if over 18.

Detailed rulings govern the minimum pay of apprentices. In November, 1917, the minimum rates for minors between 16 and 18 years were raised from \$6 to \$7 in various of these occupations.

## KANSAS

In Kansas the first wage rulings became effective in 1918.

*Mercantile Establishments*—\$8.50 per week for experienced women. Apprentices, \$6 for the first 6 months and \$7 for the second 6 months, after which they are deemed experienced workers. Minors, \$5 per week, rising to \$5.50 after the first 6 months and \$6 after one year.

*Laundries*—\$8.50 for a 54-hour week for experienced women. Workers deemed experienced after 6 months; \$6.50 for learners.

*Telephone Operators*—\$7 to \$9 for a 48-hour week after one year's service, according to the size of the city. \$6 to \$8 during the first year.

*Factories (Proposed)*—\$11 for a 48-hour week for experienced women. Deemed experienced after 6 months. \$7 to \$9 for learners according to experience.

## MASSACHUSETTS

In Massachusetts minimum rates were set for the following industries in 1918-19:

*Office Cleaners*—30 cents an hour if employed between 7 p. m. and 8 a. m.; 26 cents between hours of 8 a. m. and 7 p. m. Women of less than ordinary ability may be paid less under certain conditions. These rates represent a substantial increase over former earnings of these women, 78% of whom were receiving less than \$8 per week. The usual number of hours per week in this occupation is 36 and as four-fifths of these women work at night, under the new ruling they will earn \$10.80 per week—a figure still below a living wage.

*Men's Clothing and Raincoat Factories*—\$9 per week for experienced women of ordinary ability 18 or over. Workers deemed experienced after one year.

*Men's Furnishings Factories*—\$9 per week for experienced women of ordinary ability. Deemed experienced after 52 weeks.

*Muslin Underwear, Petticoat, Apron, Kimono, Women's Neckwear, and Children's Clothing Occupation*—\$9 per week for experienced employees of ordinary ability 18 or over. Deemed experienced after 52 weeks in needle trades, 26 weeks of which have been in the factory in which the worker is for the time being employed.

*Millinery Occupation*—\$11 per week in wholesale and \$10 per week in retail establishments for experienced employees of ordinary ability 19 or over. Deemed experienced after 4 seasons.

Special rates are set for inexperienced workers.

The following industries were covered by minimum wage rates before 1918: *Brush Industry, Laundry, Retail Stores, Women's Clothing Factories.*

New rates for women and girls in canning and preserving establishments are being fixed.

In addition to the rates briefly summarized above, most of the states have special regulations governing issuance of licenses to persons crippled by age or otherwise, who may be paid less than the minimum rate. In various states licenses are required permitting lower wages for apprentices or learners. In order to guard against undercutting the legal rate, the proportion of such apprentices or learners to the total number of workers is usually limited.

AGNES DE LIMA.

*National Consumers' League.*

## OLD AGE PENSION SYSTEMS

<i>Country or State</i>	<i>Year when Established</i>	<i>Classes Insured or Pensioned</i>	<i>Nature of System</i>
Alaska	1915	"Any pioneer"	Non-contributory
Arizona	1915	"All needy citizens"	Non-contributory
Australia	1908	All men and women	Non-contributory
Austria	1909	Salaried employees and officials	Compulsory-contributory
Belgium	1850	All those paying taxes below a certain amount	Voluntary-subsidized
	(Amended 1900-03)		
Canada	1908	Any person domiciled in Canada	Voluntary insurance
Chile	1911	Railway employees	Compulsory-contributory
Denmark	1891	All men and women	Non-contributory
France	1910	All workers earning less than \$579.00 per annum	Compulsory-contributory
Germany	1889	Wage-earners earning less than \$476.00	Compulsory-contributory
Great Britain	1908	All men and women	Non-contributory
Greece	1907	Sailors only	Compulsory-contributory
Iceland	1890	All wage earners	Compulsory-contributory
Italy	1898	Those who pay a tax not exceeding \$5.79 a year	Voluntary-subsidized
Luxemburg	1911	Persons earning not less than \$715.00 per annum	Compulsory-contributory
Massachusetts	1908	Residents of the state	Voluntary insurance
Netherland	1913	All workers over 13 years of age whose income does not exceed \$482.00	Compulsory-contributory
New Zealand	1898	All men and women	Non-contributory
Norway	Proposed	All men and women	Compulsory-contributory
Rumania	1912	All wage-earners	Compulsory-contributory
Russia	1804	Government employees	Compulsory-contributory
Spain	1908	Wage-workers and state employees earning less than \$579 per annum	Voluntary-subsidized
Sweden	1913	All men and women	Compulsory-contributory
Switzerland (Cantons Neuchâtel and Vaud)	1906-7	Optional for all	Voluntary-subsidized
Switzerland (Canton Glarus)	1916	All persons between 17 and 50	Compulsory-contributory
Wisconsin	1911	All residents	Voluntary insurance

<sup>1</sup> Report of the Pennsylvania State Commission on Old Age Pensions, Harrisburg, Pa., 1919.



IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES <sup>1</sup>

<i>Who Pays Premium?</i>	<i>Age When Pensioned</i>	<i>Maximum Amount of Pension</i>
No contributions made	Men 65; women 60	\$25.00
No contributions made	60 years	\$15.00
No contributions made	Men 65; women 60	Varies
Employers and employees	70 years for men; 65 for women	\$182.70 per annum
Insured persons	65 years	\$231.60 per annum
Insured persons	Not before 55 years	\$1,000 per annum
Employees and state	Any age if incapacitated	According to years
No contributions	60 years	Varies
State, employers and employees	65 years	\$463.20 per annum
State, employers and employees	65 years	\$54.79 per annum
No contributions	70 years	\$1.82 per week
State, employers and employees	60 years	\$53.60 per annum
State and insured persons	60 years for men; 55 for women	\$69.48 per annum
Insured persons	65 years	
State, employers and employees		
Insured persons	Depends on premiums	\$800 per annum
State, employers and employees	70 years	Varies
No contributions	65 years	\$127
Insured persons	70 years	Varies
State, employers and employees	65 years	\$28.95
Employees and state	Depending on years of service	Varies
Insured persons	Varies	\$289.50 per year
Every man and woman over 16	67 years	Varies
Insured persons	Depends on premiums	Varies
Men and women above 18	65 years	300 francs for men; 250 francs for women
Insured persons	Depends on premiums	

COURT DECISIONS AFFECTING LABOR, 1917<sup>1</sup>

## ORGANIZATION OF LABOR

Few cases decided by the Supreme Court of the United States during the year 1917 evoked greater criticism in the ranks of labor than did the decision in the case of the West Virginia miners (*Hitchman Coal and Coke Co. v. Metchell et al*), which declared illegal the attempt to organize miners who had contracted to remain out of the union during their term of service. The facts in this important case are briefly as follows:

In 1906 the miners employed by the Hitchman Coal Company in the Panhandle District of West Virginia, returned to work on a definitely non-union basis after an unsuccessful strike. Following their return every man hired agreed, on entering his job, that he would not join the union as long as he continued in the employ of the company.

The next year the convention of the United Mine Workers voted to support strikes in the Panhandle district. Thomas Hughes was sent to organize the district and obtained the agreement of a number of the Hitchman Company miners to join the union when a sufficient number of their fellow workers had promised to sign up. He was in the midst of his work when an injunction was issued against his activities. The United States Supreme Court sustained the injunction when the case finally reached it (Dec. 10, 1917), three justices, Brandeis, Holmes, and Clark, dissenting. Justice Pitney, who rendered the decision for the majority, declared that the purpose of the workers was, in this case, an unlawful one—that of bringing about “a strike at plaintiff’s mines, in order to compel plaintiff, through fear of financial loss, to consent to the unionization of the mine as a lesser evil.” He asserted also that the Hitchman Company was entitled to the good will of its employes and that the pecuniary value of such good will was “incalculably great.”

In his dissenting opinion, Justice Brandeis held that the activities of the organizer were wholly legal. He said in part: “There was no attempt to induce employes to violate their contracts. The contract created an employment at will, and the employe was free to leave at any time. The contract did not bind the employe not to join the union; and he was free to join it at any time. The contract merely bound him to withdraw from plaintiff’s employ if he joined the union. There is evidence of an attempt to induce plaintiff’s employes to agree to join the union; but none whatever of any attempt to induce them

<sup>1</sup> These decisions are culled from the publication of the U. S. Department of Labor on “Court Decisions in Labor Cases,” 1917. Space here permits reference to but a few leading cases. The student should consult the careful summary of the Department of Labor for exact references and comprehensive treatment. The important decision of the U. S. Supreme Court on the Eight-hour day for railroad employees was cited in the 1917-18 *American Labor Year Book*.

to violate their contract. Until an employe actually joined the union, he was not, under the contract, called upon to leave plaintiff's employ. There consequently would be no breach of contract until the employe both joined the union and failed to withdraw from plaintiff's employ. There was no evidence that any employe was persuaded to do that or that such a course was contemplated."

If this decision stands, the obstacles in the way of organizing unions among firms where the workers contract not to join the union during the duration of their employment, will be, indeed, difficult.

#### EMPLOYMENT OFFICES

Another important decision of the United States Supreme Court regarded as a blow to social progress was that rendered in the *Adams v. Tanner* case, declaring unconstitutional the State of Washington law which prohibited employment offices from taking fees from workmen. The decision called forth a strong minority opinion from four of the nine judges.

Justice McReynolds, in handing down the majority decision, declared "that such a statute was in contravention to the Fourteenth Amendment, protecting property rights, for, if carried into effect, it would mean the virtual suppression of private employment agencies for workmen. Nor was there anything inherently immoral or dangerous to public welfare in the business of helping workmen to obtain positions." Justice McKenna, in a dissenting opinion, claimed on the other hand, that "the law in question is a valid exercise of the police power of the State directed against a demonstrated evil." Justice Brandeis wrote a more vigorous dissent signed by Justice Holmes and Clarke, in which he reviewed the evils of unemployment and dealt with the inadequacies of the private employment agency. The problem confronting the people of Washington, he affirmed, was "far more comprehensive and fundamental than that of protecting workers applying to private agencies. It was the chronic problem of unemployment—perhaps the gravest and most difficult problem of modern industry." He continued:

"Students of the larger problem appear to agree that establishment of an adequate system of employment offices or labor exchanges is an indispensable first step toward its solution. There is reason to believe that the people of Washington not only considered the collection of the private employment offices of fees from employes a social injustice, but that they considered the elimination of the practice a necessary preliminary to the establishment of a constructive policy of dealing with unemployment."

The justice concluded by quoting from the *Holder v. Hardy* decision:

"In view of the fact that from the day Magna Charta was signed to the present moment amendments to the structure of

the law have been made with increasing frequency, it is impossible to suppose that they will not continue and the law be forced to adapt itself to new conditions of society, and particularly to the new relations between employers and employes as they arise."

#### RESTRAINT OF TRADE

More hopeful from the point of view of organized labor was the decision of the Supreme Court in the *Paine Lumber Co. v. Neil Case*, in which the justices upheld the right of members of unions to refuse to work with non-union men.

The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America had adopted a plan of arbitration with certain firms in which the workers agreed that there would be no restriction against any except non-union and prison material. The members of the brotherhood refused to work on the material supplied by the *Paine Lumber Co.*, among other firms, on the ground that they employed non-union men. Thereupon the *Paine Company* brought injunction proceedings against the Brotherhood in an attempt to enjoin its members from refusing to work on its material. The court refused, however, to grant the demands of the plaintiff, stating that the latter had failed to prove malice on the part of the workers; that the agreement was in pursuance of a plan to bring about a "nation-wide unionization of their trade, and that no special damages had been proved. The injunction asked for was thus refused.

#### STRIKES AND PICKETING

Many cases relating to strikes, picketing, and boycotting were also decided during the year. In a case involving picketing in New York State, the New York Supreme Court held in *Heitkamper v. Hoffman et al*, a bakery case, that "no just complaint can be made by the plaintiff against the union's circularizing the neighborhood, asking the friends of union labor not to patronize the plaintiff, nor can the plaintiff seek to restrain the union, its members, or agents from peacefully persuading proposed patrons of the plaintiff from trading in his shop." However, the union can be restrained "from congregating in front of plaintiff's shop, from marching up and down upon the sidewalk in front of the shop, from blockading the entrance to his store, and from in any way or manner preventing intending customers from entering or departing from plaintiff's shop." Intimidation and force were also restrained as a matter of course.

In a similar Washington case, all picketing before the boycotted store was forbidden. A state municipal ordinance which forbade workers from walking up and down in front of the place of business with signs tending to discourage customers from purchasing goods was upheld as constitutional by the Supreme Court of Texas. Such conduct, the judges held, might lead to disturbances and intimidation. An Oklahoma court

decided, on the other hand, that an ordinance prohibiting loitering could not be used to prevent picketing.

Interference of strikers with the employment of repairmen of an Ohio telephone company was enjoined by the United States District Court, on the ground that the company was unable to maintain its service as set forth in its charter because of such interference. In a case brought in the Circuit Court of Appeals by the American Steel Foundries, peaceful picketing was declared legal, as were also strikes for higher wages and improved conditions, though strikes for the purpose of destroying business were condemned, as were all acts in pursuance of such strikes.

Numerous other decisions were rendered throughout the year affirming the right of union men to strike, to maintain peaceful picketing, and to refuse to work with non-union men, but forbidding the use of abuse, intimidation, etc.

Several court decisions related also to the rights of membership in a trade union. A Massachusetts' court declared that a union may be sued in damages for preventing an expelled member from obtaining re-employment.

#### WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION

The constitutionality of various state compensation laws was affirmed during the year, and many decisions were rendered in regard to the interpretation of various of the sections of the laws—casual employment, hazardous employment, wilful misconduct, etc. One of the most important decisions in this class of cases was that of the United States Supreme Court relative to interstate commerce. The New York courts had decided that a trackman injured during the course of his employment, where the railroad was not at fault, could claim compensation under the New York law. The Supreme Court reversed this decision, however, declaring that the action of the injured man was confined to the Federal Employer's Liability Act, since all state laws were necessarily superseded by Congressional statutes covering the same field. Here again, Justice Brandeis, wrote a dissenting opinion, claiming that there was no evidence that Congress specifically willed to deny to the states all power over interstate commerce in the field of compensation, and that unless such evidence was present, it could not be assumed that it "prohibited states from including within the protection of their general workmen's compensation laws employees, who, without fault on the railroad's part, are injured or killed while engaged in interstate commerce," especially since Congress itself offered them no protection.

The decisions in regard to employers' liability for injuries to employees are of far less importance than formerly on account of the increasing number of workmen's compensation laws. Of interest during the year was the contest over the Arizona statute which held the employer liable for injuries occurring in certain

hazardous occupations even though no negligence were proved. This statute was upheld as constitutional. Several cases arose regarding the employer's legal obligation to maintain proper safety devices. Noteworthy in Pennsylvania was a decision of the Supreme Court holding the employer liable in a suit of damages for the evil effect of poisonous fumes, the employer having failed to provide adequate ventilation for rooms made dangerous by these fumes.

#### MINIMUM WAGE LAWS

During the year 1917, the Supreme Court of the United States and the courts of last resort in Arkansas and Minnesota sustained the constitutionality of laws establishing a minimum wage for women and minors. In 1914, the Supreme Court of Oregon had upheld a law of that nature, and, on April 9, 1917, the United States Supreme Court, by an evenly divided court—Judge Brandeis, who believed in its constitutionality, not voting, because of his connection with the case during its trial—decided in favor of its constitutionality. A few months later the Arkansas statute was sustained by the Supreme Court of that State, partly on the ground that the physical needs of women required an adequate wage. A Minnesota statute, which resembled that of Oregon, providing as it did for a commission to fix wages, was also declared constitutional, after it had been pronounced invalid by a lower state court. Numerous other wage cases were decided during the year.

#### HOURS OF LABOR

The most important decision of the year dealing with hours was that of the Federal Eight-Hour law, relating to railroad employes and mentioned in the last *Labor Year Book*. Numerous other cases of less importance were also passed upon in reference to the construction of the 9-hour and 16-hour laws.

HARRY W. LAIDLER, PH.D.

## PART FOUR

# SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

### COST OF LIVING

#### I. ESTIMATES OF INCREASE

Such a phenomenal increase in the cost of living as has occurred during the Great War has not been witnessed since the Civil War. The movement has also been world-wide. In England prices of household commodities have increased perhaps somewhat more than in the United States; and in the other European countries, particularly France, Germany, and Russia, the increase has been even greater. In the United States, cities of all sizes and the rural districts have been subject to similar changes in price levels. In the eastern part of the United States prices rose slightly before the rise set in in the far West; in congested centers, such as munition towns and shipbuilding districts, the rise may have been somewhat greater, due partly to increases in rent. Prices have, in general, been rising slowly during the past decade at a somewhat faster rate than general wages. The present upheaval of prices began, however, in the late summer of 1916 and prices have been climbing steadily since, at least until the armistice was signed. This has been true of wholesale and retail prices alike, but the variation in prices of articles sold at wholesale is somewhat greater than the variation in prices of articles sold at retail.

#### THE MEASUREMENT OF THE INCREASED COST OF LIVING

The measurement in the cost of living is determined from retail prices. Several writers have erroneously attempted to measure it from wholesale prices. Others have also endeavored to gauge it by the change in prices of food, perhaps because we have more frequently quoted more reliable prices of food. Still others have formed their conceptions of rises in the cost of living by random observations here and there of the prices of special articles. Usually this method makes the cost of living appear to have increased more than is the case. The increase in the cost of living, to be measured accurately, should be based upon the increase in the price of all articles consumed by the average workingman's household. This should include from 75 to 100 articles of clothing, perhaps 40 articles of food, rent, various kinds of fuel and light, and quite an extended list of articles known as sundries, including expenditures for insurance, health, recreation, education and various miscellanies. Yet simple arithmetical average of all these increases would not give us the correct measurement because this would give a change in the

price of garters the same importance as a change in the price of a suit of clothes, or a change in the price of carrots the same importance as a change in the price of flour. The various percentage increases should be multiplied by certain numbers, called *weights*, indicative of the importance of the particular items in the family budget. If such a procedure is followed carefully we can arrive at the facts concerning the increased cost of living.

#### SOURCES OF INFORMATION

There are various sources for our facts on the increased cost of living. The Railroad Wage Commission published in the Spring of 1918, after a general survey, the results of a measurement in the increased cost of living. The shipyard Labor Adjustment Commission made two independent surveys of sections of the Pacific Coast. The National War Labor Board has also conducted several local surveys. The National Industrial Conference Board in the summer of 1918 made a careful report based upon estimates collected partly from other sources and partly from correspondence and from local investigation. By far the greatest authority on the increased cost of living is the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics. This Bureau has made surveys for the Shipyard Labor Adjustment Commission in some thirty or more towns and cities where ships are being constructed, collecting data first hand through a large number of agents in the field. Surveys in these centers have been made from time to time and their results published in the *Labor Review*. The United States Bureau of Labor Statistics is now engaged in making more extensive studies of a considerable number of inland towns, the results of which have not as yet been published.

#### VARIOUS ESTIMATES

The estimates of the increases in the cost of living made by the Bureau of Labor Statistics are found in Table I, which shows the increases at various periods.

*Table I*—Percentages of increase in the cost of living over December, 1914, averaged from data, for a representative list of cities, collected by the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Increase Dec. '15 over Dec. '14	Increase Dec. '16 over Dec. '14	Increase Dec. '17 over Dec. '14	Increase Mar. '18 over Dec. '14	Increase Aug. '18 over Dec. '14	Increase Nov.-Dec. '18 over Dec. '14
0.3%	15%	42%	48%	64%	78% <sup>1</sup>

The Railroad Wage Commission estimated the increase from December 1916 to December 1917, to be 40 per cent for families with incomes up to \$600, 38 per cent for families with incomes from \$600 to \$1,000, and 37 per cent for families with incomes from \$1,000 to \$2,000. The Cost of Living Department of the National War Labor Board estimated the increase from December 1914 to June 1, 1918, to be 55 per cent. The National Industrial Conference Board has published a pamphlet called "Wartime

<sup>1</sup> Based on four cities.



Changes in the Cost of Living" (August, 1918), estimating the increase from July 1914 to June 1918, from 50 to 55 per cent. The Board has since published a supplemental report bringing the change up to October 1918, and stating the increase to be from 65 to 70 per cent.<sup>1</sup>

#### CRITICISMS OF ESTIMATES

The data of the Bureau of Labor Statistics are probably the most accurate as they have been collected by trained field investigators. To collect these data is by no means easy and it is quite possible that there are some errors in the data as handed in. Perhaps the most difficult data to collect are those on clothing. The material of the Bureau of Labor Statistics is not complete, however, in that it does not include the long list of sundries which constitute approximately 20 per cent of the family budget. It is possible that if sundries had been included, the estimates might be somewhat lower.

Another criticism of the Bureau of Labor Statistics figures is that the weights have not been applied to individual items, but only to general classes, such as food, clothing, rent, fuel, and light. The measurements of the Bureau of Labor Statistics as included here are for ship-building centers, which may show slightly higher increases than other communities on account of the rent item. But perhaps this error is really negligible. On the other hand, this Bureau has collected material with great care and ability in a task that from a scientific point of view is much more difficult than is commonly believed.

The Railroad Wage Commission's estimate is based partly upon the material hastily collected by the questionnaire method from various cities. Only meager data on sundries are included. The first report of the National Industrial Conference Board was very carefully worked up after a wide and excellent review of available sources. The estimates of rent increases cover a large range of cities and were calculated as a result of figures given in answers to questionnaires by real estate dealers. Some original investigations were also included in the Board's clothing estimates. The National War Labor Board's estimate is based on all sources and gives considerable attention to sundries. In conclusion then, it is probably true that the cost of living for the United States as a whole has increased about 70 per cent since 1914.

#### VARIATIONS BY LOCALITIES

The United States is a large country and considerable importance is attached to local variations. To the casual traveler these variations may appear through random observations of menus, street car fare, or rent. Such random observations

<sup>1</sup> The same report classifies increases between July, 1914, and November 1919, as follows: Food—83%; Shelter—20%; Clothing—93%; Fuel, heat and light—55%; Sundries—55%.

exaggerate probably the variations. A correct impression as to local variations is to be had only after comparing the prices in each locality of a large number of household commodities. The data of the Bureau of Labor Statistics regarding the increase in the cost of living from 1914 to 1917 include the largest range of cities measured at any one time. These data are included in Table II and show that the variations in different parts of the country and for communities of various sizes are not great, perhaps not as great as is commonly assumed.

*Table II*—Increase in the cost of living showing variations by localities, from Dec., 1914, to Dec., 1917, based on the figures of the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.

City	Percentage	City	Percentage
Baltimore .....	51.27	Superior, Wis. ....	41.70
Buffalo .....	51.13	Jacksonville, Fla. ....	41.63
Detroit .....	49.85	Manitowoc, Wis. ....	40.38
Orange, Tex. ....	48.26	Lorain, Ohio .....	40.26
Slidell, La. ....	46.69	Brunswick, Ga. ....	39.96
Madisonville, La. ....	46.56	Bath, Me. ....	39.68
Moss Point, Miss. ....	45.92	Tampa .....	39.64
Norfolk .....	45.15	Pensacola .....	39.52
Houston .....	44.89	Portsmouth, N. H. ....	39.45
New York .....	44.68	Boston .....	38.13
Toledo .....	44.05	Portland, Me. ....	37.96
Philadelphia .....	43.81	Tacoma .....	34.45
Beaumont, Tex. ....	43.44	Portland, Ore. ....	31.25
Mobile .....	43.16	Seattle .....	31.08
Cleveland .....	42.93	Los Angeles .....	28.85
Savannah .....	42.49	San Francisco .....	28.63
Chicago .....	41.78		

The local variations are of considerable importance when it comes to the question of raising wages in accordance with the increases in the cost of living.

#### VARIATION BY ITEMS

When one examines the rise in the prices of different commodities, it is found that the increase in furniture and clothing has been greatest, while the increase in rent has been least. The data in Table III show this to be the case. Variations in rent have been greater from city to city than in any other class of consumption. Increases in food prices have been very constant in all areas. There has been some variation in fuel and light by cities; also in sundries.

*Table III*.—Percentages of increase in classes of expenditure over Dec., 1914, averaged from data, for a representative list of cities, collected by the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.

	Increase Dec. '15 over Dec. '14	Increase Dec. '16 over Dec. '14	Increase Dec. '17 over Dec. '14	Increase Mar. '18 over Dec. '14	Increase Aug. '18 over Dec. '14	Increase Nov.-Dec. '18 over Dec. '14
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
Food .....	0.7	19	53	51	68	76
Clothing .....	3	16	45	69	95	113
Housing .....	1	1	3	12	....	....
Fuel and Light .....	1	8	23	37	41	50 <sup>1</sup>
Furniture .....	5	20	51	78	105	133 <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From four cities.

## CONCLUSIONS

It appears from the foregoing presentation that the cost of living in the United States has increased approximately 70 per cent from December 1914 to the signing of the armistice. But it should be remembered that in so large and heterogeneous a country there is some variation, though by no means as much as is popularly supposed. Considerable importance may attach to the question of whether prices will come down, and if so, to what extent. It seems impossible to forecast accurately and very difficult to make any forecast at all. Such a forecast considers necessarily the causes of the present increase in prices. There are two general theories: one, that it has been due to the increase in the quantity of money and credit; and the other, that the increased demand and wartime consumption have been responsible. In so far as the last cause is the important one, prices will tend to fall. If the quantity of money is the cause of the increased prices; then a decline is contingent upon diminishing the supply of the medium of exchange. It seems problematical whether this will be done or not. It seems very probable that there will be somewhat of a drop in prices, but rather questionable whether that drop will be very great.

## II. THE STANDARD OF LIVING

The standard of living is the real meaning of wages to the working man; and undoubtedly one measure of progress is the advance in the standard of living. Certainly no democracy can be admired which permits a significant proportion of the population to live at a standard of living known as poverty; and the higher the standard of living the more admiration does a democracy deserve.

## LEVELS OF LIVING

There are a great many levels or planes of living, which are usually determined by the amount of the income. Four such levels have up to the present time been differentiated and studied. The first or lowest plane may be called the *pauper* level and is represented by earnings which do not permit physical existence. Individuals living at a pauper level are either slowly starving or else they accept gifts or charity to enable them to live. They may accept gifts of food and clothing from organizations and obtain their medicine and medical treatment free. If they do not receive charity, their physical condition is perhaps being deteriorated to such an extent, that they readily become the prey of disease. There are, of course, various degrees of pauperism according to the various amounts of charity given. Pauper budgets have been studied chiefly in connection with certain charitable institutions.

The standard of living which has received most careful study is called the *minimum of subsistence*. This plane of living is

represented by earnings which provide a physical existence but nothing more. Of course, bare physical existence may be hard to define, but many studies have attempted to measure it. This level has been further described by the term "the living wage." And it is fixed, according to the theory of the minimum wage, at a point where any industry which does not pay this amount to its workmen is parasitic and should be forced by the state to pay it, whether the industry survives or not. On this plane of living there is provided adequate food (though of the cheapest sort), a minimum of clothing, the cheapest sanitary houses that will provide space, air and light, a little recreation, and very small expenditures for various sundries. A number of estimates of what constitutes the cost of living at this level have been made. One of several excellent studies is that of Dr. Chapin, who found that in New York in 1907 a family could probably maintain itself, providing the bare necessities of physical existence, at between \$800 and \$900 a year. If the cost of living has increased 70 per cent over the pre-war period; then Dr. Chapin's figures will now be about \$1,500 for New York City.

A level somewhat higher than the subsistence level has been partially differentiated and described by several investigators and has been called the *minimum comfort* level. The minimum comfort level provides very nearly the same food budget as the subsistence level but perhaps of not quite such cheap food. Somewhat more provision is made for clothing, savings, rent, and various sundries. The minimum comfort level requires from \$300 to \$400 more than the subsistence level.

Finally, another level is being studied, which might be called a *reasonably adequate* standard of living. Such conditions of living would provide opportunity for self-development. It would mean a six-room house or apartment with all modern conveniences including telephone. Provision would be made for savings against old age, illness, and unemployment. There would be opportunity to continue the child in school until eighteen years of age, and the substance of the living conditions would be such as to permit the workman to move about in society reasonably free from the embarrassments that come from limited opportunities. This budgetary standard has never been fully worked out and it seems impossible now from the data on hand to set a figure at which such a standard could be purchased, but it would probably be several hundred dollars above the minimum comfort budget.

#### THE MEASUREMENT OF THE STANDARD OF LIVING

All measurements of the planes of living must in the first instance be based upon actual expenditures and are best collected personally by agents in the field rather than by questionnaires. The individuals collecting should estimate the adequacy of the items purchased. There are various checks which serve to locate the various levels. For instance, a family that "picks up"

its fuel is probably living below the minimum of subsistence level. Similarly there are standards of overcrowding. The measurement of the cost of living is usually made for a family, the cost of living of an unmarried woman having been studied to a considerable extent. The size of the family studied is nearly always five persons, consisting of man, wife, and three children under 14 or 16 years of age. It is necessary to include three children if two children are to survive; and it is, of course, necessary for two children to survive to marriage age if the race is to maintain itself. One criticism of this standard has been that there are a good many workmen unmarried and with fewer children, but socially it is very desirable for the conditions to be such that the economic age of marriage will approximate the biological age of marriage. In other words, it is very desirable to encourage early marriages. It is also desirable that the mother should bear children while still young. In this study the discussion will concern the family of five. It is also better for the measurement of the standard of living to be made in quantities rather than in prices. Prices have varied a great deal within the last few years and may continue to do so. Similarly there is variation from locality to locality. Hence, the endeavor is made to discuss the standard of living in terms of quantities of commodities used.

#### VARIATIONS IN THE COST OF LIVING

The standard of living varies in different parts of the country. If the same quantities in budgetary items were priced in different parts of the country, there would be very little variation; but the customs of life vary very widely in a country as large as the United States. Variation is particularly great as between cities and rural districts, and also as between very small towns and large cities. Some variations are due to climatic conditions, as for instance in the price of fuel and ice. The factor of rent differs also according to the size of the city. There is furthermore, a fluctuation in dietary standards; thus, more cereal is eaten in the south, and dietaries perhaps cost somewhat less there than in the east. The analysis in this study is limited because of available data either to life in New York City or else to life in a large eastern city.

Within a particular city and in the case of a group of individuals having the same income there will be further variations according to taste, as for instance, in clothing and food, and also in requirements based upon industrial demands. It is necessary, therefore, to describe the standard of living for the average of a group rather than for an individual family. For instance, some families will have to ride to their work, while others may walk. Similarly, one individual may require food-stuffs with a fuel value of 2,500 calories, while another may require 4,000 calories. In setting standards of living it is

desirable not to idealize what human nature *ought to have* but rather to consider what families *do spend*. For instance, if families do spend a certain sum for liquor, or tobacco or movies, such items of expenditure must be included in the budget.

### BUDGETARY PROPORTIONS

One of the best methods of economy and wise living consists in planning expenditures. In Table IV is shown the proportion of large classes of expenditure during the year 1918 in New York City. This proportion is perhaps not the proportion in normal peace times, as the proportions for rent and fuel are low, housing and fuel not having gone up as rapidly in price as clothing and food.

*Table IV.*—Proportions of budgetary expenditure in New York City in 1918 for families at the minimum level of subsistence.

Food .....	44%
Rent .....	15%
Fuel and Light.....	4%
Clothing .....	18%
Sundries .....	19%

The more normal allotment of the budget is found in Table V, which is furnished by the National Industrial Conference Board.

*Table V.*—Proportions of budgetary expenditure in normal peace times for families at the minimum level of subsistence.

Food .....	43.1%
Rent .....	17.7%
Fuel and Light.....	5.6%
Clothing .....	13.2%
Sundries .....	20.4%

As the income increases above the minimum-of-subsistence level, the proportion spent on food decreases, the proportion on rent decreases; the percentage spent on fuel and light decreases slightly; the percentage spent on clothing increases; and the proportion spent on sundries increases sharply. In Table VI is shown the proportions of expenditure in Washington, D. C., in 1916 for various classes of expenditure at the minimum-of-subsistence level (\$1,150) and at the minimum comfort level (\$1,700). A comparison of these two tables shows how the proportions vary as the income goes up.

*Table VI.*—Proportions of bugetary expenditure in Washington, D. C., in 1916 for incomes at the minimum-of-subsistence level and at the minimum comfort level, for families of husband, wife and three children.

<i>Total expenditure</i>	<i>\$1,150      \$1,700</i>	
	<i>Percentage</i>	
Food .....	40.0	33.6
Rent .....	19.6	19.0
Fuel and Light.....	5.7	5.0
Clothing .....	10.7	12.6
Sundries .....	24.0	29.8
Husband's clothing .....	3.7	4.5
Wife's clothing .....	2.6	3.6

<i>Total expenditure</i>	<i>\$1,150</i>	<i>\$1,700</i>
	<i>Percentage</i>	
Children's clothing .....	4.4	4.6
Insurance .....	4.1	3.8
Religious purposes .....	0.9	1.2
Furniture and furnishings.....	2.9	3.5
Newspapers, magazines, and school.....	0.8	1.1
Movies, theatres, pool, etc.....	1.0	1.5
Liquor and tobacco.....	1.8	1.4
Sickness .....	3.0	2.8

WILLIAM F. OGBURN, PH.D.

## COST OF FOOD

The average cost per family a year for twenty-two principal articles of food in New York City, in June, 1919, was \$662.77. This was 84 per cent greater than the average for 1913, according to figures compiled by the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.

In the city of Washington, the increase in the cost of these articles from 1913 to June, 1919, was 92 per cent, one of the highest recorded for any city embraced in the list.

The articles upon which the above costs are based, weighed according to quantity used, are: Sirloin steak, round steak, rib roast, chuck roast, plate boiling beef, pork chops, bacon, ham, hens, fresh milk, butter, cheese, lard, eggs, bread, flour, corn meal, rice, potatoes, sugar, tea and coffee.

<i>City</i>	<i>Average for</i>		<i>June</i>	<i>Percentage Increase</i>	
	<i>1913</i>	<i>1918</i>	<i>1919</i>	<i>over 1913</i>	<i>over 1918</i>
Boston .....	\$392.65	\$645.62	\$693.16	.64	.77
New Haven .....	381.46	654.15	686.78	.71	.80
Charleston, S. C.....	360.62	600.21	675.65	.67	.88
Washington .....	348.66	620.93	670.65	.78	.92
Birmingham .....	356.04	594.84	669.32	.67	.88
Richmond .....	345.19	598.40	666.59	.73	.95
New York .....	359.48	601.99	662.77	.67	.84
Atlanta .....	354.69	600.71	660.39	.69	.86
Philadelphia .....	356.80	614.08	659.09	.72	.85
Pittsburgh .....	354.74	606.23	654.87	.71	.85
Dallas .....	357.62	586.40	652.73	.64	.83
Newark .....	368.77	618.26	652.53	.68	.77
Baltimore .....	330.01	601.54	641.59	.82	.94
Los Angeles .....	370.71	571.00	630.99	.54	.70
Cleveland .....	343.68	571.84	628.85	.66	.83
Seattle .....	351.34	576.07	627.24	.64	.79
New Orleans .....	340.66	559.27	624.19	.64	.83
Detroit .....	324.29	563.24	623.35	.74	.92
San Francisco .....	350.97	568.67	623.25	.62	.78
Buffalo .....	321.72	570.81	611.36	.77	.90
Cincinnati .....	327.04	546.87	608.40	.67	.86
Kansas City .....	330.70	555.44	607.49	.68	.84
St. Louis .....	316.82	549.30	595.46	.73	.88
Chicago .....	327.92	544.74	582.02	.66	.77
Minneapolis .....	311.37	509.73	577.71	.64	.86

PROFITS OF THE MEAT PACKERS (BIG FIVE) <sup>1</sup>

ESTIMATED PROFITS						
(In thousands of dollars)						
Year	Armour	Swift	Morris	Wilson	Cudahy	TOTAL
1912.....	\$5,702	\$8,745	\$1,813	\$1,326 <sup>2</sup>	\$1,129	\$18,715
1913.....	6,158	9,449	1,917	1,364 <sup>2</sup>	1,329	20,217
1914.....	7,640	9,651	2,206	1,209 <sup>2</sup>	1,402	22,108
1915.....	11,156	23,387	2,321	2,464 <sup>2</sup>	724 <sup>3</sup>	40,052
1916.....	22,840	24,195	4,890	5,314	3,511	60,759
1917.....	27,137 <sup>4</sup>	47,236	8,012	8,319	4,935	95,639

WAR AND PRE-WAR PROFITS					
(In thousands of dollars)					
	Armour	Swift	Morris	Cudahy	TOTAL
Total estimated profits, pre-war years, 1912-13-14.....	\$19,500	\$27,845	\$5,936	\$3,860	\$57,141
Total estimated profits, war years, 1915-16-17.....	61,142 <sup>5</sup>	94,818	15,223	9,170	180,353
Excess profits, war years over pre-war years.....	41,642 <sup>5</sup>	66,973	9,287	5,310	123,212
Average profit on net worth:					
Pre-war years—per cent....	6.5	8.6	7.2	7.6	7.6
War years—per cent.....	16.7	24.5	15.4	16.0	19.9

## PROFITEERING AND HIGH SALARIES

An example of high salaries and commissions which officers and employes of some corporations charge themselves is given in a report of the Federal Trade Commission on Profiteering.<sup>6</sup>

The American Metal Company (Ltd.) New York, has made payments to its officers and managers in 1917, as follows:

Name of Payee	Position	Total Payment
B. Hochschild.....	Chairman of board of directors.....	\$179,663.36
C. M. Loeb.....	President .....	364,326.73
Otto Sussman.....	Vice-president, chief mining department.....	221,596.04
J. Loeb.....	Vice-president, chief sales department.....	147,930.69
T. Sternfeld.....	Director and treasurer to June 30, 1917.....	86,342.90
Henry Bruere.....	Vice-president .....	82,810.23
Julian B. Beaty.....	Director and treasurer since June 30, 1917	77,710.23
H. K. Hochschild.....	Vice-pres., chief South American dept.....	51,810.23
H. V. Putzel.....	Director and chief of zinc ore department	52,710.23
M. Roos.....	Cashier and custodian of securities.....	79,065.35
S. Adler.....	Chief auditor and accountant.....	79,065.35
H. Bernstoff.....	Chief, ore department.....	52,410.23
Sol Roos.....	Manager, St. Louis office.....	148,530.69
M. Schott.....	Manager, Denver office.....	136,553.12
Wm. Simon.....	Assistant manager, St. Louis office.....	38,155.11
F. D. Weeks.....	Chief manager engineer (resigned).....	23,500.00
W. E. Brady.....	Manager of transportation department .....	11,800.00
E. T. Villareal.....	Manager foreign metals department.....	12,200.00
John MacLetchie.....	Auditor for subsidiary corps.....	12,800.00
B. N. Zimmer.....	Manager Pittsburgh office and Langeloth....	10,800.00

<sup>1</sup> Government Control of Meat Packing Industry. Hearing before the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce of the House of Representatives. 65th Congress. Third Session on H. R. 13324, Jan. 31 to Feb. 14, 1919. Part 5, p. 2327.

<sup>2</sup> Figures known to be unreliable.

<sup>3</sup> In thousands of dollars.

<sup>4</sup> Not including South American business.

<sup>5</sup> Armour & Co. South American profits not included in 1917.

<sup>6</sup> Senate Document No. 248, 65th Congress, Second Session, Washington, 1918, pp. 19-20.



WEALTH AND INCOME IN THE UNITED STATES<sup>1</sup>ESTIMATES OF CAPITAL WEALTH IN THE UNITED STATES, 1912  
AND 1904

(Data from Bureau of the Census: "Wealth, Debt, and Taxation," V. I., p. 21)

(In millions of dollars)

ITEM	1912	1904	Increase
Real Estate .....	\$110,676	\$62,341	\$48,335
Live Stock, farm implements.....	7,607	4,919	2,688
Manufacturing, railroads, and public utilities	32,505	19,383	13,122
Gold and silver.....	2,617	1,999	618
All other .....	34,334	18,462	15,872
TOTAL.....	\$187,739	\$107,104	\$80,635

## VALUE OF FARM PRODUCTS 1911-1918

Based on prices at the farm

(In millions of dollars)

1911.....	\$8,819
1912.....	9,343
1913.....	9,849
1914.....	9,895
1915.....	10,775
1916.....	13,406
1917.....	19,331
1918.....	21,386

## NET INCOME OF ALL CORPORATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1912-18

(In millions of dollars)

CLASS	1912	1913	1914 <sup>2</sup>	1915 <sup>2</sup>	1916	1917 <sup>3</sup>	1918 <sup>3</sup>
Financial .....	\$482	\$439	\$425	\$430	\$528	\$630	\$600
Public Service .....	930	1,003	850	900	1,541	1,550	1,200
Industrial .....	1,670	2,027	1,591	2,790	5,027	6,500	5,900
Mercantile .....	423	473	440	572	465	720	700
Miscellaneous .....	327	398	405	492	1,205	1,100	1,100
Total.....	\$3,832	\$4,340	\$3,711	\$5,184	\$8,766	\$10,500	\$9,500

## ESTIMATED DIVIDENDS PAID BY ALL CORPORATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1912-1918

(In millions of dollars)

CLASS	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918
Financial .....	\$372	\$319	\$335	\$311	\$370	\$420	\$400
Public Service .....	717	693	730	665	843	840	700
Industrial .....	1,002	1,378	1,180	1,275	1,760	2,230	2,000
Mercantile .....	211	243	225	269	209	400	400
Miscellaneous .....	196	238	197	246	602	610	600
TOTAL.....	\$2,498	\$2,871	\$2,667	\$2,766	\$3,784	\$4,500	\$4,100

<sup>1</sup> From an article by Prof. David Friday on "The War and the Supply of Capital," in the *American Economic Review*. Vol. IX, No. 1, pp. 79-93.

<sup>2</sup> Estimated as to distribution into classes.

<sup>3</sup> Estimated.

### CAPITAL INCREASES SHOWN BY INVESTMENTS, SURPLUS, AND WAR TAX RESERVES DURING 1913 AND 1915-18

(In millions of dollars)					
ITEM	1913	1915	1916	1917	1918
Industrial and railroad securities <sup>1</sup> .....	\$1,645	\$1,435	\$2,186	\$1,529	\$1,345
Other securities, less deductions for refunding and for discount.....	1,000	1,000	1,500	1,000	500
Government securities—					
Foreign .....		1,275	1,381	805	640
United States .....				5,833	11,760
State and municipal bonds <sup>2</sup> .....	408	493	496	445	265
Corporate surplus after taxes.....	1,469	2,418	4,982	4,500	2,000
Gold and securities repurchased from abroad .....		1,300	2,000	700	.....
War taxes paid or reserved.....		.....	.....	3,000	5,000
<b>TOTAL.....</b>	<b>\$4,522</b>	<b>\$7,921</b>	<b>\$12,545</b>	<b>\$17,812</b>	<b>\$21,510</b>

### INCOME AND INFANT MORTALITY<sup>3</sup>

Infant mortality is the first subject mentioned in the law creating the Children's Bureau which directs it to investigate and report upon all matters pertaining to the welfare of the children, and it was the first subject of field study undertaken when the Bureau went into operation in 1912. For the last six years, a series of studies of infant mortality has been carried on. Intensive field studies have been made, with a substantially identical schedule, in eight cities, ranging in population from about 50,000 to more than half a million inhabitants, and differing widely in characteristics. They include a "steel city," Johnstown, Pa.; two textile cities, Manchester, N. H., and New Bedford, Mass.; Brockton, Mass., a center for the manufacture of high-grade shoes; Saginaw, Mich., a manufacturing city with no one predominating industry; Waterbury, Conn., chiefly given over the manufacture of brass; Akron, Ohio, a rubber manufacturing center, and Baltimore, Md., a large cosmopolitan city. In addition, rural studies of maternal and infant welfare have been made, with especial reference to showing the amount and quality of care obtainable for mothers and babies in the remoter and newer country areas.

The infant mortality rates have been tabulated in each city in connection with the earnings of the fathers up to a maximum of \$1,250. Beyond this sum it became difficult to secure the facts. Except in the largest city studied, moreover, the number of instances of higher income was so small that they could not be divided into groups representing enough cases upon which to base percentages. Data were secured about the fathers of 23,780 babies, including stillborn children. More than one-fourth (26.9 per cent) of these fathers earned less than \$550 during the year following the baby's birth. Only one in eight (11.9 per cent) earned as much as \$1,250.

<sup>1</sup> Reported by the *Journal of Commerce*.

<sup>2</sup> Reported by the *Bond Buyer*.

<sup>3</sup> From an address before the American Public Health Association, Dec. 9, 1918.

CITY	TOTAL BIRTHS	—FATHER'S EARNINGS—			
		Under \$550		\$1,250 and Over	
		Number	Per cent. of total	Number	Per cent. of total
All Cities .....	23,780	6,404	26.9	2,839	11.9
Johnstown, Pa. ....	1,499	243	16.2	524	35.0 <sup>1</sup>
Manchester, N. H. ....	1,643	499	30.4	105	6.4
Brockton, Mass. ....	1,247	156	12.5	137	11.0
Saginaw, Mich. ....	1,015	182	17.9	143	14.1
New Bedford, Mass. ....	2,662	1,004	37.7	173	6.5
Waterbury, Conn. ....	2,197	808	36.8	192	8.7
Akron, Ohio .....	2,322	374	16.1	307	13.2
Baltimore, Md. ....	11,195	3,138	28.0	1,258	11.2

In general the lowest income groups are the highest infant mortality groups in all of the cities studied.

### INFANT MORTALITY RATES BY FATHER'S EARNINGS

Deaths of infants under one year of age per 1,000 live births, by specified annual earning of father.

CITY	All Earnings		
	\$1,250 and Over	Under \$550	
All Cities .....	111.2	64.3	151.4
Johnstown .....	130.7	87.6	260.9
Manchester .....	165.0	58.3	204.2
Brockton .....	96.7	73.5	67.1 <sup>2</sup>
Saginaw .....	84.6	22.2	142.0
New Bedford .....	130.3	59.9	168.7
Waterbury .....	122.7	68.4	151.1
Akron .....	85.7	40.0	117.5
Baltimore .....	103.5	64.7	138.0

### EFFECT OF CONGESTION

Income is important for what it buys. Its adequacy may be tested, for example, by housing. A comparison of rent paid with infant mortality rates in Manchester, N. H., shows the general tendency of infant mortality rates to fall as housing conditions improve. According to the report of the Children's Bureau on infant mortality in that city, there were 175 homes of live-born babies where the rental paid was less than \$7.50 per month and the infant mortality rate among babies in these homes was 211.4 or more than double the census figure for the registration area in 1915 of 100 per 1,000 living births. The largest number of babies, 703, was found in homes where the

<sup>1</sup> In the study of Johnstown many incomes were returned as "ample," and such incomes have been included in the \$1,250 and over group in this table with a result that the proportion of such incomes is perhaps exaggerated.

<sup>2</sup> Contrary to the findings for other cities, the mortality rates for the earnings groups under \$550, and \$550 to \$849 were considerably lower than for the group \$650 to \$849. Two explanations for this peculiar showing may be advanced: First, the groups are comparatively small, having but ten deaths in each class, and consequently they may have been considerably influenced by exceptionally favorable conditions in the year selected; second, the earnings as reported in the lowest earnings group do not always reflect the family's standard of living.

rent paid was from \$7.50 up to \$12.49. The rate for this group was 172.1. There were 300 babies in the next class, where the rentals were from \$12.50 to \$17.49, and the infant mortality rate among them was 156.7. Only 62 babies belonged to homes with rental of \$17.50 and over, and six deaths occurred among them. Here the rate was about 1 in 10 or the equivalent of the census figure for 1915. The parents of 186 babies owned their homes, and the infant death-rate was still lower, 86 per 1,000. The Johnstown Report says: "In homes of 496 live-born babies where bathtubs were found, the infant mortality rate was 72.6, while it was more than double, or 164.8 where there were no bathtubs. . . . In a city of Johnstown's housing standards, the tub is an index of a good home, a suitable house from a sanitary standpoint, a fairly comfortable income, and all the favorable conditions that go with such an income."

Income plays a chief part in determining the location of the home as well as the kind of home. The report for Waterbury, Conn., shows that the infant mortality rate for children born in houses located on the street was 120.6, while that for children born in houses placed on the rear of a lot or on an alley was 172.0.

Overcrowding is another housing condition that accompanies low income. The report on Manchester, N. H., says: "The infant mortality rate showed a steady increase according to the number of persons per room. It was 123.3, where the average was less than one; 177.8 where the average was one but under two; and 261.7 where the average was two but less than three." It is significant that in Brockton, where wages, taken by and large, were better than in any other city studied, and where the infant mortality rate was markedly low, there is no acute housing problem. Yet in Brockton, as in other cities, the infant mortality rate was highest in the most crowded homes. In houses where there was less than one person to a room, infant deaths occurred at a rate of 86.5 per thousand births; where there was more than one person to a room, that rate rose to 110.2. Only 32 out of 1,210 Brockton babies were born into homes where there were more than two persons to a room. There is available much foreign material which confirms the impression conveyed by the Children's Bureau studies of the fundamental importance of decent sanitary housing.

#### EFFECT OF EMPLOYMENT

Another test of the adequacy of income is the employment of the mother. The Johnstown report says: "It is impossible to judge from statistics alone whether or not the work done by an individual woman, either her own housework or work for money is so excessive as to affect her during pregnancy or while nursing to the extent of reacting on the health of the baby, but the fact is that the infant mortality rate is higher among

the babies of wage-earning mothers than among the others, being 188, as compared with a rate of 117.6 among the babies of non-wage-earning mothers. Wage-earning mothers and low-wage fathers are in practically the same groups, and it is difficult to secure an exact measurement of the comparative weight of the two factors in the production of a high infant mortality rate." In Johnstown, no woman-employing industries were found, but many of the poorest foreign mothers kept lodgers and boarders, the percentage of mothers contributing to the family income varying from 47.6 per cent in the lowest wage group to 2.0 per cent in families where the father earned \$1,250 or more. In the case of this type of working mothers, although there is severe toil, the baby profits because there is not the necessity for artificial feeding which exists when the mother is away from the child during working hours. In Manchester, N. H., where there is a great demand for women workers in the textile trades, 679 mothers of babies were employed during the year following their baby's birth, 353 in the home, 326 outside, and 885 were not employed. While the rate for the babies of mothers at home and with no employment save that of caring for their households was 122.0, that for mothers employed outside the home was 312.9.

That mothers apparently do not choose to go out to work leaving young babies at home is shown by the lessening proportion of mothers employed as the husband's wages increase. In Manchester, 65.7 per cent of the mothers whose husbands earned less than \$550 were gainfully employed during the year following the baby's birth, while only 9.5 per cent of the mothers whose husbands earned more than \$1,250 were so employed. When it is realized that the infant mortality rate greatly increases when the mothers go out leaving young babies at home and that the number of mothers so employed rapidly decreases as the father's wages increase, the connection between income and infant mortality becomes more impressive than if viewed from any other approach.

JULIA C. LATHROP,  
*Chief of Children's Bureau, U. S. Department of Labor.*

## INDIVIDUAL INCOMES IN THE UNITED STATES

The main facts regarding personal incomes in the United States may be summarized in the following four brief tables, adapted from the reports of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue for 1916 and 1917.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Statistics of Income: Treasury Department, U. S. Internal Revenue, Washington Printing Office, 1918 and 1919.

Table 1. Distribution of Incomes by Sex and Conjugal Condition, 1917

<i>Distribution</i>	—RETURNS—		—NET INCOME—	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage of total</i>	<i>Amount</i>	<i>Percentage of total</i>
Joint returns of husbands and wives, with or without dependent children, and of husbands whose wives, though living with them, filed separate returns .....	1,450,723	79.18	\$8,390,968,851	74.98
Wives making separate returns from husbands .....	20,530	1.13	307,045,768	2.74
Single men, heads of families....	72,668	3.98	412,096,152	3.68
Single women, heads of families	25,368	1.39	174,811,281	1.57
Single men, all other.....	199,263	10.85	1,349,784,238	12.06
Single women, all other.....	63,580	3.47	556,539,917	4.97
TOTAL.....	1,832,132	100.00	\$11,191,246,207	100.00

More than four-fifths of the income tax returns were filed with the Commissioner of Internal Revenue by heads of families. A little over one per cent of the returns were from married women making returns separate from their husbands, and less than 4 per cent of the returns came from single women. Evidently the large incomes in the United States are incomes received by men who are heads of families.

The total number of returns (1,832,132) seems comparatively small. When these returns were made there were approximately 104 million people in the United States. Less than 2 per cent of the people made, therefore, income tax returns.

The number of returns for heads of families (1,569,189) may be compared with the total number of families (approximately 21 million) in the United States in 1916. This would show that less than 8 per cent of the heads of families in the United States are in receipt of incomes, for which returns had to be made.

### TAX RETURNS BY OCCUPATIONS

A table showing the proportion of income tax returns filed from various occupational groups in 1916 is presented as Table 2.

Table 2. Number of Returns Filed Classified by Occupations and Compared with the Total Number of Persons Engaged in those Occupations in 1910.

<i>Occupations</i>	<i>Number of returns filed</i>	<i>Number of persons as per census</i>	<i>Per cent filing returns</i>
Architects .....	1,419	16,613	8.54
Authors, Editors, Reporters, etc.....	2,529	38,750	6.53
Clergymen .....	1,671	118,018	1.42
Engineers—Civil mining, etc.....	6,628	58,963	11.24
Lawyers and judges.....	21,273	112,149	18.97
Medical profession—Physicians, surgeons, oculists, dentists, nurses, and other medical specialists .....	20,348	291,942	6.97
Public Service—Civil .....	2,992	382,138	.78
Public Service—Military .....	5,459	77,153	7.08

<i>Occupations</i>	<i>Number of returns filed</i>	<i>Number of persons as per census</i>	<i>Per cent filing returns</i>
Theatrical profession—Actors, Singers, musicians, etc.	914	167,607	.55
Teachers—From Kindergarten to University; also school and col- lege officials	2,919	614,905	.47
Agriculturists—Farmers, Stock raisers, orchardists, etc.	14,407	6,047,615	.24
Real Estate Brokers—Agents and Salesmen	6,146	125,862	4.88
Stock and bond brokers	2,839	13,729	20.68
Brokers—All other	7,479	36,016	20.77
Commercial travelers	12,274	268,522	4.57
Insurance agents and solicitors	7,243	88,463	8.19
Lumbermen	1,319	12,263	10.76
Manufacturers	23,631	235,107	10.05
Merchants and leaders—Storekeep- ers, jobbers, commission mer- chants, etc.	54,363	1,246,077	4.36
Mine-owners and mine-operators	2,554	14,287	17.88
Saloon keepers	1,311	68,215	1.92
Theatrical business—Owners, Man- agers, etc.	811	31,418	2.58
All other business	18,605	101,868	18.26

In two cases as many as 20 per cent of the individuals engaged in a given occupation filed income tax returns. One of these cases was "Stock and Bond Brokers," the other "Brokers—All Others." Five other occupations show a percentage of more than 10; Engineers, Lawyers and Judges, Lumbermen, Manufacturers, and Mine Owners. The percentage for public service and for teachers would be ludicrous if it were not so pathetic. The farmers stand at the bottom of the list with  $\frac{1}{4}$  of 1 per cent filing returns.

### SOURCES OF INCOMES

The most significant of the tables presented by the Commissioner is that dealing with the distribution of incomes by the source from which they are derived. There has been much discussion with regard to the percentage of large incomes derived from various sources. Table 3\* contains a summary of incomes divided into three classes: personal service, business, and property.

Table 3. Comparison of Incomes from Personal Service, Business and Property.

<i>Distribution</i>	—1917—		—1916—		<i>Increase</i>
	<i>Amount</i>	<i>Percentage of total income</i>	<i>Amount</i>	<i>Percentage of total income</i>	
<b>Income from personal service:</b>					
Salaries, wages, commissions, bonuses, di- rectors' fees, etc.	\$3,648,437,902	30.21	\$1,478,346,372	17.70	\$2,170,091,530

Distribution	1917		1916		Increase
	Amount	Percentage of total income	Amount	Percentage of total income	
Business, trade, commerce, partnership, farming, and profits from sales of real estate, stocks, bonds, and other prop- erty .....	3,958,670,028	32.77	3,010,404,924	36.06	948,265,104
TOTAL.....	\$7,607,107,930	62.98	\$4,488,751,296	53.76	\$3,118,356,634
Income from property:					
Rents and roy- alties .....	\$ 684,343,399	5.67	\$ 643,802,657	7.71	\$ 40,540,742
Interest on bonds, notes, etc., including fiduciaries and foreign sources .....	936,715,456	7.76	1,080,879,405	12.94	144,163,949 <sup>1</sup>
Dividends .....	2,848,842,499	23.59	2,136,468,625	25.59	712,373,874
TOTAL.....	\$4,469,901,354	37.02	\$3,861,150,687	46.24	\$ 608,750,667
TOTAL INCOME.....	\$12,077,009,284	100.00	\$8,349,901,983	100.00	\$3,727,107,301
Less general de- ductions .....	885,763,077	7.33	2,051,324,363	24.57	1,165,561,286
TOTAL NET INCOME.....	\$11,191,246,207 <sup>2</sup>	92.67	\$6,298,577,620 <sup>3</sup>	75.43	\$4,892,668,587

The more detailed tables contained in the report for 1916 show that among the lower incomes the percentage of income derived from personal service is relatively high, ranging over 50 per cent. The percentage derived from business is approximately 25 per cent and that from property is not more than 25 per cent. In the higher incomes the returns for personal service fall to less than 1 per cent for incomes of \$2,000,000 or over while the property returns show approximately 70 per cent.

#### CLASSIFICATION OF RETURNS

The number of returns filed for incomes of different amounts appears in Table 4.

Table 4. Comparison of Personal Returns for 1914, 1915, 1916 and 1917, by Income Classes.

Income classes		1914	1915	1916	1917
\$ 1,000 to \$	2,000.....	.....	.....	.....	1,640,758
	2,000 to	.....	.....	.....	480,486
	2,500 to	.....	.....	.....	358,221
	3,000 to	.....	.....	.....	374,958
	4,000 to	82,754	69,045	85,122	185,805
	5,000 to	66,525	58,949	72,027	270,666
	10,000 to	127,448	120,402	150,553	65,800
	15,000 to	34,141	34,102	45,309	29,896
	20,000 to	15,790	16,475	22,618	

<sup>1</sup> Decrease.

<sup>2</sup> Compiled from returns reporting net incomes of \$2,000 and over.

<sup>3</sup> Compiled from returns reporting net incomes of \$3,000 and over.



<i>Income classes</i>		1914	1915	1916	1917
20,000 to	25,000.....	8,672	9,707	12,953	16,806
25,000 to	30,000.....	5,483	6,196	8,055	10,571
30,000 to	40,000.....	6,008	7,005	10,068	12,733
40,000 to	50,000.....	3,185	4,100	5,611	7,087
50,000 to	100,000.....	5,161	6,847	10,452	12,439
100,000 to	150,000.....	1,189	1,793	2,900	3,302
150,000 to	200,000.....	406	724	1,284	1,302
200,000 to	250,000.....	233	386	726	703
250,000 to	300,000.....	130	216	427	342
300,000 to	400,000.....	147	254	469	380
400,000 to	500,000.....	69	122	245	179
500,000 to	1,000,000.....	114	209	376	315
1,000,000 and over.....		60	120	206	141
TOTAL.....		357,515	336,652	429,401	3,472,890
Married women making returns separate from husbands.....		1	1	7,635	1
Total Number of Returns Filed		357,515	336,652	437,036	3,472,890

The number of income tax returns for incomes of more than \$25,000 show a considerable increase while incomes of over \$100,000 show increases ranging from 100 to nearly 300 per cent. Apparently the larger incomes are the ones that have showed the greatest increase during the past few years.

#### EXTENT OF LARGE INCOMES

Frequently the question is asked: How many millionaires are there in the United States? The figures for income taxes furnish the best answer.

A million dollars at 5 per cent will yield \$50,000 a year; therefore, any one who has an income of \$50,000 a year is, in that sense, a millionaire. The method is not accurate. There are people with incomes of \$50,000 who have less than a million in property. Nevertheless, it gives an approximate idea of the number of very rich people in the country.

Accepting this definition of a millionaire—a man with an income of \$50,000 a year—Table 4 shows that there were—

7,509 millionaires for.....	1914
10,671 millionaires for.....	1915
17,085 millionaires for.....	1916
19,103 millionaires for.....	1917

Since the year 1917 there has been a further increase in the number of large incomes. The estimated number of millionaires in 1918 is placed at 25,000.

SCOTT NEARING.

<sup>1</sup> The net incomes reported on separate returns made by husband and wife in 1916 are combined and included as one return in the figures for the several classes. In 1914, 1915 and 1917 the returns of married women filed separately are included in their individual income classes independent of husbands' income.

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP OF RAILROADS<sup>1</sup>

The following table shows the number of miles of State and private railways in 31 countries, except in those States where the statistics for both systems are mixed (given together). The United States stands with China, Spain, Egypt, and the United Kingdom in not having public railways, with the exception of the 50 miles at Panama and a few other very short lines. In France the Government owns all the roadbeds, and the system is far more of a unified one than in this country.

Few persons who talk glibly against Government ownership of railways realize that 27 countries now have government ownership of from 50 miles to all the railways of the country. Germany is first with 35,000 miles, and Russia next, with about 34,000. India has over 29,000 miles, and Austria-Hungary over 23,000 miles.

According to these statistics there are approximately 585,384 miles of private road, and 189,226 miles of State railroad in the world, or about one-third (32.3 per cent)). If we leave the mileage of the United States and the United Kingdom out of the calculations, more than three-fifths of the mileage of the 29 following countries is owned by the State. And this does not include private railways operated by the Austrian Government, nor the roadbeds owned by the State in France.

## MILEAGE AND MANAGEMENT OF THE RAILWAYS OF THE WORLD

COUNTRY	Management	Total Mileage	State Mileage
Algeria .....	Mixed	2,871	1,803
Argentina .....	"	19,722	3,490
Austria .....	State	14,217	11,987
Belgium .....	"	2,715	2,706
Brazil .....	Mixed	10,821	6,727
Bulgaria .....	State	1,200	1,200
Canada .....	Private	29,304	1,742
Chile .....	Mixed	5,020	3,236
China .....	Private	606	.....
Cuba .....	"	2,580	130
Denmark .....	State	1,219	1,219
Egypt .....	"	1,486	.....
France .....	Mixed	25,314	5,626
Germany .....	State	38,154	35,951
Holland .....	Mixed	2,063	1,233
Hungary <sup>2</sup> .....	State	13,332	11,229
India .....	"	35,285	29,317
Italy .....	"	8,481	8,481
Japan .....	"	5,473	5,473
Mexico .....	"	6,193	6,193
Norway .....	"	1,917	1,635
Portugal .....	Mixed	1,521	713
Roumania .....	State	2,205	2,205
Russia .....	Mixed	40,036	33,928
Spain .....	Private	9,076	.....
Sweden .....	"	8,806	2,864
Siam .....	State	506	506

<sup>1</sup> Statement of A. M. Todd before the House Committee on Interstate Commerce, pp. 17-19.

<sup>2</sup> Private railways largely operated by the State.

COUNTRY	Management	Total Mileage	State Mileage
Switzerland .....	State	3,155	1,701
Union of South Africa .....	State	8,281	8,281
United Kingdom .....	Private	23,691	.....
United States .....	"	260,000	50 <sup>1</sup>

From the above table it will be seen that outside of the United States and the United Kingdom, there were, when the above, table was compiled, 162,763 miles of publicly owned railroads, with but 88,470 miles under private ownership; and since the date of compilation the mileage of publicly owned lines has increased. Steps are now being taken for nationalizing the British railways, and soon fully 90 per cent of the world's railways outside of the United States will have become nationalized.

#### RELATIVE TRANSPORTATION EFFICIENCY OF PRIVATE AND PUBLIC OWNERSHIP

A leading test of private and public ownership of railways is efficiency of freight transportation in number of tons of freight carried per ton of car capacity. Public ownership, as shown in the following authoritative table, is far more efficient than private ownership in actual success in getting the work of a country done. Great Britain and the United States stand near the bottom of the list. England has suffered as much as has the United States from private ownership, and, from present indications, will probably have State ownership and control before our legislators devise a permanent solution for our railway problem. The table equalizes the conditions existing in the United States, with its long hauls and consequent lower relative terminal cost, and in other countries, with short hauls and multiplied uses of the terminals. The average length of haul for Sweden is thus less than one-fifth that of the United States, and its terminal facilities are burdened with five times the cost in proportion to the length of haul. In this and practically every test possible, our country would be at an advantage over other countries in instituting public ownership.

*Number of tons carried per ton of car capacity for the countries of the world*

Country	Ownership	Date	Ton-miles moved per ton of car capacity	Rank in efficiency
Japan .....	Government	1913-14	8,347	1
New South Wales .....	Government	1915	6,203	2
Austria .....	Government	1913	5,107	3
Hungary .....	Government	1912	4,902	4
Switzerland .....	Government	1913	4,123	5
Germany .....	Government	1913	3,962	6
South Australia .....	Government	1913	3,553	7
Holland .....	Mixed	1913	3,476	8
United States .....	Private	1914	3,169	9
Belgium .....	Government	1912	3,052	10

<sup>1</sup> Panama R. R.

Country	Ownership	Date	Ton-miles moved per ton of car capacity	Rank in efficiency
France .....	Private	1912	2,957	11
Sweden .....	Mixed	1912	2,912	12
Canada .....	Private	1915	2,623	13
Mexico .....	Government	1913	2,099	14
Great Britain .....	Private	1913 <sup>1</sup>	809	15

### ECONOMIC USE OF ROLLING STOCK

Another test is the efficient use of the capital stock owned by the railways. Our country has the longest average hauls between terminals and thus has to make fewer stops to load and unload, and yet the cars are so inefficiently managed in comparison with nationalized system that it stands low in the list in the group of nations and below practically all the publicly-owned systems.

### DAILY MOVEMENT OF FREIGHT CARS

Country	Ownership	Average haul in miles	Tons carried per ton of car capacity	Rank in efficiency
Japan .....	Government	94.10	99.3	1
Switzerland .....	Government	46.81	88.1	2
Austria .....	Government	65.63	77.8	3
New South Wales.....	Government	38.58	71.6	4
Hungary .....	Government	71.80	69.3	5
Germany .....	Government	62.04	63.9	6
Sweden .....	Government	45.70	63.6	7
Holland .....	Mixed	56.00	62.6	8
Belgium .....	Government	52.36	58.3	9
France .....	Private	77.60	38.2	10
New Zealand .....	Government	.....	39.4	11
United Kingdom .....	Private	25.00 <sup>2</sup>	33.2	12
Southern Australia .....	Government	117.64	30.1	13
Italy .....	Government	.....	24.1	14
United States .....	Private	256.00	12.2	15
Canada .....	Private	247.00	10.6	16
Mexico .....	Government	210.00	10.0	17

ALBERT M. TODD,

*President, Public Ownership League of America.*

### THE RAILWAY WORKERS' PLAN FOR PUBLIC OWNERSHIP OF RAILROADS—THE PLUMB PLAN<sup>3</sup>

Through the initiative representatives of 14 international unions of organized railway employes with the co-operation of the American Federation of Labor, the Nonpartisan League, the Farmers' National Council and various agricultural and civic bodies, a bill has been introduced in Congress providing for the government ownership of railways.

<sup>1</sup> Included 600,000 private cars.

<sup>2</sup> Company haul; national haul estimated at 40 miles.

<sup>3</sup> From an analysis by the Plumb Plan League.

An organization has been formed, known as the Plumb Plan League, with Samuel Gompers, honorary president, Warren S. Stone, grand chief of Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers as president, and national officers of the various railways employees' unions as vice-presidents of the League. The League, which already claims the support of 6,000,000 organized workers and farmers, is carrying on an extensive educational campaign to popularize their plan for joint control named after Glenn E. Plumb, General Counsel for the organized railway employees of America and author of the plan, the object of which is "to secure public ownership and democracy in the operation of the railways of the United States." This bill is summarized as follows:

#### PURCHASE PRICE

It is provided that the Government shall buy the railroads on the basis of the actual number of dollars invested therein, paying for them either in cash or bonds bearing not over 4 per cent interest. This reduces the amount of both the principal and interest far below their present totals.

Future extensions are to be built at the expense of the territory to be benefited with such government help as may be deemed proper to be paid for out of railroad income.

#### EMPLOYEES' AND OFFICIALS' MANAGEMENT

The railroads shall be operated by a corporation to be known as the National Railways Operating Corporation, without capital other than the operating skill and ability of the directors, officials, and employees who shall constitute the corporation.

Fifteen directors shall be chosen: one-third by the classified employees or operatives by election, one-third by the officials by election, and one-third by the President of the United States.

Elected Directors shall be subject to recall and appointed directors to removal by the President.

#### DISTRICT COUNCILS

The Government shall lease to this Corporation all its railroad properties, including highways, equipment, shops, terminals, docks, and warehouses.

The railroads shall be operated as a single system divided into operating districts, managed by district railway councils, representing the Board of Directors in local matters and elected as follows: one-third by the classified employees within each district; one-third by the official employees; and one-third by the Board of Directors.

#### RETIREMENT OF BONDS

The income of the Operating Corporation shall be applied to operating expenses, maintenance charges, renewals, "fixed charges," or interest and sinking fund payments of one per cent for the retirement of the bonds issued to pay for the properties.

This assures the early retirement of the bonds after which interest payments will cease and the Government will own the railroads free of debt.

#### ECONOMY AND EFFICIENCY REWARDED

The net earnings remaining after the above payments are provided for shall be divided equally between the Government and the Operating Corporation as follows:

The Corporation's half of the profits is to be declared as a dividend upon the amounts paid in wages, every classified employe receiving that portion of this fund which his annual compensation bears to the total compensation of all classified employes, and every official employe receiving that portion of said fund which his annual compensation bears to the total compensation of all official employes; but every official employe receiving twice the rate of dividend that is given to the classified employe.

#### REDUCTION OF RATES

To protect the public from the payment of rates resulting in excessive profits to the Corporation or to the Government, it is provided that whenever in one year the amount of the net profits received by the Government shall equal or exceed five per cent of the gross operating revenues, the Interstate Commerce Commission shall immediately reduce the level of rates by an amount sufficient to absorb these profits.

Every such reduction in rates will tend to increase the flow of traffic and again restore profits to their former level, again insuring a further reduction in rates.

Thus the public shares with the officials and operatives in the savings resulting from economy and efficiency in management.

#### BOARDS OF ADJUSTMENT

The Board of Directors shall create by negotiation with the employes through their duly elected representatives not less than three Boards of Adjustment of not less than eight members each, half from the Classified Employes coming within the jurisdiction of the Boards severally and the other half from the Official Employes.

These boards shall decide all questions arising from the interpretation of established wage rates, wage awards, working rules, discipline cases and all other disputes between the two classes of employes. Decisions of such Boards shall be final except that where no majority decision can be obtained an appeal shall lie to the Board of Directors.

#### CENTRAL BOARD OF WAGES AND WORKING CONDITIONS

The Board of Directors shall create this Board as the above described boards are to be created.

It shall hear, investigate, and determine matters of salaries,

wages, hours, and other conditions of employment when brought before it by Official and Classified Employees.

#### VALUATION OF PROPERTIES

The fundamental principle upon which this plan is based is that there shall be a proper valuation of all railroad properties.

The bill contends that the only basis for obtaining such valuation is to determine the amount of money which each corporation, at the time of the valuation, had put in the actual service of the public. The amount so determined represents the property interest which the corporation has been granted in the public highways to which it holds title.

The payment to it of this amount, judicially determined, would be full recognition of all of its property interests and all rights which it enjoyed under its charter and the Constitution of the State and the United States. Such valuation eliminates from the public obligations all fictitious securities, discounts on securities, actually paid for to the extent of the discounts, and improvements made out of earnings which were really paid for by the public.

#### IMPOSSIBILITY OF WAGE COMBINATION

Those opposing this plan offer as the first objection that labor represented by wage earners and managing officials have a two-thirds control of the directorate; that it would be possible for these two forces to combine and by raising wages absorb all profits so that there would be nothing to divide between the Corporation and the Government, and might even create a deficit in operating expenses which must be met by taxation.

The bill provides against the possibility of such a contingency. While the wage earner and the managing officials have a common interest in the fixed level of wages and salaries, it is provided that they shall have conflicting interests in the distribution of dividends. Assuming that the number of official employees is one per cent of the number of classified employees, assuming for the purpose of illustration that there is one official employee and one hundred classified employees, if the official employee were allowed twice the rate of dividend allowed to classified employees, it is manifest that any increase in the level of wages would immediately wipe out the extra dividend allowed the official employee. His interest can be preserved only by maintaining the fixed wage level allowed the classified employees and obtaining for them the highest possible rate of dividend. A very slight increase in the wage level of classified employees would extinguish the opportunity of the official employee to obtain the extra compensation assured him by the double dividend rate.

The possibility of management and wage earner uniting to raise wages and salaries and thus absorb profits, and perhaps create a deficit, wholly disappears as this Plan is studied and understood.

## OTHER IMPORTANT FEATURES

The Supreme Court shall have final jurisdiction in determining the compensation to be paid any railroad company for its holdings.

Dishonesty in the form of accepting bribes is punishable by heavy penalties.

The Directors appoint officials and department heads appoint their subordinates and define the classification of other employes.

Trade unions are sanctioned and full liberty of action granted in political matters.

The Interstate Commerce Commission shall have jurisdiction over rates as at present.

Freight collection and delivery between shippers and consignees is provided for.

Annual reports are to be made to the President of the United States and other reports as called for.

The life of the Corporation shall be 100 years, but the lease may be terminated by Congress subject to judicial review, if it is claimed the terms thereof are not being carried out.

The power of the Federal and State Governments would in no wise be impaired nor their authority restricted under this plan of public ownership. Existing laws would be made uniform.

## PUBLIC BENEFITS ASSURED

Joint operation and unified control would assure enormous savings in operating expenses, permitting a material reduction in rates for both passenger and freight service without impairing net earnings. The benefit to the public would be incalculable. Extravagant competition and the persistent demands for increased rates to provide private profits on constantly increasing capitalizations would disappear forever.

The price at which the Government would acquire the roads would eliminate all water from the securities of the carriers on a plan of valuations which it is believed will stand the test of a Supreme Court decision. Thus the income of the operating company would not have to be based upon the capitalizations at present obtaining.

## THE NATIONAL NONPARTISAN LEAGUE

The National Nonpartisan League is known throughout the country as an organization of farmers that had its inception in North Dakota. The explanation for its rise is to be found in a study of the conditions prevailing in that state prior to the year 1915.

North Dakota is an agricultural state and wheat is its chief product. It is, in fact, the greatest wheat producing state in the Union. But while North Dakota has produced such an abundance of wheat that it has become known as the "bread basket" of the world, the fact remains that the finished product—flour—is made in Minneapolis, in the State of Minnesota.



At Minneapolis are the great flour mills of the country. These mills grind into flour the wheat produced on the fields of North Dakota.

But before the grain of the farmers is turned over to the mills, it is bought and "handled" by a grain-buying agency known as the Chamber of Commerce. The Chamber of Commerce not only buys and sells real grain, but it also buys and sells fictitious grain—"futures"—that is never delivered or intended to be delivered. By these gambling methods of the Chamber, it is an easy matter to force prices down at certain times of the year, and in like manner compel them to rise at other times of the year, always to the advantage of the grain speculator.

In addition to manipulating grain prices to the disadvantage of the producers, the Chamber of Commerce also robs them of millions of dollars annually by a false system of grain grading. Between September 1, 1910, and August 31, 1912, the terminal elevators (owned by the Chamber of Commerce) of Minneapolis, received 15,571,575 bushels of No. 1 Northern Wheat; but during the same period these same elevators shipped out 19,978,777 bushels of the same grade. Yet they had no wheat of this grade on hand at the beginning of the period, and 114,454 bushels at the end of the period. A like conditions was true of No. 2 Northern, but the reverse was true of the lower grades. These facts merely show that the Chamber of Commerce bought the farmers' wheat at grades far too low, and it must be borne in mind that there is considerable difference in the prices of the high and low grades of wheat.

But the Chamber of Commerce and the big mills are not the only exploiters of the farmer. The banks are equally bad. It frequently happens that the farmers of the Northwest do not harvest a large crop, and, with low prices for their grain, it becomes incumbent upon them to borrow money at the banks to provide them with the necessities of life and also to buy machinery, horses, cows, and other equipment necessary to farming. Until recently the bankers have charged an interest rate of at least twelve per cent on these loans. Only on real estate could a slightly lower rate be obtained.

With the Chamber of Commerce pounding down the price of wheat in the fall and the banks at that very time demanding payment of interest and principal, the farmer is caught in a precarious condition.

The effect that this condition has had on the farmers in North Dakota can be seen from the following report of the Census:

"In 1910 the total number of farms owned in whole or in part by the operators was 63,212. Of this number 30,651 were reported as free from mortgage; 31,728 were reported as mortgaged, and for 883 no report relative to mortgage indebtedness was obtained." Since 1910 the mortgage indebtedness has increased at an enormous rate. It has been estimated that at least 75 per cent of the farms of North Dakota are now plastered

with one or more mortgages. This condition made North Dakota a state of social unrest in the spring of 1915, when the Nonpartisan League arose. But there were other causes which assisted in preparing the ground for "political revolution" in the state.

#### ANTECEDENTS

For several years prior to the rise of the League, a vigorous agitation had been carried on by two organizations—one economic, the other political. These organizations were the American Society of Equity and the Socialist party. The work of the Equity Society was confined very largely to a specific agitation for changes in the grain grading system and the establishment of a state-owned terminal elevator either in Minnesota or Wisconsin, or within the State. Through the influence of the American Society of Equity, the legislature in 1909 was induced to pass a resolution for a constitutional amendment authorizing the state to establish a state-owned terminal elevator, and with the passage of the same resolution by the 1911 legislature, the proposed amendment went to the people for approval in the fall of 1912. The amendment was ratified by an overwhelming majority. The 1913 legislature, however, practically refused to obey the mandate of the voters as expressed in the vote on the constitutional amendment. The 1915 legislature also ignored the expressed demand of the people and even went so far as to repeal the law passed by the previous legislature appropriating a small amount for an elevator fund.

During the same period that the Equity Society was agitating for the establishment of a state-owned terminal elevator, the Socialist Party was carrying on a vigorous propaganda throughout the state. Its propaganda was confined very largely to the "immediate demands," *viz.*: establishment of state-owned terminal elevators, flour mills, packing houses, and cold storage plants, and exemption of farm improvements from taxation. In short, it was a propaganda intended to appeal to farmers.

Thus it was that in the spring of 1915 the farmers of the state were seething with revolt. The only thing necessary was a means of crystallizing the revolutionary sentiment. Here a man of remarkable genius as an organizer appeared on the scene and commenced the work of active organization. This man was A. C. Townley. He had been affiliated with the Socialist Party in North Dakota for a few years and had worked as state organizer for a time in 1914. His practical experience as a farmer near Beach, N. D., and his going "broke" there made him appreciate the hard struggle of the farmers more than the reading of books on economics could possibly do. Townley knew that he failed because of high interest rates, high cost of machinery, and capitalist control of the grain market.

Townley's experience and observation had taught him that existing farmers' organizations, such as the Grange, Farmers' Union, and American Society of Equity, were not powerful

enough to withstand the power of the plunderers. Only through control of the political machinery of the state could victory be achieved.

### THE ORGANIZATION OF THE LEAGUE

And so in March 1915, Townley started out to build a farmers' political organization. He interested various farmers whom he induced to begin the organization with him of the Nonpartisan League. Behind the League are the following ideas:

1. Only farmers must be admitted to membership.
2. The farmers themselves must pay the cost of campaigns and organization.
3. The organization must have an efficient means of publicity.
4. There must be co-operation with the organized wage-workers of the cities and towns.
5. To avoid partisan prejudice, the movement must be non-partisan.
6. The program must provide for state ownership of marketing facilities, such as terminal elevators, flour mills, packing houses, cold storage plants, and state banks, and exemption of farm improvements from taxation.

### ELECTORAL RESULTS

Proceeding to organize the farmers of North Dakota in conformity with the principles and program stated above, Townley and his associates met with success. Within a year more than 25,000 farmers had been enrolled in the League, and a full state and legislative ticket placed in the field. Most of the League's candidates filed as republicans. Lynn J. Frazier, a farmer near Hoople, was nominated for governor.

After a bitter campaign, Frazier, the farmers' candidate, was nominated at the primary election on June 28, 1916, by a majority over all of his opponents for the nomination. The vote was as follows:

Lynn J. Frazier (League Candidate).....	39,246
Usher L. Burdick (Progressive Republican).....	23,362
J. H. Faine (Stand-pat Republican).....	9,789
Geo. J. Smith (Independent Republican).....	2,981

Similar majorities were polled by the other League candidates. The League farmers also nominated a large majority of the candidates for legislative positions. In the fall election the results of the primary were overwhelmingly ratified, as the state is strongly Republican. Besides, the Democrats did not want to antagonize the farmers by opposing their candidates for state office. The democratic state committee practically withdrew support from its own state ticket and centered all efforts on carrying North Dakota for Wilson. Thus the only real test of strength came in the primary.

As a result of the death of Congressman Henry T. Helgeson of the First North Dakota District, a special election was held to choose a successor. The Nonpartisan League had not taken any part in national politics in 1916. It was felt that, as the strength of the organization was not known, it would be best not to attempt a fight for any but state offices. Now, however, the conditions were different. The movement having been extended into half a dozen northwestern states and thus having

taken on a national character, it was only proper that a candidate should be put in the field for congress. J. M. Baer, the *Nonpartisan Leader* cartoonist, was nominated by the farmers for the office. In the election on July 10, 1917, he polled a majority of all the votes cast. The vote stood as follows:

J. M. Baer (Nonpartisan).....	13 211
Olger B. Burtness (Republican).....	8,969
Geo. A. Bangs (Democrat).....	3,276

Several other candidates received a few scattering votes.

This District is the most conservative in the State, but Baer and the League made a campaign on a program providing for the conscription of wealth as a means of financing the war. This issue was very popular with the people and undoubtedly accounted for the large vote that Baer received. It might be noted in this connection that Frazier did not carry the First Congressional District in the primary in 1916.

The Nonpartisan League entered the campaign of 1918 under most unfavorable conditions. The war was on, and the reactionaries made the most of it. All sorts of lawlessness were resorted to in order to prevent the League from carrying on organization work, and candidates for state and legislative offices were frequently refused permission to address the voters. In Minnesota the reign of lawlessness was especially vicious. Village patriots, aided and abetted by state and local officials, broke up League meetings. League workers and candidates were intimidated, beaten up, tarred and feathered, and in some instances threatened with lynching if they persisted in their work. The story of Minnesota's reign of terror is told in a "memorial to the Congress of the United States concerning conditions in Minnesota in 1918." It is a documentary history of Minnesota for the year of 1918. Then, too, barrels of money were spent in the campaign by the opposition.

#### LEAGUE'S POLITICAL STRENGTH

Notwithstanding these handicaps, the League was very successful in the elections on November 5. In North Dakota Governor Frazier and all state officials, three congressmen and a large majority in both houses of the legislature, were elected by the organized farmers. The following is the League representation in the several legislatures of the Northwest:

		<i>Senate</i>	<i>House</i>
Minnesota	(League-Labor).....	12	34
North Dakota	".....	36	79
South Dakota	".....	6	12
Montana	".....	3	18
Idaho	".....	7	14
		<hr/> 64	<hr/> 157

The League also elected state officials in Idaho. In Montana a member of the Supreme Court was elected by the League and the labor elements. Senator Nugent of Idaho owed his election

to League support, tho he was not placed in the field by the organization.

There were also several League candidates elected to the Senate and House in the legislatures of Nebraska and Colorado. The League did not carry on state-wide campaigns in either of these states, but put in the field candidates for legislative positions in districts where the organization was comparatively strong.

#### MEMBERSHIP

The membership of the Nonpartisan League in the different states at the close of 1918, was as follows:

Minnesota .....	50,162
North Dakota .....	35,062
South Dakota .....	24,669
Montana .....	21,550

There is, in addition to the above, a total membership of 56,922 in the states of Nebraska, Colorado, Washington, Texas, Wisconsin, Kansas, Iowa, Oklahoma, and Idaho. The total membership of the League at the end of 1918 was 188,365.

Work of re-organization is now proceeding, and all the old members are, with few exceptions, re-enrolling, and a great many new ones are coming into the movement. Now that the war is over, many additional organizers will be put into the field, and the writer is convinced that by 1920, the Nonpartisan League will have a membership of at least 500,000.

During the early history of the movement the League was loosely organized and was to a very large extent controlled by the men at National headquarters. The League was strictly democratic in its political operations. The candidates of the organization were named by representatives of the members elected at precinct meetings.

#### CONSTITUTION AND PLATFORM

Now that the organization has taken on definite form, the control of that, too, rests with the membership. On December 3, 1918, a National convention was held at St. Paul at which a National platform and Articles of Association were adopted.

#### PLATFORM

1. A peace program must be adopted which will make an end of war by creating a world democracy, not by substituting one despotism for another. A United States of the World, by consent and not by conquest.

2. A reconstruction program must be adopted which will provide employment for all, reduce the cost of living, maintain earnings of labor and of primary producers, make an end of monopoly extortion, and redeem the state and national governments from the autocratic control of monopolies, and in this way make this nation safe for democracy.

3. The termination of the present national control of railways, and all other public utilities and industries as war measures, not by returning the properties to private monopolies, but by *National Ownership*, which shall be extended to include all means of transportation and communication and all other undertakings which in their nature must be either great private monopolies or public enterprises.

4. Employment for the unemployed in co-operation with organized labor through government works in such enterprises as road building; forestry

and timber and fuel production; flood protection and land reclamation. The national improvement with building stock and machinery of reclaimed or purchased lands, to be sold as going concerns, on long-time amortized payments, to returning soldiers and to others able to make small initial payments. All such undertakings to be provided with free schools for vocational training.

5. The complete enfranchisement of women, with equal opportunities with men, and equal pay for equal services.

6. The national government should make loans to the state governments on state bonds, secured by first mortgages upon real estate in order that farmers can get loans from the state at cost, and also upon the real and personal property of state-owned utilities, enterprises or industries, in amounts not to exceed one-half of their real value.

7. The immediate reduction of freight and passenger rates, especially on food and fuel.

8. The immediate abandonment of all interference with the political rights of employes in the public service, or the exercise of any further post-office censorship.

9. The national debt created by the war should be liquidated and to that end there should be an income and inheritance tax, graduated upward from \$5,000 until all incomes above \$100,000 per annum, and all inheritances above that amount, shall be appropriated for that purpose until the debt is paid, and all incomes not accounted for, and all income-producing properties, securities and inheritances not listed for this purpose shall be forfeited to the government.

10. The rights of labor surrendered for patriotic reasons must be restored, and laws limiting civil rights of the people as war measures must be repealed.

11. The use of the mails, telegraphs, telephones, express companies, and banks shall be denied for making sales of goods, properties, investments, or securities, except for direct delivery by the owner or his authorized agent, and then of the specific goods, properties, investments, or securities involved, in order to eliminate gambling and speculation in necessities of life.

The Articles of Association provide with respect to the control of the organization, as follows:

Sec. 2. The management and control of this association is hereby vested in a state committee of each affiliated state, and in a national committee and national executive committee. While the government and control of this association is so vested that those placed in charge may build the organization and maintain and protect it against enemies from without and within, yet the members reserve to themselves all political power. And a majority of the members of this association may indorse and support, or oppose and defeat, any candidate for national office, and may propose and carry out any national legislation and a majority of the members of this association in any state, may indorse and support, or oppose and defeat, any candidate for state office, and may propose and carry out any state legislation.

#### ADMINISTRATION AND PUBLICATIONS

The National Committee is the governing body, though the work of administration is vested in the National Executive Committee. The present members of the National Executive Committee are the following: A. C. Townley, chairman, St. Paul, Minn.; Wm. Lemke of Fargo, N. D., and F. B. Wood of St. Paul, Minn. Members of the National Committee are chosen by the several state conventions.

A fee of \$16 is paid for membership in the league for the two-year period preceding a general election. Technically, all memberships expire on the same date. The next date of membership expiration is January 1, 1921. The membership fee

covers cost of two years' subscription to the *Nonpartisan Leader*, official weekly organ of the national movement, and subscription to a state campaign paper. There are now six such state papers—*North Dakota Leader*, *Minnesota Leader*, *South Dakota Leader*, *Montana Nonpartisan*, *Colorado Leader*, and *Idaho Leader*.

There are approximately 100 county newspapers owned and controlled by League farmers. More than half of these are in North Dakota. There are also two league dailies—*Courier News*, Fargo, N. D., and *The American*, Grand Forks, N. D. Other papers are being rapidly established. Thus the third proposition of the original League plan—efficient means of publicity—is being carried out.

The National office is located at St. Paul, Minn. A state office exists in each state where a branch of the League has been established. The work of organization in each state is carried on under the supervision of the executive secretary at the state office. The state executive secretaries "shall be subject to directions, instructions, and removal by the National Executive Committee." The movement is highly centralized in the work of organization, but has complete state and local autonomy in its political activities.

#### NONPARTISAN LEAGUE LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM TESTED IN REFERENDUM

On June 26, 1919, the people of North Dakota rendered for the state and possibly for the nation a most momentous decision. It was that the power of the state will in the future be used to enhance the interests of the producing class through public ownership of some of the means of production and finance. In addition to the two propositions involving public ownership, there were submitted to the voters five others concerning economy and efficiency in administration. The vote on the seven measures was as follows:

	Yes	No
1. Bank of North Dakota.....	61,495	48,239
2. Industrial Commission .....	61,188	50,271
3. Tax Commission .....	60,412	50,316
4. Judicial Redistricting .....	60,343	49,925
5. Board of Administration.....	59,749	51,894
6. Printing Commission .....	59,364	52,450
7. Commissioner of Immigration.....	59,421	52,156

The seven measures were passed by the legislature at Bismarck during the 1919 session and were signed by the Governor. Through the agency of the Nonpartisan League, the people of the State had also been provided with a workable initiative and referendum constitutional provision. The Opposition which had been violently opposed to this provision when it was advocated by the League, were the first to take advantage of it in order to hold up these seven League measures. Thus it was that on June 26, 1919, a referendum election was held.

The campaign was fought most bitterly. It was obvious that the reactionaries had to win at this time or stand forever de-

feated in the State of North Dakota. Little was said by anti-League speakers on the measures. Instead, statements were circulated among the people in order to prejudice them against the League and particularly against its leadership. The charge was made that the League had in contemplation establishing a condition of "free love" among discharged soldiers, because of a silly bill introduced by a member of the legislative body, although the bill was never even considered or referred to a committee. Curiously enough, the man responsible for the bill was at the time the charge was being made, engaged by the Independent Voters' Association, the organization opposing the League, as a speaker against the measures. Another charge was made that the Industrial Commission, composed of the Governor, Attorney-General and Commissioner of Agriculture and Labor, had by the legislature been empowered to take farms and other property away from their owners. This was based upon the right of eminent domain conferred on the commission in case it was found necessary to use it.

The election returns show that the League made gains in the larger cities and in the northern and western counties of the State. Slight losses were sustained among the conservative farmers in the eastern counties on account of the belief that taxes would be materially increased. The gains in the cities were made principally among the working men. There are no industrial cities in North Dakota and thus the organized labor movement is not very strong. However, what trade unionists there are voted solidly for the League measures.

As will be seen from the vote given above, all measures carried by substantial majorities. The two measures involving a portion of the League program received larger majorities than the others. These two measures were the Industrial Commission bill and the Bank of North Dakota bill. The defeat of the Industrial Commission bill would in fact have put to naught two very important measures, the Home Building Association law and the Mill and Elevator law. Both of these measures were dependent for administration upon the enactment of the Industrial Commission bill.

The Bank Act, creating a state reserve and rural credit bank, was necessary to the financing of the industrial program. By the referendum on these two acts, therefore, the opposition attacked the entire farmer-labor program as enacted into law by the legislature. The other five acts referred were measures to simplify the state government in the interests of economy and efficiency. They were the following:

The Board of Administration Bill, abolishing the three state boards—Regents, Control and Education, and creating one board of administration to take their places, making one commission of five do the the work formerly done by three boards of nearly twenty members.

The One-Man Tax Commission bill, abolishing the tax-commission of three members, and setting up one tax commissioner to do their work.

The Judicial Redistricting bill, creating a new system of judicial



districts and district judges in the state, to better handle the work of the state courts.

The Immigration bill, creating a state department of Immigration to aid in bringing settlers into the state and developing towns and country.

The Printing Bill, requiring one instead of three official county papers in each county and providing that the official paper in each county be selected by a vote of the people at a regular election instead of by the county commissioners, and also providing for a state printing commission having power to designate an official newspaper in each county until the next general election.

The inauguration of the League's industrial program in North Dakota will make that state the laboratory for the nation and will have a far-reaching effect in other states.

On June 23, three days prior to the referendum election, A. C. Townley, president of the Nonpartisan League, and Joseph Gilbert, former general manager of the Organization Department, were brought to trial, at Jackson, Minnesota, on the charge of conspiracy to violate the state sedition act. After a farcical trial lasting three weeks, both men were found guilty. But their conviction has had the opposite effect from that anticipated by the enemies of the League. In the first place the people of the Northwest have become disgusted with prosecutions for "disloyalty," and especially do they resent the continuance of this sort of legal attack now that the war is over. Secondly, the whole procedure against the League leaders was such as to make the public believe that the prosecutors, judge and jury were bent upon political persecution rather than prosecution. Finally, the *Minnesota Leader*, organ of the Minnesota branch of the Nonpartisan League, came into possession of letters showing conspiracy on the part of the prosecuting attorney, the star witness, and certain Big Business interests to wreck the League. This correspondence also showed conclusively that both the "star witness" and the prosecutor committed perjury while testifying at the trial. These facts have made the results of the trial as fruitless for the League's enemies as the trial was farcical.

Conditions are now most favorable for the Nonpartisan League, especially in Minnesota. Sentiment among the farmers is unusually fine and thousands are being enrolled in the organization who refused to have anything to do with it a year ago. Many of the farmers were then terrorized by the politicians who had monopolized all loyalty and patriotism. The labor movement, too, is now fully 90 per cent pledged to the support of the Nonpartisan League and next year will witness complete co-operation between these two classes of producers. At the State Federation of Labor convention at New Ulm during the middle of July, labor organized a Workers' Nonpartisan Political League, which will endeavor to line up within it all organized as well as unorganized workers in the cities. This should make victory for the League and Labor in Minnesota practically certain in 1920.

H. G. TEIGAN,  
*National Nonpartisan League.*



## STATE REFERENDA ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Alaska .....	1913	Act of Territorial Legislature (Unanimous Vote).	
Arizona .....	1912	Yes—13,442	No—6,202
California .....	1896	Yes—110,355	No—137,099
	1911	Yes—125,037	No—121,450
Colorado <sup>1</sup> .....	1877	Yes—6,612	No—14,053
	1893	Yes—35,798	No—29,451
		(Act of Legislature but ratified by popular vote.)	
Delaware .....	1915	Amendments not submitted to the people.	
		Vote on Bill—	
		Senate, Yeas 29, Nays 15;	
		House, Yeas 8, Nays 22.	
Idaho .....	1896	Yes—12,126	No—6,282
Illinois .....	1913	Municipal and Presidential Suffrage by Act of Legislature.	
		Vote—Senate, Yeas 29, Nays 15;	
		House, Yeas 83, Nays 58.	
Iowa .....	1916	Yes—162,683	No—173,024
Kansas .....	1867	Yes—9,070	No—19,857
	1894	Yes—95,302	No—130,139
	1912	Yes—175,246	No—159,197
Louisiana .....	1918	Yes—19,573	No—23,077
Maine .....	1917	Yes—20,694	No—38,838
Massachusetts .....	1915	Yes—162,492	No—295,939
Michigan .....	1874	Yes—40,077	No—135,957
	1912	Yes—247,375	No—248,135
	1913	Yes—168,738	No—264,882
	1918	Yes—229,790	No—195,284
Missouri .....	1914	Yes—182,257	No—322,463
Montana .....	1914	Yes—41,302	No—37,588
Nebraska .....	1871	Yes—3,502	No—12,668
	1882	Yes—25,756	No—50,693
	1914	Yes—90,738	No—100,842
Nevada .....	1914	Yes—10,936	No—7,258
New Hampshire .....	1903	Yes—13,089	No—21,788
New Jersey .....	1915	Yes—133,282	No—184,390
		(Had Woman Suffrage up to 1807)	
New York .....	1915	Yes—553,348	No—748,332
	1917	Yes—703,129	No—600,776
North Dakota .....	1914	Yes—40,011	No—49,410
Ohio .....	1912	Yes—249,420	No—336,875
	1914	Yes—335,390	No—518,295
Oregon <sup>2</sup> .....	1884	Yes—11,223	No—28,176
	1900	Yes—26,265	No—28,402
	1906	Yes—36,902	No—47,075
	1908	Yes—36,858	No—58,670
	1910	Yes—36,200	No—58,800
	1912	Yes—61,265	No—57,104
Oklahoma .....	1910	Yes—88,808	No—128,928
	1918	Yes—106,909	No—81,481
Pennsylvania .....	1915	Yes—385,348	No—441,034
Rhode Island .....	1887	Yes—6,889	No—21,957

<sup>1</sup> In 1901 constitutional safeguards were thrown about the political rights of women in Colorado by an amendment striking out the word "male." The amendment carried by a majority six times as large as that which originally conferred the right.

<sup>2</sup> An outline of Woman Suffrage history in Oregon States:

"Equal Suffrage Amendment was not ratified for two years after 1895." There is no record of a vote in this year.

South Dakota .....	1890	Yes— 22,792	No— 45,682
	1898	Yes— 19,698	No— 22,983
	1914	Yes— 39,605	No— 51,519
	1916	Yes— 53,432	No— 58,350
	1918	Yes— 49,213	No— 28,885
Utah .....	1896	Yes— 28,618	No— 2,687
(Voted on as part of Constitution of new states; had Woman Suffrage in Territorial Period.)			
Washington .....	1889	Yes— 16,527	No— 35,912
	1898	Yes— 20,171	No— 30,497
	1910	Yes— 52,299	No— 29,676
(Had Woman Suffrage in Territorial Period.)			
West Virginia .....	1916	Yes— 63,540	No— 161,607
Wisconsin .....	1912	Yes— 135,545	No— 227,024
Wyoming .....	1869	Act of Territorial Legislature.	
		Vote—Council: Yeas 6, Nays 3;	
		House: Yeas 6, Nays 4.	

### THE FEDERAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

Proposing an Amendment to the Constitution of the United States Conferring upon Women the Right of Suffrage:

RESOLVED by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several states as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

#### "ARTICLE

"Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

"Section 2. The Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation to enforce the provisions of this article."

#### PROGRESS OF THE AMENDMENT

The history of the amendment from 1878 to 1919, is as follows:

First introduced in the Senate January 10, 1878, by Senator A. A. Sargent of California.

#### REPORTED FROM COMMITTEE

##### *In the Senate:*

- 1878 — Adverse majority
- 1882 — Favorable majority
- 1884 — Favorable majority
- 1886 — Favorable majority
- 1889 — Favorable majority
- 1890 — Without recommendation.
- 1893 — Favorable majority
- 1896 — Without recommendation
- 1913 — Favorable majority
- 1914 — Favorable majority
- 1916 — Favorable majority
- 1917 — Unanimously

##### *In the House:*

- 1883 — Favorable majority
- 1884 — Adverse majority
- 1886 — Adverse majority

- 1890 — Favorable majority  
 1894 — Adverse majority  
 1914 — Without recommendation  
 1916 — Without recommendation  
 1917 — September 24 — Woman Suffrage Committee created; yeas, 181; nays, 107  
 1917 — December 15 — Reported from Judiciary Committee without recommendation  
 1918 — Reported favorable from House Suffrage Committee.

## VOTED UPON

*In the House:*

- January 12, 1915 — Yeas, 174; nays, 204 (378 voting)  
 January 10, 1918 — Yeas, 274; nays, 135 (410 voting)  
 May 21, 1919 — Yeas, 304; nays, 89 (393 voting)

*In the Senate:*

- January 25, 1887 — Yeas, 16; nays, 34 (50 voting)  
 March 19, 1914 — Yeas, 35; nays, 34 (69 voting)  
 October 1, 1918 — Yeas, including pairs, 62; nays, 34  
 February 10, 1919 — Yeas, including pairs, 63; nays, 33  
 June 3, 1919 — 56 yeas; 25 nays

## STATES' STANDING ON ANTHONY AMENDMENT

The record of the states on the issue of ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment is as follows:

Illinois, June 10, 1919; Wisconsin, June 10, 1919; Michigan, June 10, 1919; Kansas, June 16, 1919; New York, June 16, 1919; Ohio, June 16, 1919; Pennsylvania, June 24, 1919; Massachusetts, June 25, 1919; Texas, June 27, 1919; Iowa, July 2, 1919; Missouri, July 3, 1919; Arkansas, July 28, 1919; Montana, July 30, 1919; Nebraska, August 2, 1919; Utah, September 3, 1919; New Hampshire, September 8, 1919; Minnesota, September 10, 1919; Utah, September 30, 1919; California, November 1, 1919; North Dakota, December 1, 1919; South Dakota, December 4, 1919; Colorado, Dec. 12, 1919; Rhode Island and Kentucky, Jan. 7, 1920.

## THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

## AND

## THE FEDERAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

The National Woman's Party, organized in Chicago in June, 1916, was in the beginning composed of voting women only, and was formed as a direct result of the policies and at the instigation of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage.

## THE SINGLE ISSUE

The National Woman's Party adopted a platform with a single plank—the enfranchisement of women by federal action. It put up no candidates, it supported no candidates, it announced that it would hold the party in power responsible for legislation on suffrage and devote its efforts to preventing the return to power of any party which, while in power, failed to secure the passage of the amendment.

In 1912 suffrage was granted simultaneously in four western states, suddenly increasing the political strength of women to four million votes and giving suffrage states the control of one-fourth of the Senate, one-sixth of the House, and one-fifth of the Electoral College. The realization that the power necessary to affect Congress had now been achieved came first to Alice

Paul, who as chairman of the Congressional Committee of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, came to Washington and demanded action on the suffrage amendment. With Lucy Burns she founded the Congressional Union, the object of which was to finance the federal suffrage campaign, which later became an independent suffrage organization, unique in that it concentrated its efforts on the passage of the suffrage amendment through Congress. The Congressional Union began with this sole purpose. Its policy has developed as a direct reaction to political conditions as it found them.

#### THE 63D CONGRESS

Accepting Congress as a body representative of the people, the Congressional Union demonstrated on March 3, 1913, for its enlightenment the nation-wide demand for this reform. Fifteen thousand women, representing every state, marched in the first suffrage parade ever held in Washington.

On the opening of the Sixty-third Congress in April, a second delegation of women representing the 435 Congressional districts in the United States assembled in Washington and marched to the capitol. The immediate result of these two expressions of the will of the people was the prompt introduction of the suffrage amendment in both houses of Congress.

In the Senate the amendment was shortly reported out, and, continuing on the theory of the power of constituents, a delegation representing the forty-eight states was brought to Washington by motor, by caravan and by hikes. It was received at the capitol by a number of friendly senators, and on that day suffrage was debated in the Senate for the first time since 1887.

#### THE INDIRECT ATTACK

To secure a report from the reluctant judiciary committee in the House, it was necessary to go direct to the people back home. Under the leadership of the Congressional Union, on May 2, 1914, mass meetings, parades, and demonstrations were held simultaneously all over the country. In country towns, in schools, in churches, and in public squares, women met and demanded action on suffrage. Within the week the amendment was reported. It was now in the hands of the Rules Committee. There it rested.

A campaign of attack on the party in power was at once arranged for the coming elections in suffrage states. An appeal was made to women voters to refuse to use their votes to return to power a party which, while in power, that is in control of committees and of the caucus which controlled committees, used that power to obstruct the enfranchisement of other women.

All candidates in suffrage states were supporters of woman suffrage; the party in power could be reached, therefore, only by an attack on men who as individuals favored the amendment. Men who when in Congress, functioned as members of a party, putting the dictates of the caucus of the party above their friend-

ship for a cause, were dealt with on that basis. The hard logic of party government was applied. Out of forty-three democratic Congressmen running in suffrage states that fall, only twenty were elected.

On January 12, 1915, the amendment was called to vote in the House and was defeated. It was reintroduced, referred, reported, and lost again in committee.

The 1914 appeal to women voters as a group led in the following year to the first woman voters' convention, which was held in San Francisco during the Panama Pacific Exposition, and to the formation of the National Woman's Party. Immediately after the San Francisco convention, the President announced his conversion to the principles of equal suffrage by the state method, and directly following the formation of the National Woman's Party, for the first time in the history of the country, suffrage planks were included in the national platforms of the Republican and Democratic parties.

### THE WATCH AT THE WHITE HOUSE

When the administration and Congress again settled down to work, after the November election, suffrage had no place on the legislative program. President Wilson stated he was the servant of the party whose platform he was known to have dictated, and could not exceed the state suffrage plank in that platform which he himself was acknowledged to have written. He refused, likewise, to receive any more delegations of suffragists.

Again the National Woman's Party directed its attack squarely against the center of the opposition. On January 10, 1917, a silent line of sentinels carrying the famous purple, white, and gold banners, took their stand in front of the White House, proclaiming to the country the fact that women held the President himself responsible for their disfranchisement. For six months changing groups of women, representing every state, every profession, stood at the gates of the executive mansion unmolested.

On the day the Russian mission visited the White House, the following banner, a reply to the speech of Commissioner Elihu Root, in Russia, greeted its members:

*"To the Russian Envoys.*

*"President Wilson and Envoy Root are deceiving Russia. They say, 'We are a democracy. Help us win a world war that democracies may survive.'*

*"We, the women of America, tell you that we are not a democracy. Twenty million American women are denied the right to vote. President Wilson is the chief opponent of their national enfranchisement.*

*"Help us make this nation really free. Tell our government that it must liberate its people before it can claim free Russia as an ally."*

## THE ARREST OF PICKETS

The pickets were not arrested for holding this banner, but in the course of the next six months, for holding the tri-colors of the party and such inscriptions as "Mr. President, how long must women wait for liberty?" "Mr. President, what will you do for woman suffrage?" Women, 214 in number, representing forty-eight states, were arrested, charged with "unlawful assemblage," and ninety-seven women were illegally, as a higher court afterward decided, imprisoned in the district jail and workhouse for terms ranging from three days to seven months.

The officials who ordered the arrests and imposed the sentences are, according to the District of Columbia government, under the direct control of the commissioners of the District, who are appointees of the administration. The trials were marked by irregularity and inconsistencies throughout. The sentences of women arrested on the charge of obstructing traffic by their "unlawful assemblages" were varied by the judge according to the "character of the sentiments on the banners." For the same offense sentences increased in length from three days to seven months. Still the picketing continued. Forced to wear the garb of criminals, deprived even of the privileges of criminals, the suffragists began an organized hunger strike for the rights of political offenders. The authorities resorted to forcible feeding and confined the leader of the party, Alice Paul, into a psychopathic ward, casting a reflection upon her sanity which would tend to discredit her party's agitation. Still the picketing continued.

On November 10, forty-two suffragists went out. They were sent to the Occoquan workhouse and subjected to a reign of terrorism on the part of the guards for which eight, the most seriously injured of their number, are now suing the District and workhouse officials for eight hundred thousand dollars. Women were thrown bodily onto the stone floors of their cells. The leader, Lucy Burns, was handcuffed to her cell door. Individuals were separated from their companions, some of them confined alone among men in men's quarters in full view of the male inmates, and all news of them withheld from outside.

Compelled by the courts to release the suffragists from Occoquan and transfer them back to the jail to which they were committed, officials released on November 28 unconditionally all suffrage prisoners. On January 10 the suffrage amendment passed the House of Representatives. On the eve of the vote, President Wilson made his first public statement endorsing the national enfranchisement of American women.

## THE VOTE IN THE SENATE

Pressure for action in the Senate was at once begun. Ten votes were lacking. By June 27, nine had been won and a date was set for a vote. A filibuster of democratic senators prevented action. When the Senate recessed in July without further effort



to pass the amendment, protest demonstrations were at once begun in front of the White House demanding action from the President and assurance that the amendment would be passed when the Senate reconvened. Again arrests and imprisonments were called into play to stop the agitation. Twenty-six women were sentenced to 15 days imprisonment for speaking for suffrage from the base of a statue in a public park. They were imprisoned in the workhouse of the District jail, a building officially abandoned eight years before as unfit for the habitation even of criminals. At the end of six days, because of their extreme illness as a result of the jail conditions, the authorities released the prisoners. Immediately upon their recovery, demonstrations were resumed.

On September 29, the President appeared before the Senate and urged the passage of the amendment as a war measure. On October 1, the measure failed to pass the Senate by two votes, 75 per cent of the Republicans and 50 per cent of the Democrats voted for it. Three days later it was removed on the calendar by Senator Jones.

President Wilson's speech on behalf of the amendment was not accepted by the National Woman's Party as exempting him from further responsibility. It was pointed out that immediately after this speech he had advocated the election of men who he knew would vote against suffrage. He had failed to call a caucus of the Democratic Party and make suffrage a party measure and had permitted administration leaders, whose support he had compelled on other issues to which they were opposed, to attack this one.

#### THE "WATCHFIRE OF FREEDOM"

With the opening of the new session in December, no place was given suffrage on the legislative program, and President Wilson left for Europe. In order to drive home the inconsistency of the administration's position, suffragists lighted a watch-fire of freedom on New Year's day in front of the empty executive mansion and consumed in its flames every speech on democracy made by President Wilson in Europe.

For three days and three nights of bitter cold, the fire was kept burning without interference from the police. At the end of three days the official policy changed. Women were again arrested and imprisoned for voicing their demand for enfranchisement in front of the White House. Charged with infringing a federal park regulation, and first summoned before a federal court, they were later transferred to a district court and tried on a charge of breaking the District ordinance which forbids lighting bonfires between sunset and sunrise. Almanacs were carefully consulted by the judge as to the relative time of the bonfire's kindling and the sun's extinction.

After a few convictions on this charge, officials concluded that it was, after all, a park regulation that had been broken

and subsequent arrests and imprisonments for the same acts were made on the old charge.

News of this denouncing of the President's inconsistency on the suffrage issue was sent abroad and printed in the Paris papers. Cables were promptly received from President Wilson demanding that he be kept informed of all suffrage activities. Committee meetings were called by suffrage leaders in the Senate, and within a few weeks a vote was announced for February 10.

In response to rumors that certain Senators opposed to the amendment would support it to relieve President Wilson of the embarrassment of suffrage agitations, a final demonstration was held the day preceding the vote, and the President burned in effigy. More than a hundred women took part on this occasion. Twenty-three were arrested and sentenced to five days in jail.

The suffrage amendment was again defeated on February 10, lacking one vote for a necessary two-thirds majority.

On his return from Europe President Wilson was greeted by suffragists in Boston. His speech in that city was burned, as fast as he delivered it, on the Common, while thousands of men and women looked on.

#### DEMOCRATIC PARTY FAILS TO ACT

Though Senator Jones, chairman of the suffrage committee, had previously announced that he would not reintroduce suffrage at this session, three days later he brought in a modified resolution reading:

*Section 1.* "That the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be abridged or denied by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

*Section 2.* "The several states shall have authority to enforce this article by necessary legislation, but if any state shall enforce or enact any law in conflict therewith, then Congress shall not be excluded from enacting appropriate legislation to enforce it."

Failing to report it out until the last days of the session Senator Jones found himself unable to report it without unanimous consent, which he could not obtain. This last minute effort on the part of the Democratic party to pass the suffrage amendment, which they had delayed and obstructed for the six years they had been in power, failed.<sup>1</sup>

FLORENCE BREWER BOECKEL,  
*National Woman's Party.*

#### THE PROGRESS OF PROHIBITION IN THE UNITED STATES

On January 9, 1917, the United States Senate passed the District of Columbia Prohibition bill by a vote of 55 to 32; the

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<sup>1</sup> For information concerning the final passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment see article on the Progress of Woman Suffrage.

House passed it by a vote of 272 to 137 February 28. The law became effective Nov. 1, 1917. The same year the Supreme Court of the U. S. upheld the Webb-Kenyon Interstate Liquor Shipment law protecting "dry" states against the shipment of liquor for beverage purposes by license states.

In July, 1917, Porto Rico voted on prohibition. Out of a total vote of 161,970 the proposition prevailed by a majority of 38,480.

A third constitutional prohibition election in Ohio was held November 6, 1917. Out of a total vote of 1,046,317 the amendment was defeated by a majority of 1,137. On November 5, 1918, out of a larger total vote the prohibition amendment was adopted by a majority of nearly 26,000.

At the end of 1917, twenty-seven states had decided for prohibition (the laws of several states going into effect in 1918). They were as follows: Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Colorado, Georgia, Idaho, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Michigan, Mississippi, Montana, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Mexico, North Carolina, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Utah, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia. On November 1, 1918, in addition to Ohio, the states of Florida and Wyoming entered the no-license column; thus bringing the number of "dry" states up to 30, the population up to 59,341,785, or 64.6 per cent and the territory under prohibition to 2,692,264 square miles, or 89.6 per cent.

On May 24, 1918, prohibition for Hawaii was effective by the action of Congress a short time before for the period of the war and thereafter unless repealed by a vote of the people within two years after the conclusion of peace.

A proclamation prohibiting the use of foodstuffs except barley, malt, and hops in brewing beer or near-beer, was signed by the President September 17, 1918, effective October 1. On September 6 the President ordered the brewing of beer to cease after December 1 to conserve foodstuffs and fuel.

On September 24, 1918, the House of Representatives of the United States voted for Wartime Prohibition, effective July 1, 1919, by a vote of 171 to 34. The Senate passed the measure September 6 by a vote of 45 to 6.

#### THE FEDERAL AMENDMENT

The Eighteenth, or National Prohibition, Amendment<sup>1</sup> was submitted by Congress December 17, 1917, after a vote by the House of 282 to 128. On August 1, the Senate voted for submission, 65 to 20.

Early in 1918 thirteen states ratified the amendment in quick succession, as follows: Mississippi, Virginia, Kentucky, South Carolina, North Dakota, Maryland, Montana, Texas, Delaware, South Dakota, Massachusetts, Arizona, Georgia. In August

<sup>1</sup> See *American Labor Year Book*, 1917-18, p. 223.

Louisiana followed, with Florida in November, making fifteen states to ratify within a year after submission by Congress. Before February 1, 1919, twenty-nine more states had ratified—the legislatures convening in January—and before March 1, Pennsylvania made the forty-fifth to line up for the amendment. Only New Jersey, Connecticut, and Rhode Island refused to ratify, but they may do so within the seven-year limit of the submission measure.

All states, in order of ratification, with vote of each branch of the legislature and population affected, are as follows:

STATES	Senate	House	Population <sup>1</sup>
Mississippi .....	28 to 5	93 to 3	2,001,466
Virginia .....	39 to 8	84 to 13	2,234,030
Kentucky .....	28 to 6	66 to 10	2,408,547
South Carolina .....	28 to 6	66 to 29	1,660,934
North Dakota .....	43 to 2	96 to 10	791,437
Maryland .....	18 to 7	78 to 36	1,384,539
Montana .....	35 to 2	77 to 8	486,376
Texas .....	15 to 7	72 to 30	4,601,279
Delaware .....	13 to 3	27 to 6	216,940
South Dakota .....	43 to 0	86 to 0	735,434
Massachusetts .....	27 to 12	145 to 91	3,832,790
Arizona .....	17 to 0	29 to 3	272,034
Georgia .....	34 to 2	129 to 24	2,935,617
Louisiana .....	21 to 20	69 to 41	1,884,778
Florida .....	25 to 2	61 to 3	938,877
Michigan .....	30 to 0	88 to 3	3,133,678
Ohio .....	20 to 12	85 to 30	5,273,814
Oklahoma .....	43 to 0	90 to 8	2,377,629
Maine .....	30 to 0	120 to 20	782,191
Idaho .....	38 to 0	62 to 0	451,766
West Virginia .....	26 to 0	78 to 3	1,439,165
Washington .....	42 to 0	90 to 0	1,660,578
Tennessee .....	28 to 2	81 to 2	2,321,253
California .....	24 to 15	48 to 28	3,119,412
Indiana .....	41 to 6	87 to 11	2,854,167
Illinois .....	30 to 15	84 to 66	6,317,734
Arkansas .....	34 to 0	93 to 2	1,792,955
North Carolina .....	49 to 0	93 to 10	2,466,025
Alabama .....	23 to 11	64 to 34	2,395,279
Kansas .....	39 to 0	121 to 0	1,874,195
Oregon .....	30 to 0	53 to 3	888,243
Iowa .....	42 to 7	86 to 13	2,224,771
Utah .....	16 to 0	43 to 0	453,648
Colorado .....	34 to 1	63 to 2	1,014,581
New Hampshire .....	19 to 4	221 to 131	446,352
Nebraska .....	31 to 1	98 to 0	1,296,877
Missouri .....	22 to 10	104 to 36	3,448,498
Wyoming .....	26 to 0	52 to 0	190,389
Wisconsin .....	19 to 11	58 to 35	2,553,983
Minnesota .....	49 to 11	93 to 35	2,345,287
New Mexico .....	12 to 4	45 to 1	437,015
Nevada .....	14 to 1	33 to 3	114,742
Vermont .....	26 to 3	155 to 58	366,192
New York .....	27 to 24	81 to 66	10,645,989
Pennsylvania .....	29 to 16	110 to 93	8,793,067
<b>TOTAL.....</b>	<b>1,298 to 213</b>	<b>3,737 to 934</b>	<b>99,880,546</b>

<sup>1</sup> Population according to the 1918 Census Bureau estimate.

RECORD OF THE U. S. EMPLOYMENT SERVICE DURING  
THE FISCAL YEAR 1918, BY STATES <sup>1</sup>

STATE	OPPORTUNITIES		APPLICATIONS FOR EMPLOYMENT		
	<i>Applications for help</i>	<i>Number applied for</i>	<i>Number regis- tered</i>	<i>Number re- ferred</i>	<i>Number actually placed</i>
TOTAL.....	750,472	2,993,798	2,381,392	2,112,139	1,890,593
Alabama .....	1,211	24,120	5,268	4,312	3,479
Arizona .....	1,245	5,478	2,351	2,596	2,486
Arkansas .....	1,621	35,818	15,190	12,841	11,966
California .....	118,628	261,181	138,653	192,123	183,943
Colorado .....	29,458	44,811	32,656	33,598	22,607
Connecticut .....	1,829	31,285	36,633	28,361	26,926
Delaware .....	345	15,231	7,742	7,346	6,937
District of Columbia....	2,982	22,119	18,761	20,959	19,070
Florida .....	186	8,483	8,500	6,712	5,018
Georgia .....	561	16,197	5,697	3,705	2,527
Idaho .....	1,194	4,460	1,750	1,492	1,323
Illinois .....	118,733	421,214	360,255	319,093	294,639
Indiana .....	23,364	39,045	39,081	41,398	35,279
Iowa .....	6,951	22,306	14,666	12,942	8,800
Kansas .....	12,532	21,794	17,130	13,707	11,763
Kentucky .....	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)
Louisiana .....	1,403	16,688	3,079	16,161	14,545
Maine .....	37	988	285	158	150
Maryland .....	2,759	34,488	44,390	34,094	26,002
Massachusetts .....	39,709	85,571	90,421	59,929	49,639
Michigan .....	44,126	134,053	125,077	181,817	106,768
Minnesota .....	8,744	31,918	26,438	41,223	40,322
Mississippi .....	77	5,120	2,281	3,711	2,361
Missouri .....	23,931	108,955	79,161	47,850	68,277
Montana .....	311	6,437	6,597	5,681	5,005
Nebraska .....	13,177	45,358	20,076	37,764	19,002
Nevada .....	650	3,118	2,410	1,987	1,779
New Hampshire .....	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)
New Jersey .....	23,243	80,617	58,040	54,154	52,799
New Mexico .....	77	36,275	323	140	96
New York .....	34,318	187,925	145,885	89,358	80,546
North Carolina .....	173	1,621	824	1,541	990
North Dakota .....	1,065	2,111	1,939	1,584	1,431
Ohio .....	1,139	360,896	515,667	292,344	246,232
Oklahoma .....	18,768	36,485	31,103	26,932	23,823
Oregon .....	27,222	83,681	39,223	78,591	68,653
Pennsylvania .....	22,357	197,126	161,038	112,555	132,403
Rhode Island .....	2,372	20,300	16,857	18,533	8,437
South Carolina .....	275	9,737	4,106	3,278	2,950
South Dakota .....	307	4,004	1,489	1,456	1,430
Tennessee .....	1,087	93,064	25,022	21,405	18,666
Texas .....	5,120	45,038	31,680	22,014	18,132
Utah .....	626	2,587	1,795	1,678	1,490
Vermont .....	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)
Virginia .....	3,558	49,911	21,428	19,624	16,323
West Virginia .....	(4)	(4)	(4)	(4)	(4)

(1) From Annual Report of Director General, U. S. Employment Service, 1918, p. 38.

(2) The figures for Kentucky are included in those for old employment district No. 8, comprising the States of Arkansas, Kentucky, Missouri and Tennessee.

(3) The figures for New Hampshire and Vermont are included in those for old employment district No. 1, comprising the New England States.

(4) The figures for West Virginia are included in those for old employment district No. 4, comprising the States of Ohio and West Virginia.

Washington .....	111,433	269,937	139,894	177,123	197,413
Wisconsin .....	41,435	61,865	79,637	57,349	47,643
Wyoming .....	133	4,382	894	920	523

EMPLOYMENT STATISTICS, DEC. 1918-MAY 1919<sup>1</sup>

<i>Week Ending 1918</i>	<i>Cities Reporting</i>	<i>Concerns Reporting</i>	<i>Number of Employees</i>	<i>Estimated Shortage</i>	<i>Estimated Surplus</i>
Dec. 7 .....	122	6,515	3,555,066	48,226	22,200
" 14 .....	122	6,901	3,568,448	47,130	30,000
" 21 .....	120	6,738	3,628,833	41,002	66,350
" 28 .....	122	6,669	3,496,453	35,542	91,889
1919					
Jan. 4 .....	121	6,846	3,499,709	33,397	120,589
" 11 .....	122	6,795	3,358,516	20,033	175,951
" 18 .....	122	6,873	3,428,172	18,644	211,700
" 25 .....	122	6,898	3,462,529	14,350	258,332
Feb. 1 .....	122	6,924	3,479,874	11,360	292,831
" 8 .....	122	6,922	3,420,261	9,313	328,685
" 15 .....	122	6,926	3,388,090	8,943	353,797
" 22 .....	122	6,928	3,396,587	8,014	367,130
Mar. 1 .....	122	6,971	3,439,909	5,416	358,890
" 8 .....	122	7,002	3,437,070	4,685	373,775
" 15 .....	122	6,967	3,391,772	4,650	371,615
" 22 .....	66	3,921	1,621,413	4,500	132,575
" 29 .....	66	3,882	1,596,244	4,650	131,005
Apr. 5 .....	60	3,560	1,461,484	3,750	97,900
" 12 .....	58	3,417	1,380,700	3,600	76,575
" 19 .....	69	4,009	1,588,719	2,450	82,600
" 26 .....	76	4,159	1,726,406	5,175	88,205
May 3 .....	83	4,610	2,035,505	8,660	132,380
" 10 .....	89	4,855	2,205,884	7,830	314,365
" 17 .....	90	5,238	2,288,111	8,267	227,425
" 24 .....	101	5,763	2,841,135	11,795	235,380
" 31 .....	100	5,694	2,758,105	9,618	227,777
June 7 .....	100	5,666	2,779,095	12,765	241,056
" 14 .....	89	5,104	2,436,815	13,687	208,693
" 21 .....	96	5,506	2,617,805	15,522	211,290
" 28 .....	80	4,640	2,352,231	23,880	177,392

LYNCHINGS IN 1917 AND 1918<sup>2</sup>

In addition to the two white persons and forty-five Negroes lynched in 1917 whose names are listed, there occurred the East St. Louis, Ill., riots in July, 1917, and a mob attack on Negroes at Chester, Pa., in September, 1917. In the latter case three Negroes were killed, in the former an unascertained number which has been variously estimated. The Special Committee Authorized by Congress to Investigate the East St. Louis Riots (65th Congress, 2d Session) said in its official report: "At least thirty-nine Negroes and eight white people were killed outright and hundreds of Negroes were wounded and maimed. "The bodies of the dead Negroes, testified an eyewitness, 'were thrown into a morgue like so many dead hogs.'" Investigators for the

<sup>1</sup> From Report of the United States Employment Service, Department of Labor. Week ending June 28, 1919.

<sup>2</sup> Report of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 1917-1918, pp. 89-92.

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People estimated the number to be as many as 175.

The following are the cases of lynchings for 1917 and 1918:

1917

- Feb. 9—Proctor, Ark.—James Smith (alias Coy Anderson) hanged; murder.
- Feb. 28—Hammond, La.—Emma Hooper, hanged; wounding a constable.
- Mar. 2—Meigs, Ga.—Linton Clinton, shot; assault upon a white girl.
- Mar. 12—Maysville, Ky.—William Sanders, hanged; robbery.
- Mar. 19—Dyersburg, Tenn.—William Thomas, hanged; shooting an officer.
- Mar. 27—Kissimmee, Fla.—S. C. Garner, hanged; refusal to give up farm.
- Mar. 28—Pelham, Ga.—Joe Nowling, hanged; reason unknown.
- May 6—Florence, Ariz.—Star Daley (white), murder.
- May 11—Shreveport, La.—Henry Brooks, shot; intimacy with a white woman.
- May 20—Fulton, Ky.—Lawrence Dempsey, hanged; wounding a railroad watchman.
- May 22—Memphis, Tenn.—Ell Person, burned; rape and murder.
- June 2—Columbia, Miss.—Van Hayes, hanged; murder.
- June 16—Holdenville, Okla.—Henry Conley, hanged; assault upon a white woman.
- June 21—Courtney, Tex.—Ben Harper, hanged; drove an automobile that ran down and killed a white girl.
- June 23—Riesel, Tex.—Elijah Hays, beaten to death; striking a white woman.
- June 24—Cleveland, Fla.—Shep Trent, shot; attempt to attack a white woman.
- June 25—Galveston, Tex.—Chester Sawyer, hanged; attacking a white woman.
- June 29—Temple, Tex.—Robert Jefferson, shot; without provocation.
- July 2—East St. Louis, Ill.—175 colored men, women, and children slain by mobs.<sup>2</sup>
- July 3—Orange, Tex.—Gilbert Guidry, hanged; charged with attempted rape.
- July 10—Edgard, La.—Marcel Ruffin, drowned; vagrancy.
- July 16—Reform, Ala.—Unidentified Negro, hanged; petty theft.
- July 23—Pickens County, Ala.—Poe Hibbler, hanged; attempted assault upon a white girl.
- July 23—Elysian Fields, Tex.—Unnamed, hanged; entering a woman's room.
- July 25—Letchatchie, Ala.—Will Powell and Jesse Powell, hanged; insolence.
- July 30—Amite, La.—Dan Rout and Jerry Rout, hanged; murder.
- July 31—Garland City, Okla.—Arland Avery, hanged; robbery.
- Aug. 1—Butte, Montana—Frank Little (White) hanged; strike leader (I. W. W.).
- Aug. 9—Ashdown, Ark.—Aaron Jimerson, hanged; attacking a constable.
- Aug. 16—Heathsville, Va.—William Page, hanged; attempted assault upon a white girl.
- Aug. 17—Memphis, Tenn.—Strickland, hanged; reason unknown.
- Aug. 22—Marshall, Tex.—Charles Jones, hanged; entering room of a white woman.
- Aug. 23—York, S. C.—W. T. Sims, shot; opposing draft law.
- Sept. 3—Chester, Pa.—3 colored men killed by mob.
- Sept. 3—Beaumont, Tex.—Charles Jennings, shot; cause unknown.
- Sept. 18—Athens, Ga.—Rufus Moncrief, hanged; attacking a white woman.
- Sept. 21—Goose Creek—Bert Smith, hanged; attacking a white woman.
- Sept. 21—England, Ark.—Sam Cates, shot; annoying white girls.
- Oct. 12—Danville, Va.—Walter Clark, shot; resisting arrest.
- Oct. 12—New Orleans, La.—Fred Johnson, hanged; robbery.
- Nov. 10—Quitman, Ga.—Jesse Staten, shot; insolent letter to a white woman.
- Nov. 17—Sale City, Ga.—Collins Johnson and D. C. Johnson, hanged; disputing white man's word.

- Nov. 22—Welch, W. Va.—Unidentified Negro, shot; attacking white woman.  
 Dec. 2—Dyersburg, Tenn.—Ligon Scott, burned; attacking a white woman.  
 Dec. 14—Rock Springs, Wyo.—Wade Hampton, hanged; annoying white women.  
 Dec. 15—Matter, Ga.—Claxton Deckle, hanged; killing in quarrel.

## 1918

- Jan. 17—Hazelhurst, Miss.—Sam Edwards, burned to death; charged with murder of Bera Willes, seventeen-year-old white girl.  
 Jan. 26—Benton, La.—Jim Hudson, hanged; living with a white woman.  
 Feb. 7—Fayetteville, Ga.—“Bud” Cosby, hanged; intent to rob and kidnap.  
 Feb. 12—Estill Springs, Tenn.—Jim McIlherson, burned; accused of shooting to death two white men. G. W. Lych, who hid McIlherson, was shot to death.  
 Feb. 23—Fairfax, S. C.—Walter Best, hanged; accused of murder.  
 Feb. 26—Rayville, La.—Jim Lewis, Jim Jones, and Will Powell, two hanged and one shot to death; accused of stealing hogs. In the fray one white man and one Negro were killed.  
 Feb. 26—Willacoochee, Ga.—Ed. Dansy, shot; he had killed two white officers and wounded three others.  
 Mar. 16—Monroe, La.—George McNeel and John Richards, hanged; alleged attack upon a white woman.  
 Mar. 22—Crawfordsville, Ga.—Spencer Evans, hanged; convicted of criminal assault upon a colored woman at the February term of court and sentenced to be hanged, but a mob took him from jail and lynched him.  
 Mar. 26—Lewiston, N. C.—Peter Bazemore; alleged attack upon a white woman.  
 April 4—Collinsville, Ill.—Robert P. Praeger (White) hanged; accused of making disloyal remarks.  
 April 20—Poplarville, Miss.—Claud Singleton, hanged; accused of murdering a white man. He had been sentenced to life imprisonment.  
 April 22—Lexington, Tenn.—Berry Noyes, hanged; murder of Sheriff W. E. McBride.  
 April 22—Monroe, La.—Clyde Williams, hanged; shooting C. L. Thomas, Missouri-Pacific station agent at Fawndale.  
 May 17—Vladosta, Ga.—Will Head, Will Thompson, Hayes Turner, Mary Turner, Sydney Johnson, Eugene Rice, Chime Riley, Simon Schuman, and three unidentified Negroes, hanged; alleged complicity in the murder of Hampton Smith.  
 May 20—Erwin, Tenn.—Thomas Devert, shot and burned; alleged murder of a white girl.  
 May 22—Miami, Fla.—Henry Jackson, hanged; throwing a white man underneath a train.  
 May 22—Red Level, Ala.—John Womack, shot; alleged assault on a white woman.  
 May 23—Cordele, Ga.—James Cobb, hanged; alleged murder of Mrs. Roy Simmons.  
 May 25—Barnesville, Ga.—John Calhoun, shot; alleged murder of John A. Willis.  
 June 4—Huntsville, Tex.—Sarah Cabiness and her five children; Peter, Cute, Tenola, Thomas and Bessie, shot; alleged threat to avenge killing of George Cabiness.  
 June 4—Beaumont, Tex.—Kirby Goolsie, hanged; alleged attack on a white girl.  
 June 4—Sanderson, Tex.—Edward Valentine (White); murder.  
 June 18—Manghan, La.—George Clayton, hanged; murder of his employer, Ben Brooks. In a battle with the posse he wounded six men, probably fatally.  
 June 18—Earle, Ark.—Allen Mitchell, hanged; wounding Mrs. W. M. Langston.  
 June 29—Madill, Okla.—L. McGill, hanged; alleged attack upon a white woman.



- July 27—Ben Hur, Tex.—Gene Brown, hanged; alleged assault on a white woman.
- Aug. 7—Bastrop, La.—“Bubber” Hall, hanged; alleged attack on a white woman.
- Aug. 11—Colquit, Ga.—Ike Radney; reason unknown.
- Aug. 15—Natchez, Miss.—Bill Dukes, shot to death; “He was guilty of a crime too revolting for publication.”
- Aug. 15—Quincy, Fla.—Unidentified Negro; reason unknown.
- Aug. 15—Macon, Ga.—John Gilham, hanged; alleged attack on two white women.
- Aug. 28—Hot Springs, Ark.—Frederick Wagner (White); disloyal utterances.
- Sept. 3—San Pedro, Cal.—Warren Czerich (White); murder.
- Sept. 18—Buff Lake, Tex.—Abe O’Neal; shot and wounded white man.
- Sept. 24—Waycross, Ga.—Sandy Reeves, hanged; alleged assault on a white girl.
- Nov. 5—Rolesville, N. C.—George Taylor, hanged; rape.
- Nov. 11—Sheffield, Ala.—William Bird, hanged; for creating disturbance.
- Nov. 12—Sheffield, Ala.—George Whiteside, hanged; charged with the murder of a policeman.
- Nov. 14—Fort Bend County, Tex.—Charles Shipman; disagreement with landowner.
- Nov. 24—Culpepper, Va.—Allie Thompson; charged with assaulting a white woman.
- Dec. 10—Green River, Wyo.—Edward Woodson; charged with killing a railroad switchman.
- Dec. 16—Hickman, Ky.—Charles Lewis, hanged; alleged to have beaten Deputy Sheriff Thomas.
- Dec. 18—Newport, Ark.—Willis Robinson, hanged; murder of Patrolman Charles Williams.
- Dec. 21—Shubuta, Miss.—Major and Andrew Clarke and Maggie and Alma House, hanged; accused of murder of Dr. E. L. Johnson.

## PARTIAL DIRECTORY OF SOCIAL SERVICE ORGANIZATIONS

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR LABOR LEGISLATION, 131 E. 23rd St., New York City—For national employment service; for maintaining labor standards; workmen’s compensation; health insurance; efficient law enforcement.

AMERICAN MUSEUM OF SAFETY, 14-18 W. 24th St., New York City—Devoted to the safety, health, and welfare of industrial workers and the science and technique of industry.

AMERICAN PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION LEAGUE, Franklin Bank Bldg., Philadelphia, Pa.—Devoted to promotion of Proportional Representation in the United States.

AMERICAN PUBLIC HEALTH ASSOCIATION, 126 Massachusetts Avenue, Boston, Mass.—Protects and promotes public and personal health.

AMERICAN SOCIAL HYGIENE ASSOCIATION, 105 W. 40th Street, New York City—For the repression of prostitution, the reduction of venereal diseases and the promotion of sound sex education.

AMERICAN UNION AGAINST MILITARISM, 203 Westory Bldg., Washington, D. C.—Opposed to the adoption of universal military training and service and working for the realization of world-wide disarmament.

ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE OF AMERICA, Westerville, Ohio—To secure progressive local repression of the liquor traffic and finally the ultimate prohibition of the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes in the United States.

BUREAU OF MUNICIPAL RESEARCH, 261 Broadway, New York City—To promote efficient and economical government; to secure constructive publicity in matters pertaining to municipal problems.

CO-OPERATIVE LEAGUE OF AMERICA, 2 West 13th St., New York City—Promotes the cause of consumers’ co-operation; spreads the knowledge of history, principles, purposes and methods of the Co-operative movement encourages the formation of local, state, and sectional branches and consumers’ co-operative societies; publishes literature for general

distribution, initiates and conducts investigations for the promotion of co-operative societies; establishes a central office to disseminate information of co-operative societies; establishes a central office to serve as a medium for the exchange of ideas and experiences between co-operative societies; creates an advisory staff to guide newly formed co-operative groups.

**JOINT BOARD OF SANITARY CONTROL**, 41 Union Square, New York City—Maintained by the organizations of employers and workers in the Dress and Waist Industry of New York for the supervision and enforcement of sanitary standards in shops and factories under the control of these organizations. Conducts periodical medical examinations and maintains a dental clinic for the members of the unions.

**INTERCOLLEGIATE SOCIALIST SOCIETY**, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City—To promote the study of Socialism among college men and women.

**NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE**, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City—To secure to Colored Americans the common rights of American citizenship. Furnishes information regarding race problems lynchings, etc.

**NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE**, 105 E. 22d St., New York City—Industrial and agricultural investigations; legislation; studies of administration; education; delinquency, health, recreation; children's codes.

**NATIONAL CIVIL LIBERTIES BUREAU**, 41 Union Square, New York City—For the maintenance of the rights of free speech, free press, peaceful assembly, liberty of conscience and freedom from unlawful search and seizure.

**NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON PRISONS AND PRISON LABOR**, 422 Library Bldg., Columbia University, New York City—To study the problem of labor in prisons and correctional institutions with a view to securing legislation to the end that all prisoners may be employed so as to promote their welfare and at the same time reimburse the institutions for expense of maintenance, while preventing unfair competition between prison-made goods and the product of free labor, and securing to their dependent families a fair proportion of the rightful earnings of prisoners.

**NATIONAL CONSERVATION ASSOCIATION**, Munsey Bldg., Washington, D. C.—Promotes the conservation of natural resources.

**NATIONAL CONSUMERS' LEAGUE**, 44 E. 23d St., New York City—Secures adequate investigation of the conditions under which goods are made; educates public opinion, and so directs its force as to promote better conditions among the workers; promotes legislation when it appears expedient.

**NATIONAL FEDERATION OF SETTLEMENTS**, 20 Union Park, Boston, Mass.—Develops broad forms of comparative study and concerted action in city, state, and nation for meeting the fundamental problems disclosed by settlement work; seeks the higher and more democratic organization of neighborhood life.

**NATIONAL HOUSING ASSOCIATION**, 105 E. 22d St., New York City—For the improvement of housing conditions, both urban and suburban, in every practicable way. Local associations or committees are organized; aid given in campaigns of education, in drafting, enacting and enforcing legislation, in organizing improved housing companies, and in carrying on the continued work after good standards have been established; acts as a clearing house of information, publishes literature dealing with housing, holds housing institutes in different sections of the country, and an annual housing conference.

**NATIONAL NONPARTISAN LEAGUE**, St. Paul, Minn.—To educate and organize farmers for common industrial and political action.

**NATIONAL SHORT BALLOT ASSOCIATION**, 383 Fourth Avenue, New York City—Explains the principle of the short ballot and secures its adoption wherever applicable. Headquarters for information on city charters, commission government, county government, the city manager plan, etc.

**NEW YORK BUREAU OF LEGAL ADVICE**, 118 East 28th St., New York City—Provides free counsel for those deprived of constitutional rights and victims of industrial disputes; advocates court reform.

**PEOPLE'S COUNCIL OF AMERICA**, 138 West 13th St., New York City—Organization of liberal elements advocating self-determination for all nationalities, disarmament, amnesty for political and industrial prisoners,

maintenance of civil liberties, and elimination of violence in international relations.

**PLUMB PLAN LEAGUE**, Munsey Bldg., Washington, D. C.—To secure public ownership and democracy in the operation of the railways of the United States.

**PUBLIC OWNERSHIP LEAGUE OF AMERICA**, Unity Bldg., Chicago, Ill.—A nonpartisan, educational organization for the advancement of the public ownership and democratic control of public utilities and natural resources.

**RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION**, 130 E. 22d St., New York City—For the improvement of social and living conditions. Includes such departments as Education—promoting open-air schools, medical inspection, etc.; Industrial studies—investigations of labor problems; Surveys and Exhibits, studies of community problems and methods in educational publicity.

**UNITED LABOR EDUCATION COMMITTEE**, 41 Union Square, New York City—To further the art, labor and science movement of organized labor for systematic education through lectures, concerts, drama, opera and art instruction.

**WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE** (formerly Woman's Peace Party), 41 Union Square, New York City—A branch of the Woman's International movement opposed to war and in favor of democratic international relations.

**WORKERS' DEFENSE UNION**, 7 East 15th St., New York—For the legal protection and the securing of amnesty for political and industrial prisoners.

E. G. ROUTZAHN.

## PART FIVE

# THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST, LABOR AND COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT

### THE BERNE CONFERENCE

The International Socialist Conference held at Berne February 2-9, 1919, was called together at the initiative of the International Socialist Bureau. Hjalmar Branting of Sweden, presided at the Conference. Among those who actively participated in the discussions were Kautsky, Haase, Eisner, Muller, Janson and Wells, Germany; Adler, Austria; Macdonald, Bunning, Ethel Snowden, J. H. Thomas, MacGurk, Shirkie, and Henderson, Great Britain; Longuet, Renaudel, Milhaud, Cachin, Thomas, Mistral, Lorient, Verfeuil, France; Huysmans, Belgium; Troelstra, Holland; O'Brien, Ireland; Kunfi, Hungary; Justo and de Tomasso, Argentina; Locker, Palestine. In addition there were present delegates from Alsace-Lorraine, Czecho-Slovakia, Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Lettland, Georgia, Esthonia, Russia, Poland, Greece, Bulgaria, Armenia, Spain and Canada, making altogether 25 countries represented with 90 delegates in attendance.

Norway, Switzerland, Italy, Rumania, Serbia, and the Communist groups of other countries refused to send delegates to the Conference. Delegates from the American Socialist Party could not come in time for the Conference, while those of Australia and Ukraina arrived too late to attend the meetings.

The resolutions which were taken up at the Conference dealt with the following matters:

a. *Responsibility for the war.*—After an extended discussion on the subject, it was decided to leave the question for decision at the next international congress when there should be a larger representation and when more material would be available on this issue.

b. *League of Nations.*—Favoring that the League aim to prevent future wars; to abolish all standing armies and bring about disarmament; that it should create an international court of mediation and arbitration; that it should use economic weapons to enforce its decisions; that it should protect the small nationalities; that it should provide for free trade among nations and that it should secure the enforcement of the International Labor Charter adopted by this Conference.

c. *Territorial Questions.*—Advocating self-determination of nationalities and against annexations and economic and political spheres of influence.

d. *Democracy and Dictatorship*.—A spirited discussion ensued on this momentous question brought about by experiences of the Russian revolution. The majority of the committee proposed a resolution in which it was claimed that democracy with various constitutional guarantees provides opportunities for Socialist work. Longuet and Adler, who were members of the committee, brought in a minority report in which they charged those favoring the resolution with working against unity in the International. They claimed that the forces who were responsible for the disruption in the International and who have supported their respective governments during the war, are anxious to attack the revolutionary Socialist elements in various countries, particularly in Russia, which attacks may be utilized against them by the bourgeoisie. The Conference adopted a resolution which also provided for the sending of a mission to Russia and placing the subject of Bolshevism on the agenda of the next international congress. The resolution which expressed the sentiment of the majority of the conference contained the following:

As a result of recent events, the Conference desires to make the constructive character of the Socialist program absolutely clear to all. Socialization consists in the methodical development of different branches of economic activity under the control of democracy. The arbitrary taking over of a few undertakings by small groups of men is not Socialism, it is nothing less than capitalism with a large number of shareholders.

Since in the opinion of the Conference the effective development of Socialism is only possible under democratic law, it follows that it is essential to eliminate from the outset all methods of socialization which would have no chance of gaining the adhesion of the majority of the people.

Such dictatorship would be all the more dangerous if it rested upon the support of only one section of the proletariat. The inevitable consequence of such a regime could only be to paralyze the forces of the proletariat by fratricidal war. The result would be the dictatorship of reaction.

e. *The Labor Charter*.—Provisions of the Labor Charter are given in full in another part in this book.

f. *Resolution dealing with the return of prisoners of war*.

g. *Resolution dealing with the continuation of the work of the conference*.—A commission was elected consisting of two delegates from each party represented, with Henderson, Branting and Huysmans as an Executive Committee. This commission was instructed to put before the Paris Peace Conference the decisions of the Conference and to carry on the work of unification among the Socialist forces.

It was also empowered to convoke the next international congress, prepare an agenda, and take the necessary steps for an early reorganization of the International.

## THE LUCERNE CONFERENCE

The Committee for the Reconstitution of the International convened an international conference at Lucerne, August 2-9, 1919, to receive reports of the activities of the various committees elected at the Berne Conference. The various discussions at this Conference followed the tenor of the discussions at Berne. With a few exceptions, the decisions and resolutions of the

Lucerne Conference represent the points of view expressed by the delegates at Berne, primarily because almost the same groups and individuals were represented at both conferences. Wells of the German Majority Socialists was concerned about Germany's admission into the League of Nations; Vandervelde argued that there can be no unity between the Second and Third International. Bernstein, Tsereteli, and De Brouckere attacked the Russian Bolsheviks, while Hilferding, Adler, Longuet and Troelstra criticized the majority of the Conference for their failure to recognize the changes which had taken place in the revolutionary struggles of the workers.

The Conference adopted a series of resolutions protesting against the reactionary coup d'etat in Hungary, Allied military intervention in Russia, the continuance of the blockade against Soviet Russia and the economic support of Russian counter-revolutionary governments. The Conference again reiterated the desire to send a commission of inquiry to Soviet Russia to find out about the work of the Bolshevik Government and hear testimony of the various Russian Socialist groups opposed to the Bolsheviks.

The Conference accepted the recommendation of the Committee for the Reconstitution of the International that a plenary meeting of an International Labor and Socialist Congress should be convoked in Geneva on Feb. 2, 1920, to which all international sections of the labor and Socialist movements accepting the principles of international Socialism should be invited. It was agreed that the agenda for this congress should include the following subjects: 1. The adoption of the draft statutes of the International; 2. Questions of responsibilities; 3. General policy of International including Peace, Democracy, Dictatorship, Socialization and Labor Legislation; 4. Organization of the press. The Permanent Committee of Action was instructed to circulate reports on the following subjects, not later than one month before the Geneva Congress: 1. Forms of democracy and its representative institutions; 2. Place of revolution in the transformation of society; 3. Relations between industry and political organization; 4. Plans for the socialization of industry in view of the present struggle between the proletariat and capitalist power. Altogether 408 votes were allotted to all the delegates from the various countries with France, Germany, Great Britain, Russia and the United States receiving 30 votes each.

It was also decided that a concurrent meeting of parliamentary representatives of Labor and Socialist parties be held with a view to the creation of a permanent commission of Labor and Socialist parliamentary groups and to consider how joint action between parliamentary groups in different countries may be promoted, through the exchange of information and the study of questions of common interest and to decide upon the steps which may be necessary for securing the universal adoption of

decisions which have as their object the establishment of international labor standards.

The Secretary of the International Socialist Bureau is Camille Huysmans, Maison du Peuple, Brussels, Belgium.

### THE MOSCOW INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST CONFERENCE

Following a call for a constituent congress to organize the Third International, sponsored by the Russian Communist Party and supported by the Communist Parties of Poland, Hungary, German-Austria, Lettland, Finland and the Balkan Revolutionary Socialist Federation, a conference was held March 2-6, 1919, at Moscow, consisting of 32 delegates, and representing Communist and radical Socialist groups of twelve different countries. In addition to accredited delegates from Russia, Germany, Hungary, German-Austria, Sweden, Norway, Bulgaria, Rumania, Finland, Ukraina, Esthonia and Armenia, there were admitted, with voice but no vote, persons connected with the Socialist movements of Switzerland, Holland, Bohemia, Jugo-Slavia, France, Great Britain, Turkey, Turkestan, Persia, Korea and the United States. The American representative was Boris Reinstein, a member of the Socialist Labor Party, who has resided in Russia for over a year and had no mandate from his party.

Among those who actively participated in the work of the Conference were Lenin, Trotzky, Bucharin, Kamenev, Tchicherin, N. Steklov of the Russian Communist Party; Rakovsky of the Balkan Socialist Federation; Skripnik of Ukraina; Stang, representing the Norwegian Left Socialists; Grimlund of the Swedish Socialist Party; Capt. Sadoul and Guilbau of the French Socialist Party; Platten of the Swiss Socialist Party; Albrecht of the German Spartacus group, and Sirola of the Finnish Communists.

The agenda of the Conference consisted of the following questions:

1. Program of the Communist International; 2. Dictatorship of the Proletariat and Bourgeois Democracy; 3. Attitude toward other Socialist parties and the Berne International Conference, 4. The present international situation and the policy of the Allies; 5. The election of a Bureau of the new International.

The Spartacan Albrecht, was the only delegate who opposed the immediate formation of the Third International, claiming that not all Socialist parties had had the opportunity to send delegates to the Conference or to make known their attitude toward the Second International. The prevailing opinion was that the immediate formation of a new International would stimulate discussion and decision on the part of the Socialist parties with regard to their affiliation with the elements who were attempting to revive the Second International.

The Conference liquidated the Zimmerwald movement, perfected the organization of the new International and entrusted the direction of the work to an Executive Committee consisting of one representative from the Communist parties of the more important countries. The parties in Russia, Germany, German-Austria, Hungary, Switzerland, Sweden and the Balkan Federation, were directed to send members to the Executive Committee. Parties which have declared their adherence to the new International will be given seats in the Executive Committee, pending the arrival of delegates from other countries. The members of the Committee from the country in which the Executive Committee has its seat were empowered to plan the work of the new organization. The Executive Committee was authorized to elect a bureau consisting of five members to do the actual work of the Committee. The various decisions of the Conference pertaining to national and international problems and Socialist policy, are summarized in the following Manifesto drafted by a committee consisting of Nicolai Lenin, Leon Trotzky and I. Zinoviev (Russia), Charles Rakovsky (Rumania), Friedrich Platten (Switzerland), and issued in behalf of the Moscow Conference.

#### THE MANIFESTO OF THE MOSCOW INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST CONFERENCE

Seventy-two years have gone by since the Communist party announced their programme to the world in the form of a Manifesto drawn up by the two greatest teachers of the proletarian revolution, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. Communism, which had barely stepped into the arena of battle, was already surrounded by the lies, hatred, and persecution of the wealthy classes. The latter, and justly so, foresaw in communism a deadly enemy. In the course of these seventy odd years, the development of communism has encountered troublous times; first the march to the assault, then periods of defeat, again a further advance, but followed by serious reverses. Nevertheless development has continued on the lines indicated in the party's Manifesto. The period of the last decisive struggle has begun later than was desired or expected by the apostles of social revolution. But it is here; it has come. We Communists, representatives of the revolutionary proletariat in different countries in Europe, America, and Asia, now assembled in the powerful Soviet city of Moscow, both feel and consider ourselves to be the followers of, and participants in, a cause for which the programme was drawn up seventy-two years ago. Our duty is to gather together the revolutionary experiences of the working classes, to free the movement from the harmful interference of opportunist and social-patriotic elements, to unite the forces of all genuine revolutionary parties in the world proletariat, and thereby to facilitate and hasten the victory of the Communist revolution.



I. Now that Europe is covered with smoking ruins, the most ruthless of the incendiaries are searching for those who are to blame for the war. They are backed by their professors, politicians, journalists, social-patriots, and other supporters of the bourgeoisie.

For many years past it has been predicted by Socialism that an imperialist war was inevitable and that the cause of the war lay in the insatiable greed of the wealthy classes on both sides and in all capitalist countries generally. Two years before the outbreak of war, at the Basle Congress, the responsible Socialist leaders in all countries pointed to imperialism as the cause of the impending war and threatened the bourgeoisie with the Socialist revolution as the vengeance of the proletariat for the crimes of militarism. And yet, after five years' experience, after history has disclosed the robbery committed by Germany and the no less criminal acts of the Entente states, the state Socialists and their Governments in the Entente countries are still going on with their revelations concerning the fallen German Kaiser.

Far worse are the German social-patriots, who in August, 1914, spoke of the Hohenzollern diplomatic White Book as the nation's most sacred gospel, and now, in cringing servility to the Entente Socialists, accuse the fallen German monarch—whose slaves they formerly were—of being guilty of the war. They hope that in this way their own guilt will be forgotten and they will thus curry favor with the victors. But side by side with the fallen dynasties of the Romanovs, the Hohenzollerns, and the Hapsburgs, and with the capitalist cliques of those countries, the Governments in France, England, Italy, and the United States present but a sorry aspect viewed in the light of events of diplomatic disclosures.

Up to the very outbreak of war British diplomacy preserved a mysterious secrecy. Civil authorities were careful not to make it known that they intended to take part in the war on the side of the Entente, doubtless so as not to alarm the Berlin Government and put off the war. London wanted war; hence their action to make Berlin and Vienna build their hopes on England's neutrality, while Paris and Petrograd were sure of England's intervention.

The war, which had been prepared for decades, broke out through direct and conscious provocation on the part of Great Britain. The British Government reckoned on giving support to Russia and France until they were exhausted and at the same time had crushed Germany, their mortal enemy. But the strength of the German military machine proved too formidable and called forth not only an apparent, but an actual intervention in the war on the part of England. It was the military superiority of Germany that caused the Government at Washington to give up their apparent neutrality. The United States assumed, as regards Europe, the same part that England had

played in former wars and has tried to play to the last, namely, the plan of weakening the one side with the help of the other, by joining in military operations for the sole purpose of securing for themselves all the advantages of the situation. Based on the American tombola method, Wilson's stake was not high, but it was the last and he won.

During the war, mankind has gone through the most terrible sufferings of starvation, cold, epidemics, and moral collapse owing to internal differences in the capitalist system. The academic controversy within [the ranks of] Socialism regarding the impoverishment theory and the draining of capitalism through Socialism has by this means also been finally decided. For years past statisticians and pedants have exerted themselves to collect from all corners of the world both real and fictitious facts to show how prosperity, in certain groups and categories of the working classes, was on the increase. But we are faced to-day with the harrowing reality of impoverishment not only of a social nature, but physiological and biological also.

This imperialistic war catastrophe has with one swoop swept away all the gains of experts and parliamentary struggles, and in like degree it has come into being from the inner tendencies of capitalism as well as from the economic agreements and political compromises which it has now engulfed on the field of blood.

Finance and capital, which plunged mankind into the abyss of war, have gone through alarming vicissitudes during the war. Paper money, as dependent on the material basis of production, has had a severe shock. In proportion as it has gradually lost its value as the capitalistic medium and regulator for the circulation of goods, it has become simply a means by which to requisition stolen goods; in short, [it has come] to be used as a military economic force. The complete falling off of the metal fund reflects the universal and deadly crisis in the capitalistic circulation of goods. Although for many years previous to the war, free competition as a regulating factor for production and transactions of vast economic import had been eliminated within the trust and monopoly system, it has been proved that in the course of the war its regulating functions were taken out of the hands of the economic groups and transferred directly to the military state power. The distribution of raw materials, the working of the oil fields at Baku and in Rumania, coal from the Don region, corn from the Ukraine, the German locomotives, the railway carriages and automobiles, the supplying of starving Europe with bread and meat—these fundamental questions of the world's economic life are all regulated, not by free competition, nor by combines of national and international trusts, but by the direct use of military force in the continued interest of self-support. Finance has thus not only completely militarized the state, but itself as well, and is no longer capable of carrying out the most important economic functions other than with the sword and blood.

During the whole war the opportunists invariably exhorted the workmen to show moderation, assuring them of a gradual transition to Socialism, and now they call again for self-sacrifice on the part of the proletariat in order to recover from the terrible effects of the war.

The nationalization of economic life, which was so obstinately opposed by capitalistic liberalism, is now an accepted fact. Not only is there no possibility of a return to free competition; there is none either to trusts, syndicates, or other economic marvels. The only question is, who in the future is to conduct nationalized production, the imperialist state or the victorious working-class state? In other words, is the whole of laboring mankind to become serfs and day-laborers under a victorious international clique, which, in the name of the League of Nations, and assisted by an "international" army and an "international" fleet, alternately plunders or casts a morsel of bread to the needy, but everywhere keeps the proletariat in chains with the sole aim of retaining its own power; or shall the working classes in Europe and the most civilized countries in other parts of the world take into their own hands the shaken and ruined world economy and thus ensure its restoration on the basis of Socialism?

To bring to an end the prevailing crisis will only be possible with the help of proletarian dictatorship, which will not look back to the past nor show consideration for inherited privileges or rights of property, but will bear in mind the necessity of saving starving multitudes, and will mobilize all their forces for that purpose; will introduce a general obligation to work and a régime of discipline in work, and will in this manner, in the space of a few years, not only heal the gaping wounds caused by the war, but succeed in raising mankind to heights hitherto undreamed of.

II. The national state, which gave such a mighty impulse to capitalist development, has become too restricted for the continued development of the productive forces. This will create an awkward position for the small states that lie between the Great Powers in Europe and other parts of the world. The small states have come into being at different times as fractions of larger ones, and as payment for various services rendered, or as strategical buffers; they have their dynasties, their ruling cliques, their imperialistic claims, and their diplomatic connections. Until war broke out their illusory independence was on the same footing as the equilibrium of Europe; ceaseless opposition between the two imperialistic camps. The war has upset this equilibrium. At the start the war gave Germany an enormous superiority, thus compelling the small states to seek their welfare and salvation in the magnanimity of German imperialism.

After the German defeat, the citizens of the small states, together with their patriotic "Socialists," appealed to the victori-

ous Entente imperialism, and began to search the hypocritical points of the Wilson programme for guarantees for their continued existence as independent states. At the same time the number of small states has grown larger, new states have separated themselves from Austria-Hungary and from the Czarist Empire, which, as soon as they were formed, have started disputing over frontiers. Meanwhile the Entente imperialists have prepared such a combination of new and old small states as would bind them over to mutual impotence on account of their mutual hatred.

Nevertheless, these Entente imperialists, although they oppress and persecute the small and weaker nations and let them suffer starvation and distress in exactly the same way that the imperialists of the Central Powers recently did, still go on talking of a nation's right to self-determination, which at present, both in Europe and in other parts of the world, is being utterly trampled underfoot.

The only means of securing the possibility of a free existence for the small nations is by a proletarian revolution which releases all the productive forces in every country from the tight grip of the national states, unites the nations in the close economic co-operation based on a joint social economic plan, and grants to the smallest and weakest nation the possibility of developing its national culture independently and freely without detriment to the united and centralized economy of Europe and of the whole world.

III. The last war, which was certainly a war for the sake of colonies, was also a war that was waged with the help of the colonies' populations, on a scale never before known. Indians, Negroes, Arabs, Madagascans, all fought in the European contingent—and for what? For their right to remain in the future the slaves of England and France. Never has capitalistic power been more disgraceful; never has the slavery problem of the colonies been shown up in a more piercing light. This is the cause of a series of revolts and revolutionary risings in all the colonies. In Europe, there is Ireland reminding us by furious street fighting that she is still an oppressed country and feels herself to be so. In Madagascar, in Annam, and other countries the troops of bourgeois republics have been obliged during the war to suppress more than one rising of colonial slaves. As to India, revolutionary ferment has not been absent there for a single day, and lately there have been huge workmen's strikes in Asia. The British Government took action by armored cars in Bombay.

In this manner the colonial question, in all its bearings, is the order of the day, not only around the green table at the Paris diplomatic Congress, but also in the actual colonies. At best, Wilson's programme will only effect a change in the signboard of colonial slavery. The liberation of the colonies will only be feasible in conjunction with the liberation of the

working classes in the mother countries. Not until the workmen of England and France have overthrown Lloyd George and Clemenceau will the workmen and peasants, not only in Annam, Algiers, and Bengal, but also in Persia and Armenia, have a chance of an independent existence. In the more highly developed colonies the fight is already proceeding not merely under the banner of national liberation but with a social character quite openly expressed. If capitalistic Europe forces the most backward parts of the world into the whirlpool of capital, Socialist Europe will come to the aid of the liberated colonies with its technique, its organizations, and its spiritual influence, to facilitate their transition to a methodically organized Socialist establishment.

Slaves of the colonies in Africa and Asia! The hour of proletarian dictatorship in Europe will be the hour of your release!

IV. The entire bourgeois world accuses the Communists of crushing liberty and political democracy. This is not true. When the proletariat comes into power it merely confirms the utter impossibility of making use of the methods of bourgeois democracy. It creates conditions and forms for a new and higher workmen's democracy. The entire process of capitalistic development undermined political democracy (especially during the last imperialist epoch), not only by dividing the nations into two irreconcilable classes, but also by condemning numbers of the smaller bourgeois and semi-proletarian camps as well as the lowest class of proletarians, to a state of permanent economic misery and political impotence.

The working classes in those countries whose historical development allows of it, have made use of political democracy to organize against capital. The same will happen later in countries where the conditions for a workmen's revolution are not yet ripe. The Bavarian or Baden peasant, who does not see beyond his own church steeple; the French grower of vines, who is ruined by the great capitalistic adulteration of wines; the small farmer in America, robbed and cheated by bankers and representatives—all these social groups, shut out by capitalism from the wide path of development, are called nominally to administer the state by the régime of political democracy. In reality, however, all important questions concerning the fate of nations are decided by the financial oligarchy behind the back of the parliamentary democracy. Such, above all, was the case in the question of the war, and this will be repeated now that it is to be applied to peace.

When the financial oligarchies consider it advisable to conceal their acts of violence at parliamentary elections, they have the bourgeois state at their disposal, with all the varied means inherited from previous centuries, and developed by the marvels of capitalistic technique: lies, demagogism, provocation, contempt, bribery, and terrorism.

To expect that the proletariat in the final settlement with

capitalism, when it is a question of life and death, should meekly as a lamb agree to the demands of the bourgeois democracy, would be the same as to expect a man, defending his life and existence against thieves, to follow the arbitrary rules of French wrestling, laid down, but not adhered to, by his enemies.

In this realm of destruction, where not only the means of production and transport but also the institutions of political democracy lie scattered and bleeding, the proletariat must create its own apparatus, which, above all, must serve as a means of reunion for the working classes and secure for them a revolutionary intervention in the further development of mankind. The Workmen's Councils constitute this apparatus. The leaders of the old parties and old trades unions have shown themselves incompetent to understand the tasks presented by the new epoch and still more incompetent to carry them out. The proletariat creates a new form of apparatus comprising the entire working class, irrespective of their being ripe in an expert and political sense—an apparatus so elastic that it can always be renewed, always be extended, always attract fresh groups within its area, and open wide the doors for the groups of workers in town and country who are in close touch with the proletariat. This invaluable organization for the self-administration of the working classes in their fight for, and in future also, in their conquest of, state power, has been tested by experience in several countries, and is the greatest conquest and the most powerful weapon for the proletariat of our day.

V. In all countries where the masses are awakened and have begun to think, workmen's, soldiers', and peasants' councils are constantly formed.

To consolidate the councils, to strengthen their authority and place them in a condition to oppose the bourgeois state machinery, is at present the chief task of the honest and conscientious workers in all countries. With the help of the councils, the working classes can extricate themselves from the dissensions caused by the war and the infernal pangs of hunger, the arbitrary rule of those in power, and the treachery of former leaders. Through the Councils it will be easiest and quickest for the working classes to come into power, and through them they will be enabled to administer all that has to do with economic and cultural life, as is now the case in Russia.

The collapse of the imperialist state, from the Czarist to the most democratic, is proceeding simultaneously with the collapse of the imperialist military system. The armies of millions mobilized by imperialism were only capable of resistance as long as the proletariat remained bowed under the yoke of the bourgeoisie. The collapse of the national unity is synonymous with the inevitable collapse of the army. Thus it happened first in Russia, then in Austria-Hungary, and Germany. Similar events may be expected in other imperialist states. The revolt of the peasant against the landowner, of the workman

against capitalism, the revolt of both combined against monarchical or democratic bureaucracy, must inevitably lead to the revolt of the soldier against his officer, and later to a sharp division between the proletarian and bourgeois elements in the army. Imperialist war, which opposes one nation against the other, is followed by civil war where class is opposed to class.

The outcry by the bourgeois world against civil war and the Red Terror is the most abominable hypocrisy ever noted in the history of political fighting. There would be no civil war if the profiteering cliques who have brought mankind to the verge of ruin did not oppose all progress on the part of the working masses, and if they did not bring about conspiracies and murder and call in armed assistance from outside to protect or restore their thieving privileges.

Civil war is forced on the working classes by their mortal enemy. The working classes must return blow for blow, unless they would prove faithless to themselves and their future, which is also the future of all mankind. The Communist parties never try by artificial means to encourage civil war, but exert themselves, as far as possible, to shorten the duration of it, and, if it does become an imperative necessity, they endeavor to keep down the number of victims, and above all to secure victory for the proletariat. From this will clearly be seen the necessity of disarming the bourgeoisie and arming the proletariat and thus raising an army for the protection of the power of the proletariat and the inviolability of the Socialist social community. Such is the Red Army of Soviet Russia, which has arisen for the purpose of protecting the conquests of the working classes from all attacks, whether from inside or outside. The Soviet army is inseparable from the Soviet state.

VI. Fully conscious of the world-historical character of their undertaking, the enlightened workmen, as the first step in organizing the Socialist movement, aimed at an international union.

The foundation stone was laid when the first International was formed at London, in 1864. The Franco-German war, from which emanated the Germany of the Hohenzollerns, undermined the first International, at the same time giving an impulse to the national Labor parties. Already, in 1889, at the Paris Congress these parties united and created a second International. But during that period the centre of gravity of the labor movement rested entirely on national grounds, within the limits of the national states, on the basis of national industry, and within the province of national parliamentarism. The organizing and reformative work of decades produced a generation of leaders, the majority of whom accepted textually the programme of social revolution, but disowned it in practice. The opportunist character of the leading parties in the second International was finally revealed, and led to the greatest rupture in world history at the very moment when the course of

events called on the Labor parties for revolutionary fighting methods. If the war of 1870 dealt the first International a severe blow in disclosing that the social revolutionary programme was not backed by powerful united masses, the war of 1914 has killed the second International by proving that, dominating the fraternal masses of the workmen, stood parties transformed into the cringing organs of the bourgeois state.

Not only does this apply to the social-patriots, who have become quite openly the popular and trusted men of the bourgeoisie and the reliable executioners of the working classes, but also to the fluctuating and uncertain Socialist Centre, which is endeavoring to restore the second International, that is to say, the narrow-mindedness, opportunism, and revolutionary impotence of its leaders. The German Independent party, the present majority of the French Socialist party, the Menshevik groups in Russia, the Independent Labor party in England, and other similar groups did, as a matter of fact, try to fill the place occupied by the old official parties of the second International by putting forward their ideas of compromise and unity, and thus, by all means in their power, paralyzing the energy of the proletariat, prolonging the war still more, and adding to the misery in Europe. The fight against the Socialist Centre is a necessary factor in the fight against imperialism.

In repudiating the vacillation, mendacity, and superficiality of the Socialist parties, we—the united Communists of the third International—feel ourselves to be the direct successors of a long series of generations, heroic champions and martyrs, from Babeuf to Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg.

Even though the first International foresaw the coming development and inserted a wedge, and though the second International collected and organized millions of proletarians, still it is the third International that stands for the open action of the masses and for revolutionary operations.

Socialist criticism has thoroughly stamped the bourgeois world-order. It is the duty of the International Communist party to overthrow that order, and to establish instead the system of Socialist order.

We appeal to labor men and women in all countries to join us under the Communist banner, under which the first great victories already have been won.

Proletarians in all lands! Unite to fight against imperialist barbarity, against monarchy, against the privileged classes, against the bourgeois state and bourgeois property, against all kinds and forms of social and national oppression.

Join us, proletarians, in every country—flock to the banner of the workmen's councils, and fight the revolutionary fight for the power and dictatorship of the proletariat!



## THE PAN-AMERICAN LABOR CONFERENCES

## THE LAREDO CONFERENCE

The Pan-American Labor Conference which met in Laredo, Tex., November 13-16, 1918, was the outcome of considerable correspondence between the American Federation of Labor and the labor unions of Mexico and the Latin-American countries. Mexico, Guatemala, Costa Rica, Salvador, and Colombia were represented. Argentina, Brazil, and Chile, the leading nations of South America, did not send delegates. Cuba, Peru, and Venezuela had elected delegates, but owing to illness and delay in receiving credentials these delegates did not attend.

The information reported by the delegates to the Conference was rather meager, but the reports showed that a Central American Labor Congress was held in San Salvador in November, 1911. Regarding the number of organizations, membership, and the labor press, the reports showed the following:

**GUATEMALA**—Thirty organizations, of which five are unions and one a federation. Ten labor periodicals.

**SALVADOR** —Sixty associations, of which ten are unions and one a federation. Twenty-five periodicals.

**HONDURAS** —Ten general associations.

**NICARAGUA** —Five general associations, workers belong to the general associations in Honduras and Nicaragua without distinction of unions.

**COSTA RICA**—Ten associations, of which five are unions and one a federation. Three periodicals.

In these countries there are 115 associations, 20 of them being unions and three federations. The total number of members is 20,000, which indicates a general weakness in organization.

The Mexican delegates were the best informed and the most resourceful of those coming from the Latin countries. This delegation urged that one Mexican representative be attached to A. F. of L. headquarters; that representatives of the unions of both countries be located on the border; that restrictions against Mexican workers joining American unions be abolished; that the Mexican Federation correspond with the workers of South America on its own account, and that a committee of the Conference co-operate in the unification of all in the Pan-American Labor Conference. The following proposal of the Mexicans provoked a long debate:

"That an agreement be reached as to the best way for finding honorable means to exert influence so that justice and protection be imparted to those workingmen, who, for various reasons, are deprived of their liberty in the jails of the United States."

Samuel Gompers and his associates effected an air of mystery, and delegate Morones had to become insistent before the American delegates explained their silence regarding the persecution and imprisonment of Socialists and the I. W. W. Their explanation in brief was that these victims did not represent any "bona fide" labor movement in the United States and therefore were of no concern to the A. F. of L. This position was beyond the understanding of the Mexican delegates who came to the

conference imbued with an international working-class psychology. The fine sentiment of internationalism expressed by the Mexican delegates met no sympathetic response from the A. F. of L. delegates. Chairman Green of the resolutions committee recommended "that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor make an investigation of the question referred to herein and take such action in connection therewith as they deem necessary." At the A. F. of L. convention in Atlantic City in June 1919, no action was taken in behalf of the political and industrial prisoners held in American jails nor at the second Pan-American Conference held in New York the following month.

Mr. Gompers secured the endorsement of his program for a "labor charter" to be inserted in the peace treaty in Paris. This charter was so badly mutilated by the diplomats, that Mr. Gompers had to half apologize for it when it was considered at the Atlantic City convention.

A permanent organization was agreed to which provides for the organization of a Pan-American Federation of Labor. Affiliated organizations are to have "at least two delegates." The officers are to serve one year and the organization is to be financed on a pro rata basis. A chairman and two secretaries were elected. Samuel Gompers was elected chairman; John Murray, English-speaking secretary, and Canuto A. Vargas, Spanish-speaking secretary. The headquarters of the Federation were established at the A. F. of L. Building in Washington. The next congress was called to meet in New York City in July, 1919.

#### THE NEW YORK CONFERENCE

This congress met and did little of note. The most interesting sidelight on this conference was the prevention of J. de Borran, Mexican delegate of the House of the Workers of Tampico, from speaking or even presenting a resolution of his organization, which advocated that all organizations be grouped into a closer solidarity, each one to be autonomous within its sphere; that the Pan-American Federation should "have nothing in common with the bourgeoisie or the governments of the bourgeoisie"; that the workers should be educated to "take possession of the social riches" and to regulate production and consumption; that socialization of property should be its ultimate goal; that it should recognize the republics of Russia and Hungary, and extend approval to the Soviets.

The Mexican delegate writing a review of the Conference in the *New York Call* (July 26, 1919) charged that of the 25 delegates present only 2 were workers, the others being lawyers, bourgeois and labor leaders, "all of them more Gompers than Gompers himself." He complained that the A. F. of L. at the Laredo conference had agreed to take up the case of Thomas Mooney and political prisoners, and had done nothing. It had agreed to

establish an agency in New York City to "educate the workers who arrive there," and at Atlantic City it had supported an anti-immigration law. Mr. Gompers was called upon to explain why the A. F. of L. at its Atlantic City convention tacked on an amendment to an anti-immigration resolution singling out Mexican workers for exclusion. He made a long and involved explanation to the effect that conditions of employment after the war were not favorable and the A. F. of L. desired to preserve American wage standards against foreign immigration. The old officers were re-elected. Mr. Gompers soon went abroad again. It is the general belief that he is anxious to make this Pan-American organization the first section of a backward labor international. The Socialist and progressive labor organizations of both Americas are attempting to establish fraternal relations between the workers of the different countries, and plans are under way for the foundation of a Pan-American Socialist and Labor Federation on a thorough international and revolutionary basis.

JAMES ONEAL.

### THE PAN-AMERICAN SOCIALIST AND LABOR CONGRESS

The first Pan-American Socialist and Labor Congress was held at Buenos Aires, Argentina, April 26-May 1, 1919, with representatives from the Socialist and labor organizations of Chile, Argentina, Peru, Bolivia, Uruguay and Paraguay in attendance. Due to the refusal to grant passports to its delegates, the American Socialist Party was not represented, while the Mexican delegates could not reach Buenos Aires by direct route from Mexico.

It was the most important congress ever held in which labor problems affecting the entire American continent were discussed. Complete solidarity was exhibited at all sessions, and progress was made toward solidifying the forces of the labor movement in all American countries.

Dr. Bravo, a Socialist member of Parliament, and general secretary of the Socialist Party of Argentina, was unanimously elected president of the Congress. Frugoni, Socialist member of Parliament from Uruguay, Roca (Peru), Rios (Chile), and Flores (Bolivia), were chosen as vice-presidents. The two secretaries elected were, Dellalatta and Tedeschi. The Congress sent greetings to Dr. Justo, delegate from the Socialist Party of Argentina to Europe and to the revolutionary proletariats of Russia, Germany and Hungary, encouraging them in their efforts to make possible the realization of the ideals of the working class.

Resolutions were adopted protesting against violation of the right of peoples to self-determination; wishing success to the strikes in Buenos Aires and on the farms; commending women in their fight for economic, social and political emancipation;

regarding the settlement of the territorial dispute between Chile and Peru, and urging free trade among Latin-American countries, as a means to insure peace.

The Congress also voiced the demands of labor for a 44-hour week, the prohibition of child labor, compulsory education to the age of 16, regulation of scientific conditions in shops and factories, minimum wage and the aboliton of the truck system, and the bi-weekly payment of wages in currency, elimination of the peonage system, the prohibition of the use of the black-list, the establishment of labor exchanges, and the nationalization of the land. The Congress also sent greetings to the Socialist Party of America, and protested against the United States Government for refusing passports to the American delegates.

The Congress decided to establish an American Labor and Socialist Secretariat with headquarters at Buenos Aires. The Secretariat is to be composed of two delegates from Argentina—one from the Socialist Party and the other from the labor organizations—the third delegate to represent the Socialist Party of Uruguay. The Secretariat was empowered to take up matters affecting the Socialist and labor movement of the American hemisphere and to publish a bulletin. It will also designate the meeting place of the next congress.

MANUEL A. CRUZAT.

### LATIN-AMERICAN LABOR NOTES

General unrest was manifested among the workers of South American countries during 1918 and 1919. Argentina, Uruguay, Chile and Peru have experienced a general strike movement, which, though industrial in origin, had assumed political importance and brought the workers in direct conflict with their respective governments. In many instances, troops had to be used to quell the riots, which were a result of the oppressive measures practiced by the local police authorities.

The Railway Workers of Argentina, declared a general strike in the Winter of 1918, which paralyzed transportation throughout the country. The steel workers followed with a strike in the beginning of 1919, and a sympathetic general strike was proclaimed to aid the striking steel workers. Strikes of longshoremen, clerks, telephone operators, and workers of many other callings, took place during the Spring and Summer of 1919. The strike movement greatly aided the Socialists, who were among the leaders of the striking workers. In the municipal elections of Buenos Aires in October 1918, which was soon after the railway strike, the Socialists elected 12 members of the Council. In the federal elections in March, 1919, the Socialists polled 56,000 votes out of the 150,000 votes cast for two deputies in Buenos Aires.

Several strikes were inaugurated in Uruguay in sympathy with the striking railway and transport workers of Argentina. As a result of the strike, an 8-hour law was declared by the

government. Two Socialists sit in the National Legislature of Uruguay.

Several strikes took place in Chile, where the Socialist movement is growing rapidly, and is supported by the labor organizations.

A split in the Socialist movement of Mexico, occurred at the Convention of the Socialist Party held in the Fall of 1919, when a seceding faction organized the Communist Party. The split is attributed to the undue influence exercised by the representatives of the American Federation of Labor in Mexico, who are also members of the Socialist Party.

## AUSTRALIA

### THE LABOR PARTY

Australia was the first country where the workers were able to become politically strong enough to control and carry on the government. This has been the achievement of the Labor Party, which is the political organization created by the trade-union movement. The Labor Party, without any formal adherence to Socialist doctrine and practically untouched by Marxian philosophy, has developed a genuine class-consciousness and fought so successfully for the overthrow of capitalist rule, that it has driven all anti-labor and anti-Socialist parties to unite for self-preservation under the name of National. There are thus, practically only two parties, Labor and Nationalists, the middle-class radicals and progressive groups having been eliminated in 1909. Recently there have been attempts to form new progressive and "national democratic" parties, but with very little success.

In 1914 Labor reached the high water mark in Australia. Every state excepting Victoria had a Labor government, while Labor was in charge of the Federal Government. In turn Western Australia and Tasmania lost at elections, while in New South Wales and South Australia defections over the conscription issue put Anti-Labor governments in power. Thus at the time of writing, as far as the state governments are concerned, the only state with the Labor Party in power, is Queensland, where there has been no split. It is well worth recording that in the last Queensland State elections (March 16, 1918), the Labor Party led by Premier Ryan was returned by the biggest majority ever accorded a political party in Australia—Labor's majority over its opponent being increased from 18 to 30. The state of parties in the Queensland Parliament at present is Labor, 51; Conservatives, 21. The Queensland soldiers fighting abroad who voted by proxy, cast a 90 per cent vote for the Labor Party. The Conservatives, who hoped to win on the sympathy ticket, put up some 20 returned soldiers to contest seats against Labor men, but all, with the exception of one, were defeated.

Following the 1914 election, the Commonwealth administration was again carried on by Labor, for the third time, under the

guidance of Andrew Fisher as Prime Minister. Toward the end of 1915 he retired to become Australia's High Commissioner in London and was succeeded by the Attorney-General, W. M. Hughes.

At the outbreak of the war the Government placed the resources of Australia at the disposal of the "Mother Country" at once. The Australian fleet was placed under the British Admiralty and an army was raised by voluntary enlistment. Out of a population of 5,000,000 men, women, and children, some 700,000 offered their services. Of these slightly over 400,000 were accepted for active service. About 330,000 men, fully equipped, were sent overseas; some 60,000 either deserted from camps, contracted diseases, or were dismissed; while about 10,000 were in various camps in Australia at the signing of the armistice. Although in a minority, the Socialists of Australia protested against Australia's support of British Imperialism. Mainly because of this, the Commonwealth Government passed a War Precautions Act. This act gave the Government unlimited powers in every direction. While it curtailed the operations of trusts, it stifled also the voice of democracy. In the latter direction, while the censorship imposed under the act was intended only to deal with military matters, it resolved itself finally into a censorship of political opinions. The Socialist newspapers suffered bitterly under this régime, while free speech was prohibited everywhere. Clashes with the police and the military were frequent, especially at peace meetings.

The split in the Labor Party originated in the visit of Prime Minister Hughes to Great Britain. There, early in 1916, he astounded the public by his extraordinary anti-German oratory. He became the idol of the British Imperialists, who tried earnestly to keep him in England to help the Government to win the war. He returned to Australia, however, convinced that nothing but conscription would save the Commonwealth from becoming a German dependency. But the anti-militarist opposition in the Labor Party had been defining itself more clearly, and Hughes's design to pass a conscription law without consulting the people was frustrated. A small section, consisting mostly of parliamentary representatives headed by Hughes, carried on a vigorous patriotic and conscriptionist propaganda in the face of the opposition of the rank and file of the party. The threatened split was for the time avoided by the agreement to submit the question to a national referendum, which took place in October, 1916. The result was: for conscription, 1,034,918; against, 1,145,198; majority against 61,280. Hughes and all the state Labor governments, with the exception of that in Queensland, joined the conscriptionists in the pro-war campaign. In the three largest states, New South Wales, Victoria, and Queensland, the party officially opposed conscription; and thus matters reached a crisis. At a conference of the New South Wales Labor Party it was decided to expel all members who defied the

official policy. This included Hughes, who was a representative from New South Wales and several other prominent Labor leaders and members of the Commonwealth and New South Wales parliaments.

It was expected that Hughes and the conscriptionists in the Labor Party would accept the people's verdict as an excellent excuse for dropping an unpopular policy, but Hughes, unwilling to admit defeat, persisted in his defiance of the party, and after long drawn out negotiations with the political representatives of the interests he had denounced throughout a splendid career of more than 25 years, he formed a coalition with the Liberals. Although at the head of the new so-called National Government, it was obvious from the beginning that the control of the Commonwealth had once more passed into the hands of the capitalists. Under the leadership of Frank Tudor, who had resigned from the Cabinet, the Labor Party, purged of its militarist elements, became once more a minority in the House of Representatives, but in the Senate it still had a majority; and so was able to obstruct the business of the new Government.

As the term of the Commonwealth Parliament was to expire in September, 1917, the Government decided to hold a general election without delay in the hope of acquiring a majority. This took place on May 5, and resulted in the victory of the coalition forces. The Labor Party polled 47, and the Conservative-Liberal-Labor-militaristic element 53 per cent of the total vote. It appears that while the soldiers in the European trenches voted against conscription by a strong majority in the referendum of October, 1916, at the general election they voted against the Labor Party. The Labor forces are, as proven by this election, almost as strong as all the other elements together.<sup>1</sup>

After the Federal elections in May, 1917, the Hughes-Cook Coalition Government commenced its term of office. As in all other countries during war-time, Australia had its first experience of what tyranny and Prussianism really are. But little of real legislation was accomplished by parliamentary methods—the Government used its powers under the War Precautions Act to pass by Executive minute some of the most repressive and tyrannous measures known in Australia.

Nominally instituted to prevent information likely to be of value from reaching the enemy, the Censorship has been used vigorously to cover up the political scandals on the part of the Government and suppress even healthy criticism of the actions of individual Cabinet ministers. At one stage Labor newspapers were not allowed to refer to Hughes as a "renegade" from the Labor movement.

The membership in the trades unions has increased from year to year. Indeed, it can be said that the increase has been phenomenal. Content until recently with craft unions, the tendency today is along the lines of industrial unionism. The increase in

<sup>1</sup> Unofficial accounts of the December, 1919 elections credit the Labor Party with 29 seats in the House. The party had previously 28.

the membership of the trade unions is shown below.

<i>Members</i>		<i>Members</i>	
1894.....	55,348	1913.....	497,925
1900.....	84,231	1914.....	523,271
1906.....	175,529	1915.....	528,031
1910.....	302,119	1916.....	546,556
1911.....	364,732	1917.....	564,187
1912.....	433,224	1918.....	590,000

The principal newspapers are:

*The Australian Worker*, Sydney (Weekly); *Labor News*, Sydney (Weekly); *Queensland Worker*, Brisbane (Weekly); *Standard*, Brisbane (Daily); *The Labor Call*, Melbourne (Weekly); *The Herald*, Adelaide (Daily); *The World*, Hobart (Daily); *Westralian Worker*, Perth (Weekly).

### THE SOCIALIST PARTIES

Side by side with the growth of the Australian Labor Party there has been on its outskirts an attempt at developing a separate Socialist movement by two chief factions best designated broadly as auxiliary and antagonist. One faction, while standing for independence and criticism of the Labor Party, has insisted on the policy of permeation as most advantageous; the other faction has sounded the tocsin of no-compromise and urged opposition to the Labor Party on the ground that the Labor Party is purely palliative and not revolutionary. Between the two factions the feeling is bitter, and bitterness and hostility are also manifested within the divisions of each faction, which are not unified in the sense of following one lead. One faction consists of the Socialist Labor Party and the Australian Socialist Party, both with several branches in the Commonwealth and both substantially in tactical agreement; the other is made up of the Victorian Socialist Party and certain Socialist leagues in Queensland, West Australia, and New South Wales. The latter faction supports the Labor candidates; the former attempts to run its own candidates for Parliament, but so far has only done so in New South Wales with no success. Before the Labor Party had its rise, there existed in New South Wales in 1897 the Australian Socialist League, which later on became the Socialist Labor Party, many of its members, however, joining the Labor Party. The S. L. P. continued its life alone until 1907, in which year a number of scattered Socialist organizations established the Socialist Federation of Australia, hoping that the S. L. P. would join it. The S. L. P. refused and the S. F. A. withdrew, after a year or so, its support from the Labor Party and unsuccessfully ran candidates for Parliament in New South Wales and Victoria. Desiring to prevent its membership from supporting Labor—voting had been left an open question—the S. F. A. changed into the Australian Socialist Party and thereby lost the Victorian body, which returned to its Labor allegiance. At the present time the V. S. P. and other Socialist societies are likely to link up as an Australian Socialist Federation of an educational character and on a nonParliamentary basis, while efforts are also being made again to unite the A. S. P. and S. L. P.

Against both factions and the Labor Party the Industrial Workers of the World met with marked results until wiped out



by law in the days of the war. The One Big Union idea captured militant trade unions, however, and it is possible that the establishment of the One Big Union may unite the Labor Party and the two Socialist factions as its political expression. Another possibility is that the adoption of Preferential Voting and Proportional Representation may lead the Socialists to contest for parliamentary seats at the ballot box.

All the various Socialist parties throughout Australia issue small newspapers, some weekly, others monthly, while all have administrative offices either at Sydney or Melbourne. It is predicted that these bodies may find it advisable to co-operate more fully with the Labor Party than in the past—especially now that the Australian Labor Movement has assumed such radical tendencies.

It is worthy of mention that all the Socialist bodies of Australia were anti-war, in which attitude they had the co-operation of the militant wing of the Labor Party.

W. FRANCIS AHERN,  
*Australian Labor Party.*

### THE AUSTRIAN REVOLUTION

A demonstration of workingmen and students began during the morning of October 30, 1918, in front of Parliament in Vienna. At noon the announcement that the Hapsburgs had been deposed was made from the balcony of the building to the thousands surrounding it. The garrison had been won over and the soldiers as well as officers fraternized with the people. At about three o'clock in the afternoon, the National Assembly, which formed a provisional Council of State with the old Social-Democratic leader, Victor Adler, at its head, met. Several weeks after the revolution Victor Adler died. The Social-Democrat, Karl Renner, became Chancellor of the State after his death, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which at the beginning was also administered by Adler, was taken over by the more radical Otto Bauer. For the rest, the movement in Vienna proceeded much like that in Germany. The national election, which took place shortly after the elections in Germany, gave the Social-Democrats a plurality. The serious industrial condition of German-Austria, its complete dependence upon industrial aid from the allied countries permitted no erection of a proletarian Soviet Republic, as Friedrich Adler explained in an open letter to the Hungarian leader, Bela Kun. Nevertheless, the radical proletarian elements were not idle in Austria and the organization of the revolutionary forces was carried on with never-slackening zeal. The workers of Vienna seemed ready to strike a blow several times in the middle of June when street fights were reported in the old imperial city and revolutionary propaganda was reported even from the rural districts of German Austria. At about this time, the suffering of the Viennese population in consequence of its almost complete isolation, rose to

the highest point. Nowhere was the suffering more terrible than in the city of Vienna.

But the different attempts of the radical elements to wrest the power from the hands of the moderate Socialists and to replace the Bourgeois-Socialist coalition government failed. Otto Bauer, the only radical Socialist in the cabinet, resigned as Minister of Foreign Affairs and was succeeded by Karl Renner, one of the most moderate Austrian Socialists. Bauer accepted, however, the post of Minister of Labor in the government.

The radical Socialist movement is growing in Austria and is represented by the Left elements in the Social-Democratic Party led by Friedrich Adler and Teresa Schlessinger-Eckstein, and the Communist groups, which are increasing in numbers. The Austrian coalition government has adopted a much more conciliatory attitude toward the Communist movement than that of Germany.

### BELGIUM

The Belgian Socialist and labor movement has suffered greatly throughout the war. During the German military occupation its headquarters were at Havre, France, and neither the political nor the industrial branch of the movement were able to function during that period. Only the co-operative organizations were able to carry on their activities undisturbed. With the signing of the armistice November, 1918, the administrations of the Socialist and labor organizations returned to Belgium and began to rebuild their organizations in the various parts of the country.

The Belgian labor movement, unlike that of any other country, had the political, economic and co-operative branches of the movement act together to such a degree that a divorce of the Socialist movement from this union was contemplated. It was felt that the close alliance of the Socialist Party with the labor unions and the co-operatives greatly impeded the progress of the party. It is also believed that this close union between the Socialist and the more conservative labor and co-operative movements was partly responsible for the breakdown of the Socialist organization during the world war. The Belgian Socialist Party was to a far greater degree merged into the war machinery of the government than any other Socialist organization, including that of Germany. Even in Germany there was evinced from the beginning of the war opposition to the "civil peace" policy of the majority element in the Social Democratic Party; while absolute unanimity prevailed in the Belgian party with regard to supporting the government in the prosecution of the war and its foreign policies.

The first national convention of the Socialist Party in four years was held December 24-26, 1918, at Brussels. During the war two members of the Socialist Party, Vandervelde and Anseele, entered the coalition ministry, and the convention was called upon to decide whether they should be allowed to continue

in office now that the war was over. With 22 votes against one the convention allowed the Socialist ministers to continue as members of the coalition government and instructed them to oppose all annexationist policies of the government and to work against a hostile attitude toward Holland. Vandervelde declared at the convention that he would never have entered the cabinet had the government advocated annexations for Belgium; though it is known that the Belgian delegation at the Peace Conference of which Vandervelde is a member appeared before the Supreme Council of the Conference and protested against "the regrettable fact that no consideration was shown to Belgium in the peace treaty." The convention also endorsed the war policy and the actions of the National Executive Committee and declared itself opposed to the Soviet régime in Russia.

The decisions of the convention aroused opposition among the radical elements of the party and a Communist Party was organized in February, 1919. According to recent reports, the Communists have organized 26 groups in 19 different cities. The radical tendency is also spreading in the coal mine districts and it is reported that radical Socialist trade unions, organized on an industrial basis, are being formed there.

The Socialist Party also held a convention in April, 1919, at which it was decided to participate at the Berne International Conference as well as to continue the affiliation of the party with the International Socialist Bureau. It had previously refused to participate in international conferences in which German Socialists were present. The party also decided by a vote of 1,400 to 152 to officially participate in the government.

The parliamentary elections held on November 16, 1919, resulted in the increase of the Socialist vote and representation in the Chamber of Deputies. The Socialists received 644,499 votes and elected 70 deputies, which was an increase of 31 members, and 20 senators, which was an increase of 5. While the Catholic Party received only 618,505 votes, it is still the largest party in the Chamber with 73 deputies, having sustained a loss of 23 members over their previous membership in the Chamber. The parliamentary success of the Socialists is largely due to the abolition of the system of plural voting, which was practiced in Belgium until the present election.

The trade union movement counts at present about 200,000 members, while before the war it claimed a membership of 500,000. The Socialist and labor press is being re-established. The only Socialist paper which was published during the German military occupation was the *Vooruit* in Ghent, edited by Anseele. Its circulation is reported now over 50,000.

The Headquarters of the Socialist Party is at Maison du Peuple, Brussels.

## BULGARIA

The Bulgarian Socialist movement developed somewhat similar to the German Social Democracy and for exactly the same

reasons. Capitalist development had progressed with tremendous strides during the 15 years prior to the outbreak of the war creating a strong industrial proletariat, and introducing at the same time a system of extensive agriculture, which transformed the farming population of Bulgaria from owners of small farms into a class of exploited agricultural workers. Two Socialist parties exist in Bulgaria at the present time—the *Broadminded* (Moderate) and the *Narrowminded* (Communist), the first being the stronger in membership. The combined parliamentary strength of both Socialist parties was 37 members in 1913 and 86 in 1914. A special election held seven months later decreased the number of Socialist members in the *Sobranie* (Chamber of Deputies) to 46. At the last election in August, 1919, the Broadminded Socialists decreased their number in the *Sobranie* from 46 to 39 and the Communists have increased from 10 to 47.

During the latter part of the war the bitterness between the two Bulgarian Socialist parties had grown more acute because of the active support which the Broadminded Socialists gave to the government and later allied themselves with the Majority Socialists of Germany, whose tactics and policies they praised and imitated at home. Members of the Broadminded party accepted positions in the government and at the present time, the three leaders of the party—Sakasov, Djidrov and Bakalov—are members of the Coalition ministry. They have supported all acts of the government in suppressing the revolutionary movement in Bulgaria using French colonial troops against the revolutionary workers. The Broadminded party was represented at the Berne International Socialist Conference and the party is affiliated with the old International Socialist Bureau.

The Narrowminded Socialist Party, under the leadership of Kirkov and Blagoyev, unanimously decided at a convention in May, 1919, to affiliate with the Moscow International Conference, and having declared against parliamentary activity in bourgeois society, called for the immediate withdrawal of its members in the *Sobranie*. The party also changed its name to the Communist Party.

The Broadminded party has seven Socialist periodicals, among which the *Narod* (People) is the most important publication, and the Communist four newspapers, with the *Rabotnicheski Vestnik* (Labor Journal) as the leading official organ. It is estimated that the daily circulation of all these publications is about 200,000.

The industrial labor movement is divided along the same lines as the political. The General Labor Federation which is influenced by the Broadminded Socialists, has a membership of about 12,000, while the Free Bulgarian Union Federation, consisting of members of the Communist Party, and a number of anarchists and syndicalists, claims a membership of about 4,500.

The Secretary of the Broadminded Socialist Party is Constantine Bosveliev, *Narod*, Sofia.

The Secretary of the Communist Party is G. Kirkov, Narodn Dom, Lvov Most, Sofia.

## CANADA

### THE WINNIPEG STRIKE

The Winnipeg General Strike was the culmination of the development of the One Big Union movement in Canada. This movement came as a result of the growing opposition of the progressive labor groups toward the controlling elements in the Canadian labor movement. The delegates representing the labor unions of Western Canada at the Quebec Trades Union Congress, October, 1918, were defeated in their attempt to secure progressive action on the part of the Congress, by the conservative delegates from the East. The Western delegates agreed to continue their agitation for a progressive labor policy and a preliminary conference of delegates from Western Canada was held at Calgary in April, 1919, with the aim of securing concerted action at the following National Congress. The Calgary Conference went on record for Industrial Unionism as against the present craft form of organization and declared itself in favor of One Big Union. A referendum was also taken among all unions with the exception of the Railway Brotherhoods on the question of secession from the A. F. of L. When the Winnipeg strike began this referendum had already shown a vast majority of the unions in the four Western provinces favoring the separation from the A. F. of L.

The Winnipeg Strike began with the strike of the Building Trades, which demanded a 32 per cent wage increase and recognition of the Building Trades' Council. The Builders' Exchange offered a wage increase of 15 per cent, but refused to recognize the organization or the principle of collective bargaining. Within a few days, the Building Trades were joined by the Metal Workers, whose organization was also refused recognition by their employers. The Metal Trades, in addition to the recognition, demanded the same pay as was then in force for similar work in the Railway shops, and the 8-hour day.

On May 15, when it was evident that the strike would be lost, without the assistance of other organized workers, the strikers asked the Trades and Labor Council to call a general strike. It happened that other unions had grievances of their own, which they were anxious to settle. Some of these unions went out on strike on their own behalf. All the unions which responded to the strike call, issued by the Trades Council, voted in favor of the general strike by large majorities. Not all unions, however, took the strike vote, among them, the Typographical Workers, Musicians and Stereotypers were conspicuous. Some of these unions later took the vote and joined the strike. Other unions refused to take the strike vote and remained at work.

Altogether about 35,000 workers struck, resulting in the most complete cessation of work ever known in Canada. The General Strike Committee, which had complete charge of the situation,

consisted of three delegates elected by ballot from every union on strike, together with five persons elected by ballot from among the delegates of the Trades and Labor Council. Opposed to the General Strike Committee, was the Citizens' Committee of 1,000, which claimed to represent the public. This committee brought pressure to bear upon the civic and federal governments. Through their paper, *The Citizen*, they conducted a vigorous campaign against the strikers. After a few days, the Strike Committee decided to make some concessions in the interest of the population. The Water Workers, who were on strike, were asked to supply sufficient help to man the water-works. The police and firemen, who had voted to strike, were asked by the committee to remain at their posts. Hospital employees, drivers of milk-wagons, moving-picture operators, and others whose work was necessary to supply the minimum needs of the people, were permitted to continue their work.

During the first six weeks of the strike, May 1-June 15, the police court record was lower than for months previous. During the last two weeks, there were two riots, in which two persons were shot by the mounted police. There was no disorder until the regular police were dismissed because they would not sign a pledge not to join a sympathetic strike or not to affiliate with the Trades and Labor Council. The regular police was replaced by 1,500 special police, assisted by mounted police and militia.

Many cities, including Calgary, Edmonton and Toronto, meantime joined the general strike in sympathy with Winnipeg. Efforts to settle the strike through mediation proved fruitless, as the employers had refused to accept the minimum demands of the workers, consisting of recognition of the workers' organization and the re-instatement of all those who were on strike.

The Winnipeg City Council and the provincial and federal governments were determined to break the strike or to starve the strikers into submission. An ultimatum was issued to the workers to return to work or suffer the penalty of absolute dismissal. Mounted police were placed at the disposal of the City Council and an armored car was rushed to the city to awe the strikers. At midnight on June 17, a melodramatic arrest of the strike leaders was staged. The police descended upon their homes and the Labor Temple in search of evidence of a plot. Ivens, editor of the *Western Labor News* and a minister, and Russell, Bray, Armstrong, Heaps and Quinn, were arrested and lodged in jail. The Immigration Act had meantime been amended, which made it possible to deport British-born persons, believed guilty of seditious conspiracy by means of a secret trial, and without the right of a jury to appeal to any judge or court in the land. The threat of a general strike and the beginning of balloting forced the government to release the imprisoned strike leaders on bail. The strike was called off on June 26 after it had lasted six weeks, pending negotiations on the questions at issue in the Building and Metal Trades dispute. The

strikers were exhausted and were weakened by arrest of their leaders and the persecution of the federal government.

The calling off of the strike was a signal for wholesale discrimination on the part of the employers and the government, which refused to re-instate the postal, telephone and other employees. The strike leaders who were later forced to return to jail, to remain without bail pending trial in October, 1919, on charge of seditious conspiracy, were again released on bail September 19, as a result of the threats of the nation-wide strike, after they had served 26 days in jail.<sup>1</sup>

### CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

The Czecho-Slovak (Bohemian) Socialist movement represents one of the oldest and strongest of the political and industrial labor movements of Europe. Before the separation of the various national Socialist groups of Austria in 1900, Czech workers were better organized than even the German-Austrian workers. This was as a result of the intense industrialization of Bohemia, while German Austria was more an agricultural than an industrial state. Old Bohemia had three different Socialist parties of which only the Czecho-Slovak Social Democratic Labor Party, under the leadership of Nemec and Soukup could be considered as a real Socialist organization. It was this party that actively carried on propaganda for Socialism, had built up strong industrial and co-operative organizations, and is responsible for the strong Socialist sentiment which now prevails in Czecho-Slovakia. It was also the organization which the International Socialist Bureau recognized as representing the Socialist movement in Bohemia.

With the outbreak of the war, national interests became predominant and the political issues which existed before the war lost much of their significance. The various Czech political parties felt that Bohemia had only one enemy, Austria, and they saw in the defeat of the Central Powers the possibility of a free Bohemia. They, therefore, sponsored the cause of the Allies as their own. The bourgeois elements of Bohemia have always affiliated themselves with the pan-Slavic movement in Russia and the Balkans, while the Socialists have never taken an interest in this agitation. With the continuation of the war, and the growth of pro-Ally sentiment in Bohemia, the Social-Democratic Party was greatly influenced toward taking a nationalist position. It openly joined the nationalist movement which was promoted by the other political parties and which brought them in closer relations with the nationalist Socialist groups under the leadership of Professor Masaryk and the Centralists, a group which stood between the bourgeois nationalists and moderate Socialists. An amalgamation of the three Socialist parties was finally effected at a convention in January, 1918. This amalgamation did not result in complete unity. The inter-

<sup>1</sup> R. B. Russell, the first of the strike leaders to be tried was convicted December 27, 1919, to serve two years in prison.

nationalist elements in the Social-Democratic Party, under the leadership of Dr. Schmaral, opposed the policy of a civil peace and urged the party to carry on an independent campaign for the independence of Bohemia. The party's insistence upon the coalition policy and the promotion of the nationalist aspirations of the Bohemian bourgeoisie, led to the formation in the spring of 1919, of a Communist Party, under the leadership of Alois Muna, which has already enrolled a great many members of the Social-Democratic Party. The Communist Party has already 70 groups in the various industrial centers of Bohemia. It publishes two daily and four weekly papers, in spite of the persecution by the present government.

Bohemia declared its independence October 14, 1918. A month later the National Assembly met, which organized the first Czecho-Slovak Government. The elections to the National Assembly and to the municipal legislative and administrative bodies, gave the united Socialists a majority of all seats. It is believed that the nationalist rather than the Socialist sentiment of the population was responsible for the overwhelming victory of the unified Socialists at the polls. The first Government included seven Socialists—Klofac, Defense; Soukup, Justice; Stribrny, Post and Telegraphs; Haberman, Education; Winter, Social Welfare; Vrbensky, Provisions, and Tomask, without portfolio. V. Tusar, the present premier, is a Social-Democrat.

The unified Socialist Party is affiliated with the International Socialist Bureau and participated in the Berne and Lucerne Conferences. It endorsed the Berne protest against military intervention in Russia and Hungary and demanded from its own government the immediate withdrawal of the Czecho-Slovak troops from Siberia. This demand was opposed by the nationalist wing of the party which was in favor of "the withdrawal of troops as soon as compatible with our honor." A similar situation existed with regard to Soviet Hungary. The Social-Democrats insisted upon the immediate withdrawal of troops from Hungary. Notwithstanding the fact that the Hungarian government sued for peace, the Czecho-Slovak government insisted upon a military victory before agreeing to withdraw its troops from Hungary. It is difficult to estimate the exact strength of the various Socialist groups at the present time. The Social Democratic Labor Party is by far stronger and better organized than the other Socialist groups in the amalgamated party. It claims a membership of 122,000.

The Federation of Labor Unions has grown tremendously. Organized in 1897 with 7,000 members it had at the beginning of the war about 55,000 members. The membership decreased in 1915 to 31,000 and in 1916 to 23,000. In 1917 the federation claimed 43,000 members, and in 1918, 161,000 members. It is estimated that in the middle of 1919 the membership reached 450,000.

The Secretary of the Labor Federation is Rudolph Tayerle, II Hyberuská 7, Prague.



## CHINA

Since the fall of President Li Yuan Hung in 1917, China has been split internally into two countries, although to all external appearances it is still one nation. The seat of the Northern Government is at Peking, while that of the Southerners is at Canton, the capital city of the Kwangtung Province. Each government has its own Parliament consisting of two houses. The former Parliament moved to the South and a new Parliament was created by the Northern Government according to a self-made election law. Most of the old Congressmen, among whom are a few Socialists, are progressive in their attitude.

Mr. Hsieh Yung-Po,<sup>1</sup> who was exiled from China to America in 1913, is at present a prominent Socialist spokesman in the House in Canton. The national office of the Socialist Party is located there, since its removal in 1917 from its old, unsafe seat in Shanghai. The Socialist Party conducts the Mutual Aid School and publishes the *Southern Star*, a daily paper. Four other periodicals are published by the Socialists.

The writer, who was the founder of the Socialist movement in China, visited China and traveled through many provinces after the death of Yuan Shih-Kai when he was allowed to return. His return marked the rejuvenation of the Socialist movement after three years of dreadful oppression. The re-establishment of the Socialist Party was planned, and a preliminary meeting was held in Peking. Hundreds of old members and sympathizers made application to the new organization. Before the party could formally organize, the insurrection for the restoration of the Manchu dynasty took place, and the writer was forced to flee, a second time from his mother country, after a brief visit of three months. Thus the formal organization and the political movement of the Socialist Party were restricted to the South as before.

The Restoration did not last long, and the Northern Government is no improvement upon the Manchu Government. Tuan Chi-Jui has come into power again, and civil war is constantly threatening the Southerners. But the consummation of the conflict in China, seems to be near, now that the world war has ended. A peace conference between the North and South has been called in Shanghai. The conference has been closed three times because of interruptions, but an agreement is slowly being reached; and, according to a recent report, a treaty will be signed by the two parties.

Japan's aggressive policy toward Shantung has made the opposition leaders realize the necessity and importance of unity. Both the Government and the people as a whole, are as one on the Shantung question. The Chinese Government and the people have approved the action of the Chinese delegates to the peace

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Hsieh was a student at the Rand School of Social Science while in America.—Ed.

conference, who refused to sign the Paris Peace Treaty, which gave Shantung to Japan without the consent of China. It is quite natural that the Chinese should be bitterly disappointed and strongly convinced that the Peace Treaty and the League of Nations mean very little to weak nations.

Owing to geographical difficulties, the Chinese Socialist Party in the South has not come in contact with the Russian Socialists, but in the North the Anarchists and some Socialists have already joined the Soviets in Siberia and Mongolia.

No one can predict what will happen if the Shantung question is not properly adjusted. It is hoped that the radical elements in Japan and China will settle the question by joint action. This may cause much confusion among the various parties within the countries, but it will not avert war between the two nations. The only question to be determined now is whether the Japanese are ready at present to respond with the Chinese to the call for a political and economic revolution, which is inevitable and is only biding time.

S. C. KIANG KANG-HU.

## DENMARK

The Social-Democratic Party of Denmark is now the strongest political party in Denmark. While it is only the second party in Parliament, its candidates in the last election received the largest number of votes, or 28.5% of the votes cast. In the election of 1918, when the party increased its delegation in the *Folketinget* (Chamber of Deputies) from 34 to 39, it increased its vote from 121,276, which it obtained in the elections of 1916, to 263,000. This increase was primarily due to the participation of women in the parliamentary elections. The Socialists have also 15 representatives in the *Landstinget* (Senate). There are at present 1,479 Socialists in the various city and rural governments. The Social Democratic Party has a majority in 14 cities and 34 rural councils including Copenhagen.

The parliamentary success of the party was made possible by the opportunistic tendencies and tactics of the Danish Socialists. The Social Democratic Party officially became a part of the government and has assumed responsibility for its policies and acts. At a convention of the party in 1916, it was decided by a vote of 293 to 32 to permit the leader of the Danish Social Democracy, Stauning, to enter the government as a minister without portfolio. The party has since supported Stauning, who has become Minister of Social Welfare, in his activities as a member of the government, and very little opposition has ever developed against this general policy of the party.

The Socialist movement of Denmark represents the most conservative of the Socialist movements in the various Scandinavian countries. The party is primarily interested in securing certain reforms and is actively engaged in promoting social and labor legislation. Soon after the armistice, the party addressed a mani-

fest to the people of Denmark in which it pledged its representatives in the government to demand from the liberal ministry certain reforms, including reduction of armaments, abolition of the system of courts martial, regulation of prices, the establishment of the 8-hour day, provision of public works for the unemployed, abolition of night work in bakeries, improvement in the social insurance legislation, abolition of indirect taxation, etc.

The Social Democratic Party is bitterly opposed to the radical tendencies in the international Socialist movement. It has participated in the Berne and Lucerne international conferences and according to the secretary of the party, Borgbjerg, the party has "always counted it a mark of honor to have opposed from the start the dangerous tendencies of Zimmerwald and Kienthal." The party has now more than 800 organizations distributed throughout the country. On January 1, 1919, the membership was 92,000 and it has been estimated that at present it has reached the 100,000-mark.

The industrial labor movement is closely allied with the political Socialist movement. The General Federation of Labor and the party send to each other two delegates to sit on the respective executive committees. The membership of the unions affiliated with the Federation is estimated at the present time at 260,000, and of the unions which do not belong to the Federation and which include the Syndicalist and the Christian unions, 50,000. It is estimated that between 50 and 60 per cent of the total working class population are organized in labor unions.

## FINLAND

Finland was the first country in whose parliament the Socialists outnumbered the combined representation of the other political parties. In June, 1916, 103 of the 200 seats in the Finnish Diet were held by the Social-Democratic deputies. The electoral success of 1916 was not an accidental victory, but the achievement of a movement which occupied, because of its systematic and thoroughly organized propaganda and educational work, a leading place among the European Socialist parties. The parliamentary victory of the Finnish Socialists revealed the class character of democracy in a bourgeois state. The Finnish bourgeoisie refused to accept the decision of the popular majority—now that the majority expressed its will by placing the control of governmental affairs in a working class political party. It plotted with the Czar's government in an attempt to nullify the elections and prevent the parliament from meeting. When the Russian Revolution released Finland, as well as the other Russian provinces from Russian domination, the Finnish Diet was convened. It enacted many laws benefiting the workers. The Finnish bourgeoisie, alarmed at the activities of the Socialist majority in the Diet, appealed to Russia for aid. According to the old Finnish constitution, the laws enacted by the Diet, had

to receive the sanction by the Czar's government before they became effective. The Kerensky government answered the appeal of the Finnish bourgeoisie by making use of the power which the Czar possessed, and which the revolution had to all intents and purposes destroyed. It was because of this alliance between the Finnish reactionary element and the Kerensky government that the Finnish Socialists demanded complete independence for Finland. They were not moved by nationalist aspirations, but rather by a desire to provide a means whereby they could carry out the wishes of the Finnish workers, who elected them to parliament. The Finnish bourgeoisie, which had always cherished the hope of an independent Finland, strenuously opposed at this time, the movement for independence. When the Socialist majority in the Diet proclaimed Finland an independent state, the Finnish bourgeoisie advised Kerensky to dissolve the Diet. Kerensky followed their advice and new elections were ordered. The Finnish workers participated in these elections under protest, believing the dissolution of the Diet as illegal. The combined reactionary forces triumphed through the use of fraudulent methods and the Socialists obtained only 96 seats out of the 200.

They were not, however, satisfied with the results at the polls. They knew that they could not hold the power very long. They thereupon began to arm themselves and to plot with foreign governments in order to crush the Finnish Socialist and labor movements. When the Russian workers overthrew the Kerensky government and proclaimed the proletarian dictatorship, the Finnish bourgeoisie, who had already secretly organized a White Guard, began to seek more actively the aid of the German government. The Finnish workers realized that an open conflict was unavoidable and in January, 1918, a struggle for control ensued. The workers organized their Red Army, and proclaimed Finland a proletarian republic. The Red Army occupied Southern Finland and was moving on the Northern part of the country. The Finnish workers, however, found very soon that they had arrayed against them not only their Finnish bourgeoisie and its White Guard, but the reactionary elements of other countries. First arms and ammunition came from Sweden and Germany, and then trained German regiments came to the aid of the Finnish White Guard. The proletarian forces could not withstand the combined strength of the opposition and the revolution was defeated.

A prolonged White Terror followed the ascendancy of the Finnish bourgeoisie. Supported by foreign bayonets, and bent upon the destruction of the Finnish Socialist and labor movements, the reactionary government was making wholesale arrests among the members of the labor unions and the Socialist Party, was executing the leaders of the revolution and was confiscating their social and educational institutions. Thus, during this reign of terror, about 120,000 men, women and children of the working

class were forced into prisons. Over 15,000 were summarily executed and about 15,000 died from starvation in the prison camps. It is estimated that there are about 25,000 orphaned children of those who fell victims of this terror. The labor papers were suppressed, the Socialist and labor headquarters were turned over to the White Guards and the entire labor movement declared illegal.

A small part of the Finnish Red Army succeeded in escaping to Russia. They joined the Soviet Red Army, feeling that the destinies of the working class of Finland were tied up with the fate of Soviet Russia. Another group of the Red Army went to the Murmansk Coast, in the belief that the Allies would aid them in their attempt to go to Finland to fight the Germans and the pro-German White Guard. Their fate was, however, similar to that of the Czecho-Slovaks. Instead of going to Finland to help free their country from German military occupation, they were forced to fight the Russian Red Army on the Murmansk front.

In August, 1918, the Finnish Socialists who escaped to Russia held a conference in Moscow. This conference resolved to prepare for another revolution in Finland and work in conjunction with the Soviet Government. The Communist Party of Finland, which was formed by the revolutionary Socialist elements in contradistinction to those of the Socialists, who decided to work with the present Finnish government, is conducting its work underground. Its Executive Committee is in Petrograd, while many branches are being organized in the different parts of Finland, which carry on their work secretly.

The Social-Democratic Party, which was reorganized after the White Terror had somewhat subsided, is moderate in its policy. This is the only kind of a Socialist organization which the present government would permit. Most of the radical Socialist elements are either in prison or are in Russia. The government was compelled to grant several amnesties and release some of the imprisoned Socialists. The Social-Democrats have attempted to secure the release of all the imprisoned Socialists and though they have offered their support to the government on many occasions, a great many Socialists are still languishing in prisons.

In the elections of March, 1919, the Social-Democratic Party secured 80 seats out of the 200 in the present parliament, and this in spite of the fact that the old Socialist movement was almost entirely destroyed. The workers participated in these elections in order to demonstrate their strength. Labor unions are beginning to re-assemble their forces, are rebuilding their headquarters, are establishing papers, while the revolutionary organizations are continuing their propaganda and preparing the masses for another revolution.

The Secretary of the Social-Democratic Party is T. Tainio, Sirkusk. 3, Helsingfors.

The Representative of the Communist Party is A. Usenius, 94 Brankyrkagatan, Stockholm, Sweden.

GEORGE HALONEN.

### FRENCH SOCIALISM DURING THE WAR.

In France as in other European countries Socialism passed through a profound crisis during the war. But in France the crisis was more serious than elsewhere, because from the morrow of the declaration of war the abdication of the French Socialist Party was complete, and it was only after long tenacious efforts on the part of obscure party members that French Socialism returned to the principles and tactics of opposition to the war, class struggle, internationalism and revolution.

A few months before the outbreak of the war, in May, 1914, the party won a great victory at the legislative elections, receiving some 1,400,000 votes and electing a hundred deputies. The party had at that time 72,000 dues-paying members, and its daily paper, *L'Humanité*, printed 150,000 copies daily.

The assassination of Jaures and the declaration of war were two mortal blows for the party. The deputies and leaders of the party could not or dared not resist the wave of chauvinism. The parliamentary group voted the military credits without discussion, accorded unlimited confidence to the bourgeois government, and joined the "Union Sacrée" (political truce), thus disavowing its political past and renouncing Socialism. Two Socialist deputies, Jules Guesde and Marcel Sembat, entered on August 28, 1914, the bourgeois ministry.

To justify their attitude the Socialist leaders invoked the "national defense theory." They declared that France had been attacked by Germany and that Socialists should participate in a war of defense, help defeat imperialist Germany, abolish Prussian militarism and establish a just and democratic peace.

This treason of the Socialist leaders led to the collapse of the entire party. Those who remained clear-visioned and faithful to Socialism could not make their voices heard; all civil liberties were suppressed, meetings were forbidden, the censor blanked in the newspapers every expression of a point of view different from the official and governmental view of the war.

The party, most of whose members were mobilized, had lost its best forces. The locals and federations no longer met. Political life was suspended. For a year it was a veritable eclipse of Socialism.

Toward the middle of 1915, when the majority of the party was increasing its responsibilities by approving the entry of Albert Thomas into the ministry (May 22, 1915) and subscribing to the policy of the capitalist rulers, Socialist and trade-union men began to raise their voices in protest.

The locals began to meet again, letters from the front told of the sufferings of the combatants and revealed the horror of the massacres, the mistakes of the generals, the horrible waste

of every kind. Discontent increased, the spirit of criticism re-awoke. The flag of opposition was raised in the party by the Federation of the Haute-Vienne which in June sent to the other federations of the party a circular letter calling attention to the attitude of Liebknecht and his friends in Germany, recalling the decisions of the international congresses, and proposing to take advantage of any opportunity for peace.

The spirit of opposition grew in the ranks of the party. A group of Russian Socialists, among them Leon Trotzky, sustained the internationalist elements and helped their propaganda. Bourderon, Lorient, Rappoport, Louise Saumonneau, were the spokesmen of the extreme left. Longuet, Pressemane, Mistral, Mayeras, Verfeuil, Delepine, Frossard, Maurin, and others, were the spokesmen of the more moderate left which was forming.

The Zimmerwald Conference with German and other Socialists, met on September 5, 1915. Bourderon, of the Socialist Party, and Merrheim, secretary of the Metal Workers' union, represented the French working class.

Wide approval of Bourderon's and Merrheim's attitude was expressed. The Committee for the Resumption of International Relations was founded, and undertook propaganda for peace and for the reconstitution of the International. There were disputes in all the federations; the party shook itself out of its torpor. The Permanent Administrative Committee of the party (C. A. P.) became disturbed, and on November 6, passed a resolution repudiating the action of the Zimmerwald Conference.

The National Congress of the party met on December 25, 1915, (the National Councils of the French Socialist Party are gatherings of the officials of the various departmental federations; the Congresses are gatherings of representatives elected by the party members); the left and extreme left both made their protests heard, but once more the left capitulated, and voted with the majority whose resolution passed by 1,736 votes against the 76 Zimmerwaldians, with 102 abstentions.

For the first time the left came out firmly at the National Council on April 9, 1916, but the majority resolution was passed by 1,996 votes to 960.

The Kienthal Conference met April 24, 1916. Three French Socialist deputies, Brizon, Raffin-Dugens, and Blanc, were present. On June 24 the three voted against the military credits for the first time, and their act created a stir in the country.

The minority had founded a weekly, *Le Populaire*, on May 1, 1916; and it became the organ of the internationalists.

A new National Council met August 7, 1916. The majority had 1,837 votes, the minority 1,081. To intensify the minority propaganda, the Committee for the Defense of International Socialism was founded.

It was impossible to express the minority point of view openly in the press, for the censor suppressed "subversive" articles, so, in November, the minority published secretly a pamphlet ex-

pressing its thesis (partial responsibility of all nations in the war; opposition to the hate campaigns and to participation in bourgeois ministries; immediate resumption of international relations with Socialists even of enemy countries; immediate peace on basis of no annexation as the only means of saving France from destruction; international tribunal to settle questions of indemnities and of Alsace-Lorraine). This was signed by 31 deputies and by eight members of the C. A. P.

At the National Congress in December 1916, the vote stood 1,537 to 1,407. The forces of the minority were steadily increasing. In reality the minority was already the majority, but the party leaders voted as majority votes the votes of the federations of the invaded provinces, which could not be consulted. At the meeting of the National Council on March 3, the vote was 1,556 to 1,337.

Then the Russian Revolution broke out in mid-March, giving the internationalist elements an irresistible impulse. A telegram from Camille Huysmans announcing the convocation of the International Conference at Stockholm May 15 was answered on April 27 by the majority of the C. A. P. by a refusal to participate. The National Conference of the Minoritaires met at Paris May 6 to protest, and three weeks later, May 29, the National Council voted unanimously to join the Conference at Stockholm. The internationalists had won their victory.

Following this victory the right wing Majoritaires shifted position and disavowed the decision. The government refused passports, and the old struggle was resumed. At the National Council in October, 1917, the two factions preserved their respective force, the Zimmerwaldians obtaining 118 votes for a separate motion. Another National Council in February showed no change.

*Le Populaire* became a daily evening paper in April, 1918, under the direction of Jean Longuet; and the July, 1918, National Council at last gave a clear majority to the internationalists, as follows:

Longuet resolution (Moderate Left).....	1544
Renaudel resolution (Conservative Right).....	1172
Loriot resolution (Extreme Left).....	152

Two months later, the National Congress confirmed this result. Marcel Cachin supplanted Renaudel as editor of the official party daily, *L'Humanité*. The internationalists gained the majority of the C. A. P. and took over the leadership of the party.

The party and its journals made rapid progress under the new leadership as the following figures show:

#### DUES-PAYING MEMBERS OF THE PARTY

July 1914.....	92,000
December 1915.....	17,000
December 1916.....	18,000
December 1917.....	24,000
December 1918.....	36,000
August 1919.....	102,000



*L'Humanité*, which had fallen to less than 50,000 copies per day, reached 300,000 during the June, 1919, strikes, and maintains an average of 200,000. *Le Populaire* reached 100,000 during the strikes, and maintains a circulation of 60,000. *Le Journal du Peuple*, which unites Socialist and Syndicalist elements of the extreme left, prints 50,000 copies daily.

BORIS SOUVARINE.

#### ADDENDUM

At the Congress held in April, 1919, the Socialist Party voted to remain in the Second International with the proviso "that those Socialists who are Socialists only in name" be expelled from it. The motion of Loriot to join the Third (Moscow) International immediately was defeated with 894 votes against 270. The Congress also adopted an electoral program of immediate demands which included among others the demands for the convocation of a constituent assembly, the granting of universal suffrage, the initiative and proportional representation, a single legislative chamber, decentralization of administration, representation of workers in the management of industrial affairs, nationalization of essential industries and advanced labor legislation. It also went on record against the ratification of the Versailles peace and the proposed League of Nations by a vote of 1,420 to 114.

Paul Faure, editor of *Le Populaire*, drew up a declaration which outlined the party policy on several important matters. This declaration, which was adopted by the Congress in the form of a resolution, declared against the punitive peace against Germany and greeted the German republic declaring "that it (the party) is entirely with the true German Socialists who courageously endeavor to give the real labor and Socialist complexion to their revolution," and continues, "it bows before their heroes and will not cease to honor the memory of Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxembourg and Kurt Eisner, who have crowned with the martyr's laurels, three lives wholly devoted to the struggle against empire and to the liberation of the universal proletariat." After extending fraternal greetings to the Russian Soviet Government, the resolution explained the party's position on the policy of the Russian Soviets. "The Socialist Party," it explains, "recalls in the same way that its thinkers from Karl Marx to Jaures have always recognized the necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat on the morrow of the triumphant revolution. This latter had naturally the need of force not only to establish itself and accomplish its work, but to shatter the inevitable attempts of the counter-revolution." The declaration later declares for "unmitigated opposition to bourgeois control, the systematic and symbolical refusal of the military and civil credits and the whole of the budget and the absolute autonomy of the Socialist Party as the political party of the working class, excluding naturally all possibility of alliance or electoral coalition in the case of a first or only ballot." It concluded with the following significant words: "It is with the pre-occupation

of re-establishing the real unity of doctrine and action of the proletariat that the party declares to those who do not recognize these ideals, and particularly to the members of parliament who may continue to vote for the credits of bourgeois governments, that they will thus be putting themselves outside their party."

Two Communist groups were formed as a result of this Congress. Both are so far committees to organize "parties in agreement with the Third International," and are led in the main by Syndicalists. Loriot and his adherents of the extreme left propose to remain in the Socialist Party, believing that they will soon control the policies of the party. At a recent meeting of the National Council, it was decided that only such candidates should be placed on the party ticket in the forthcoming general parliamentary elections as are opposed to the ratification of the Versailles treaty and are in favor of the recognition of the Russian Soviet Government.

The Parliamentary elections of November, 1919 resulted in a victory, but a disappointment for the French Socialists. While their total vote mounted to 1,750,000, a gain of about 40 per cent over that in 1914, their representation in Parliament, because of a complicated system of disproportionate representation and gerrymandering, was lowered from 105 to 55. If their representation in the Chamber had been proportionate to their total vote, they would have elected 160 deputies. The Haute Vienne, where the internationalist revival began, was the only department in which the Socialists elected their entire ticket, bettering even their record of 1914. In addition, a number of anti-war and extreme left Socialists were elected from other departments.

In the municipal elections held two weeks later the Socialists made greater gains still, electing mayors in the great industrial cities Lille, Roubaix and Tourcoing in the devastated district, in Strassburg, and in several hundred lesser communes. In Paris, their votes jumped in two weeks from 28 to 35 per cent of the total.

The French Syndicalists in the main favored the war, recognized it as a war of national defense and entered a "civil truce" with the government. The Syndicalist daily, *La Bataille Syndicaliste*, was frequently so chauvinist, that it was severely criticized by the Socialist organs.

The internationalist and anti-war minority in the Labor Confederation as in the Socialist Party, was growing in influence under the leadership of Merrheim of the Metal Workers. At the first congress of the Confederation in July, 1918, the internationalist faction was so strong that the majority leaders were obliged to accept a compromise resolution embodying the demands which the minority made on the leadership of the Confederation throughout the war, especially dealing with the question of the participation of the Confederation in the International. The next Congress, held in September, 1919, showed the same tendency to return to the traditional revolutionary policy of French Syndicalism. The Confederation numbered 600,000 members before the war. It claims now 1,500,000 members.

The Confederation has on many occasions joined the Socialist Party in important proclamations and manifestoes demanding the restoration of civil liberties, hailing the German Revolution, opposing intervention in Russia, etc. The Confederation also decided to participate on July 21 in the 24-hour demonstration general strike against the invasion of Russia and for the democratization of the political and economic institutions of France. On the eve of the strike, the Executive Committee of the Confederation declared the strike off, presumably because the Government promised to withdraw troops from Russia and decrease the cost of living.

The Secretary of the Socialist Party is L.-O. Frossard, 37 Rue Saint Croix de la Bretonnerie, Paris.

The Secretary of the Confederation Generale du Travail is Leon Jouhaux, 32 Rue de la Grange aux Belles, Paris.

### GERMANY

The revolutionary movement in the old German Empire began on November 3, 1918, at Kiel and spread rapidly over the country. The first proclamation of the new republican government was published on November 12 under the title "Old Germany Is No More." The Kaiser and all the other crowned heads fled. In Berlin, a Council of People's Commissars consisting of three Majority Socialists and three Independent Socialists ruled. On February 11 the new order of things was settled and Friedrich Ebert, a former saddle-maker and chairman of the Social-Democratic Party, was made president of the German Republic. A union of the Social-Democratic Party with the newly created Democratic Party and the Catholic Center formed the new government, in which for the time being, the Social-Democracy maintained apparent leadership. Before this time the three Independent Socialist members had withdrawn from the Provisional Government believing that the policies of the Social-Democratic majority meant a betrayal of Socialism. They could have nothing to do with the military reign of terror with which the rebellious proletariat in various parts of the country was held in check.

The direct occasion for the outbreak of the revolution was a rumor, substantiated later, that the German fleet was to leave its sheltered harbors in order to meet the British fleet in a final conflict before the armistice could be concluded. The sailors of Kiel left their ships in a body, joined forces with the workers and organized a Workers' and Soldiers' Council. Of four companies of infantry, which were hurriedly sent against the revolutionary sailors, three joined the revolution at once, and the fourth was disarmed after it arrived at Kiel. The authorities of the navy in Kiel surrendered after a short battle, along with the municipal authorities. Soon after, groups of sailors hurried by train into the Rhine country, into the industrial districts and the imperial capital, proclaiming everywhere the authority of the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils, which were immediately formed. At the end of the first week in November, almost all

of northwest Germany, as well as central Germany, was in the hands of the revolutionary proletariat.

In Munich, organized workers and soldiers assumed full political control and expelled the Wittelsbach dynasty. Kurt Eisner, the leader of the Independent Socialists, was proclaimed provisional president of the Bavarian Workers' Republic. The Independent Socialists united here not only with the old Social-Democratic Party for revolutionary action, but also with the Bavarian Peasants' Union in forming the revolutionary government.

In Berlin, severe military measures had been taken to maintain law and order. The few Social-Democratic members of the government hoped to accomplish the political overthrow in a peaceful manner and to get rid of Chancellor Maximilian and the Kaiser without violence. They succeeded only in part. A formal ultimatum was handed to Prince Max on November 7, in which the strengthening of the Social-Democratic influence in the government and the abdication of the Kaiser were demanded. On November 9, the Chancellor proclaimed on his own initiative, the abdication of the Kaiser and the Crown Prince's declination to the throne. Prince Max was forced to take this desperate stand because the street riots on that day at Berlin were assuming dangerous proportions. Ebert became Chancellor, Prince Max appointing him to this office in his capacity as regent to which he named himself. On November 10, the Workers' and Soldiers' Council, elected in the Bush district, took matters into its own hands, and on November 12 Germany was proclaimed a Socialist Republic with three Independent Socialists (Haase, Bart and Dittman) and just as many Majority Socialists (Ebert, Landsberg and Scheidemann) comprising the Council of People's Commissars. The aim of the new government was "the realization of the Social-Democratic program."

The Social-Democracy seized political power in most of the states composing the Empire after the respective parliamentary bodies had capitulated. Only in a few of the several states, Bavaria and Brunswick, have the workers set up purely Socialist governments. The provisional governments in many of the new independent states were formed, however, under Socialist leadership with at least a majority of Socialist ministers in the cabinets. Almost everywhere, wideawake and active revolutionary control committees were established in the form of supreme Councils of Workers and Soldiers. The German workers considered the realization of a real Socialist republic only a matter of days.

Instead of a Socialist republic Germany was becoming merely a democratic republic with the owning classes not only not threatened with extinction, but also allowed full freedom. Under the pressure of the masses the government had to consent to a more or less far-reaching program of socialization, such as the nationalization of all large trade, industrial and commercial undertakings, and radical measures for the protection of workers,

the most important of which consisted in legalization of the eight-hour work-day. The compromising policy of the Social-Democratic leaders, the slow attempt at socialization, the increasingly brutal use of the army in strikes, soon led to a break between the new government and the revolutionary proletariat. The Independent Socialist leaders resigned from the governments almost everywhere. The Spartacus group, the most radical Socialist element, led by Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg and Franz Mehring, took up their position as leaders of a new revolutionary movement, which aimed at the establishment of a Socialist government under a dictatorship of the proletariat. In the Rheinisch-Westphalian industrial district, in Brunswick, Leipzig, and many other centers, the proletariat for the time being seized the sole governing power; and in Bavaria, a Soviet republic was proclaimed. These were soon suppressed by the troops of the Majority Socialist governments, however. Kurt Eisner succumbed to the bullet of a reactionary junker, Count Arco. Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg fell victims to the murderous rage of the counter-revolution on January 15. Karl Liebknecht was shot down by officers and soldiers after he had been cruelly mistreated, and Rosa Luxemburg was beaten by the murderers, who were not interfered with by the police and militia, and after being shot through the head was thrown into the canal. After many months the murderers, whose names were known from the beginning, were brought to trial. They got off with ridiculously small penalties and later were reported to have escaped from their prisons.

The revolutionary workers in Berlin as well as in the rest of North Germany have altogether broken with the Majority Socialists. Revolutionary uprisings in the capital preceded the murders. On January 6 numerous public buildings were in the hands of the revolutionists, who were defeated by the soldiers brought from the provinces after bitter fights lasting eight days. The results of the election to the German National Assembly were a disappointment to the revolutionary workers. It resulted in a counter-revolutionary majority. A coalition government of Majority Socialists, Democrats and Clericals was formed. Philip Scheidemann became Chancellor. The Social-Democratic Party received a bare majority in the Cabinet. The new constitution was democratic only in the bourgeois sense. Through the fixing of a seven-year presidential term and through the creation of a bi-cameral system, it fell short even of the old immediate demands of the Social-Democratic Party.

The Social-Democratic Party also controls most of the governments of the various States. Its influence is, however, on the wane and it will either have to give way to the Independent Socialist Party or a coalition of the liberal-conservative bourgeois forces. Even Philip Scheidemann who has resigned his office as Chancellor, has attacked the militaristic character of the Ebert-Bauer government and especially the activities of the "Minister of Defense" Noske, whose attention is directed to the extermination of revolutionary workers.

The Independent Socialists have gained a great deal in influence during the past year. In the elections of delegates to municipal and state Workmen's Councils, they have shown remarkable gain, with the representation of the Social-Democrats decreasing. The party is, however, not altogether a harmonious organization. It has at least three distinct tendencies, which make themselves felt in the work of the party. Kautsky, Bernstein, Hilferding and Stroebe represent a group which is bitterly opposed to the principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and are emphasizing the need of political democracy in the struggle against militarism. This group is also opposed to the Soviet form of government and assumed an exceedingly critical attitude toward the Russian Bolsheviks. The center group which was led by the late Hugo Haase, while not being opposed to the principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat, is strongly in favor of parliamentary activity, which it considers, a very important weapon of the working-class. It is opposing the Majority Socialists and strongly favors the Workmen's and Peasants' Councils. The left elements of the party under the leadership of Eichhorn, Ledebour, Richard Mueller, Adolph Hoffman and others, favor revolutionary political action including parliamentary action, but are opposed to reformist parliamentary activity. This group wants close unity with Soviet Russia and is determined to secure real power for the Workmen's and Peasants' Council. It therefore differs very little from the Spartacan elements who have organized the Communist Party.

The Independent Socialists who have participated at the Berne and Lucerne International Conferences have served notice on the International Socialist Bureau that they will not participate in future conferences in which representatives of the Social-Democratic Party would be admitted. They have also joined in the international demonstration of July 21 for Soviet Russia and succeeded in organizing a general strike for that day in several industrial centers of Germany. The membership of the party has grown from 300,000 to 700,000. In the Berlin municipal elections, the Independence obtained 234,067, while the Majority Socialists received 229,827.<sup>1</sup>

The Communist Party has been actively engaged in the industrial struggles of the German workers. It has organized many strikes and has carried on propaganda for a proletarian revolution throughout Germany. At its last convention, held in August, 1919, it went on record for entering the parliament, "as long as the working class is not strong enough to defeat the capitalist class on the industrial field alone." The party has many representatives in municipal councils and a number in several state legislatures.

<sup>1</sup> A convention of the Independent Socialists in December, 1919, officially severed connections with the II International and decided to negotiate affiliation with the III International. The convention also declared in favor of the principle of proletarian dictatorship and reaffirmed its belief in parliamentary activity.

## GREAT BRITAIN

During the past two years the British labor movement has assumed a more militant attitude with regard to national and international problems than it had maintained during the first three years of the war. Each convention of the Trade Union Congress or Labor Party marked a new phase in the development of a more radical policy. The membership of the various trade unions has also been growing. While the number of members represented at the Trade Union Congress in 1917 was 3,082,352, in 1918 it was 4,532,085 and in 1919, according to the figures of the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, the membership of organized labor in Great Britain was about 6,000,000. The strongest link in the trade union movement is the so-called Triple Alliance, consisting of the organizations of railroad workers, miners and transport workers, numbering altogether about a million and a half workers.

The important questions which were facing the British labor movement in 1918 were the participation in an International Socialist Conference, the breaking of the political truce and the adoption of a program of social reconstruction. At the Blackpool Congress of 1917, the British Trade Union Congress voted 2,849,999 to 91,000 against the participation in the proposed Stockholm International Conference, proposing instead a conference of Socialist and labor elements of Allied countries.

The Labor Party at Nottingham in January 1918, adopted a memorandum on war aims, demanded that the British Government issue a statement of its war aims, approved the holding of an inter-Allied Socialist conference and called upon the workers of the Central Powers to declare their war aims. In spite of strong opposition, it favored admitting to an international conference representatives of the labor organizations of all countries including Germany and Austria, providing they declared their opposition to the imperialist aims of their governments. At a previous conference of the party in Manchester in January, 1917, it voted against participation in the Stockholm Conference. The reversal was due to the agitation of the Independent Labor Party and the British Socialist Party, for an international conference. The Independent Labor Party also severely criticized the memorandum on the war aims of the Labor Party which, though advocating the principle of self-determination, omitted reference to British dependencies such as India, Ireland and Egypt.

The effort to break the political truce and to withdraw the labor members from the Cabinet was defeated at this Conference by a vote of 1,561,000 to 794,000, though the Conference cheered the announcement of Arthur Henderson that he would never consent to be a member of the government in which labor was not in the majority. At the London Conference the same year, the recommendation of the Executive that "the existence of a

political truce be no longer recognized," was carried by almost the same vote which a few months earlier defeated the breaking of the truce. The vote stood 1,704,000 to 951,000 in favor of discontinuing the alliance with the Coalition Government.<sup>1</sup> No final decision was reached on the question of the convocation of the International at the London Conference, because of the refusal of the British Government to allow Peter Troelstra, the leader of the Dutch Socialists, to bring the answer of the German Majority Socialists with regard to the minimum demands of the Inter-Allied Conference upon the acceptance of which their admittance to an international conference depended. The Conference strongly protested against the refusal to allow Troelstra to come to England and also assailed the government for not granting passports to Margaret Bondfield, who was sent by the Trade Union Congress as a fraternal delegate to the St. Paul Convention of the American Federation of Labor. The London Conference also adopted the now famous program of reconstruction, which was published and widely distributed under the title of "Labor and the New Social Order."

The British Trade Union Congress meeting in September, 1918, at Derby, reversed its decision of the previous year with regard to participation in an international Socialist conference, and called upon the government to open peace negotiations as soon as the enemy had evacuated France and Belgium. The effort of Havelock Wilson, of the Seamen's Union, who had opposed the change of policy, to form a new trade union party in opposition to the Labor Party was defeated by a vote of 3,815,000 to 567,000. The Derby Congress also went on record in favor of nationalization and democratic management of railroads, mines, canals and waterways, and for government control of the production and distribution of agricultural produce.

The political strength of the British labor movement was tested at the parliamentary elections in December 1918. The Labor Party placed over 350 candidates in the field, in most cases being forced to meet Coalition candidates. The government made its campaigns on "Make Germany Pay" and "Punish the Kaiser" slogans, and carried the election. The Labor Party did not apparently carry as many seats as it was expected to. It was not, however, defeated in the elections. Only one-half of the enfranchised British subjects voted on Election Day. Great numbers of soldiers abstained from voting under protest both because of the delay in the demobilization and the way the ballots were prepared for them. While the Coalition forces received less than one-half of the vote, they elected twice as many members as the combined opposition parties. The vote stood approximately as follows: Non-Coalition 5,300,000; Coali-

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<sup>1</sup> For a fuller account of the experiences of British Labor with the truce see article "Labor in the British Government," by Philip Snowden.



tion, 5,100,000. The popular majority against Lloyd George was, therefore, about 200,000.

The membership in the House of Commons was, however, as follows: Coalition, 481; Non-Coalition, 226. The Coalition thus securing a majority of 255.

While the Coalition received 50 per cent of the votes cast, the Labor Party received 2,375,000 votes which was about 25 per cent of the total or nearly one-half of the vote cast for the government. The Labor Party, however, elected only 59 members, which is about one-twelfth of the total membership of the House. Under a system of proportional representation, the Labor Party would have had 172 members instead of 59. The Independent Labor Party, which had placed 50 candidates in the field received about 325,000 votes and elected only three members instead of the five, which it had in the previous Parliament. All the old I. L. P. members were defeated, including MacDonald, Jowett, Snowden and Anderson. The British Socialist Party, which had candidates in the four districts, received 67,000 votes, but did not elect any members. The National Socialist Party, the pro-war faction of the Labor Party, is credited with the election of four members.

In the by-elections which were held since the general elections, the Labor Party has increased its vote and representation in the House. In the Bothwell division of Lanark, Robertson, the labor candidate who had been defeated in December by 332 votes won out in the by-election, receiving a majority of 7,168 votes against the Coalition candidate. In another by-election in the Widnes division of Lancashire, Arthur Henderson who was defeated in the last election, received 11,404 votes to 10,417 for the Coalition candidate. The party was also successful in several other by-elections and scored a tremendous victory in the Fall Municipal Elections by sending a large number of Councillors into the various city governments.

The outstanding problems facing British Labor in 1919 were the Peace Treaty and the League of Nations, British intervention in Russia, and the nationalization of the mines. The Labor Party and the Independent Labor Party were opposed to the Peace of Versailles and the proposed League of Nations. The Independent Labor Party is opposed to its ratification, considering it a "militarist, capitalist and imperialist imposition."

The Miners' Federation in February, 1919, by a vote of 5 to 1 voted to strike unless its demands for a 30 per cent increase in wages, a six-hour day and the nationalization of the mines were granted, strongly condemned the policy of the British Government toward Russia, and demanded the withdrawal of British troops from Russian territory. It authorized its Executive to agree on a course of action in conjunction with the railway and transport workers in case the government does not alter its policy. The Russian policy was later taken up by the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress and

the Executive of the Labor Party, under whose joint auspices a conference of the industrial and political labor movement was held in April, 1919. The conference adopted a resolution demanding the withdrawal of troops from Russia and the abandonment of the Conscription Bill.

Whether labor should use industrial action to compel the government to withdraw from Russia and abandon the Conscription measure were the chief questions before the Labor Party Congress which met at Southport in June, 1919.

The prevailing sentiment at the Congress was in favor of the strike weapon in order to achieve any reform Labor set itself the task to attain and final action was referred to the Trade Union Congress. It was made clear that the policy was intended to apply to all social and political questions affecting the workers. The Trade Union Congress meeting at Glasgow in September 1919, voted 447,800 to 77,000 to support the miners' demand for the nationalization of the mines (Sankey report). In the event of the government failing to carry out the wish of the Congress in this respect, a special congress is to be called to determine what steps shall be taken to compel it to do so. The Congress declined to condemn the principle of "direct action" as applied to political issues. It voted to refer back the report of the Parliamentary Committee because it omitted to express an opinion on industrial action. The vote on this question was 2,586,000 to 1,870,000. The Congress instructed the Parliamentary Committee in the event of the government's refusal to withdraw British troops from Russia and to abolish conscription, to call a special Trade Union Congress to determine what steps would be taken to force it to do so. It also passed a resolution declaring for the application of the principle of self-determination to the settlement of the Irish question. A motion in favor of the One Big Union for Great Britain was defeated.

The Independent Labor Party, in spite of its anti-war attitude increased its membership during the last few years. In 1918 it reported a 50 per cent increase in membership over the previous year.

At the Huddersfield Conference, held in April 1919, there were 360 delegates representing 783 branches. The membership of the party which was about 35,000 has increased to over 50,000 thus showing a 35 per cent increase over the previous year. The Conference protested against the continuance of the blockade against Germany and demanded the removal of all trade embargoes. The Administrative Council of the I. L. P., reporting to the Conference, referred to the proposed League of Nations as "not a League of Nations, but an autocratic alliance of a few great powers." It approved the resolution of the Berne International Conference on the League of Nations, which favored the formation of the League by the parliaments of the various countries rather than by the governments. It also demanded that all countries should be represented in that League. The

Administrative Council also reported that the Labor Party had allocated to itself all representation to the Berne Conference, thus excluding the I. L. P. and other Socialist bodies affiliated with it from direct representation at international Socialist conferences. While no action was taken at the Conference on this matter, an opinion was expressed that if the I. L. P. was to be denied direct representation at international gatherings, it would withdraw from the Labor Party. Ramsay MacDonald and Mrs. Ethel Snowden were, however, chosen by the Labor Party as delegates to the Berne Conference.

The attempt at unity between the Socialist parties was not successful according to the report of the Administrative Council. The Conference of the I. L. P. with the British Socialist Party and the Socialist Labor Party proved that the difference in tactics and policies was too great to permit the amalgamation of these organizations.

The I. L. P. has suffered a great deal at the hands of the British Government during the war. Its headquarters and publishing houses have been raided a great many times and fines and imprisonments were imposed upon its members and institutions. Notwithstanding the persecution, the party has been growing in numbers and influence. The circulation of its weekly, *The Labor Leader*, has reached 65,000, and the party established several other papers. It published and distributed a great amount of propaganda literature and as in the case of other Socialist organizations, has actually thrived upon persecution.

The British Socialist Party which represents the radical tendency in the Socialist movement of Great Britain, greatly influenced the trend toward a militant policy within the British Labor movement. At the Sheffield Conference, in 1919, it expressed admiration for the revolutionary courage and insight displayed by the workers of Hungary. It took no action with regard to the Berne Conference, because it considered impossible participation in a conference in which parties opposing the revolutionary aspiration of the workers were represented, and because of the refusal of the Russian Bolsheviks and the Italian Socialists to attend. The Executive Committee submitted a report in which a plan of activity in the event of a revolutionary crisis was outlined, and in which workers' councils were represented as organs of the government. It is also taking a referendum on the withdrawal from the International Socialist Bureau and the affiliation with the Third (Moscow) International.<sup>1</sup>

Another effort was made in 1919 to secure Socialist unity. The B. S. P., the Socialist Labor Party, the Workers' Socialist Federation and the South Wales Socialist Society, met at London to discuss the possibility of amalgamation of these organizations.

<sup>1</sup> According to later advices the referendum was carried by a large majority. The Socialist Labor Party, the Workers' Socialist Federation, and the South Wales Socialist Society, have also joined the Third International.

A dispute over tactics arose at this conference. The Workers' Socialist Federation opposed parliamentary action, and no agreement could be reached on the question of affiliation with the Labor Party. The B. S. P. took the position that it could not withdraw from the Labor Party since its membership voted four to one against withdrawing from the Labor Party. A resolution was drawn for submission to the membership of the four organizations proposing the organization of a party based upon the principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat and leaving the question of affiliation of the new party with the Labor Party to be decided upon through referendum of the membership three months after the organization of the party.

The National Socialist Party which represents the pro-war and chauvinist element of the Labor Party, at its Northampton Convention, August 1919, endorsed the proposed League of Nations, even though its leader, Henry M. Hyndman, considered the League to be a "capitalist organization for capitalist ends." The party also favored the proposed alliance between England, France and the United States. It went on record in favor of the nationalization of mines, though opposing the use of direct action in order to attain it. It endorsed self-determination for India and registered its opposition to Bolshevism and the principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Secretary of the Trade Union Congress is C. W. Bowerman, 32, Eccleston Square, London, S. W. 1.

The Secretary of the Labor Party is Arthur Henderson, 33, Eccleston Square, London, S. W. 1.

The Secretary of the Independent Labor Party is Francis Johnson, 8-9, Johnson's Court, Fleet Street, London, E. C. 4.

The Secretary of the British Socialist Party is Albert Inkpin, Chandos Hall, Maiden Lane, Strand, London.

The Secretary of the National Socialist Party is Thomas Kennedy, 160, Fleet Street, London, E. C. 4.

The Secretary of the Fabian Society is R. Page Arnot, 25, Tothill Street, London, S. W. 1.

The office of the Workers' Socialist Federation is at 400, Old Ford Road, London, E. 3.

### THE GUILD SOCIALIST MOVEMENT IN GREAT BRITAIN

In 1916, when the first edition of this Year Book appeared, the Guild Socialist movement was yet young, and the National Guilds League, which was formed as an organized attempt to spread its principles, received its birth certificate barely in time for inclusion in that edition. Since the date of its formation, however, the progress of the League has been both rapid and steady; and it now possesses local groups in 14 of the industrial towns, local correspondents in several more; has a periodical, *The Guildsman*, run by its Glasgow members, and sells a number of pamphlets, leaflets and books on Guild questions,

some by individual members of the League, some issued as the opinions of the League itself. The actual membership of the League, like that of every other propagandist organization with a definite and positive creed, is comparatively low, and it is not immune from the financial difficulties which commonly beset such organizations; but its influence, both with the organized workers and the salaried classes of society, is out of all proportion to its membership and is rapidly growing. The number of persons of all grades and types who, without having reached the point of definite adherence to Guild Socialist principles, yet consciously or unconsciously adopt Guild Socialist phrases and consider the problems of society in the light of the Guild idea, is surprisingly large; and at a series of debates held in London between "Guildsmen and their Critics," the chief difficulty presented itself not in the obtaining of Guild Socialist speakers, but in the finding of a sufficient number of persons who were willing to proclaim themselves publicly as opponents of the Guild idea. That there is a certain danger in this success none will deny. The unqualified acceptance by a large number of people of a body of doctrine which still needs much developing and much hard thinking has before now proved the ruin of many a promising movement; the best safeguard of Guild Socialism against a death of apathy and senile decay lies in the fact that no one realizes better than do the members of the League themselves how much spade-work remains to be done, how many hours of hard thinking and even of acute and vigorous internal controversy lie before them if their work is to be of permanent value. A movement which is not continually arguing within itself is a dead movement; and whatever the Guild Socialist movement is, it is not dead.

### THE LEAGUE'S WORK

Turning now to the actual work which has been accomplished, we find that the League devoted its attention, first of all, to the issuing of short pamphlets on the general theory which underlay its ideas, and sketches of possible guild organization in various industries. "National Guilds," and "The Guild Idea" circulated first the general principles of the League among trade unionists and the general public; and they were quickly followed by two specialized pamphlets entitled "Towards a Mining Guild," and "Towards a National Railway Guild." At the same time, realizing that upon the present trade union movement rests the hope of building up a Guild Society for the future, the League carried on a steady propaganda, by means of speakers and leaflets, among trade union branches, shop committees, etc., hoping in this way to plant the idea of National Guilds in the rank and file of the labor movement. Of recent months, largely owing to the depredations made by the war upon its personnel, the League has been able to do less work of this kind; the fruit of it is seen, however, in the local groups of the League established in Glasgow, Coventry, Weymouth, and other centers.

## THE WHITLEY REPORT

In July, 1917, the Whitley Report on Joint Standing Industrial Councils was issued by the Government, and this gave to the League the opportunity of applying its theories to a practical issue. The Whitley Committee proposed the appointment of Joint National Councils, District Councils, and Works Committees in "organized industries," in order to preserve industrial peace and to give the workers "a greater share in the control of their industry," and certain of the supporters of the scheme spoke of it as an instalment of National Guilds. The League hastened to point out, in a couple of pamphlets, that the Whitley proposals were in fact nothing of the kind; that a real "joint control" of industry by the diametrically opposed interests of capital and labor, under a system of private profit, was impossible, even had it been desirable; and that the mere improvement of negotiation machinery was something much less than "an instalment of National Guilds"; that a State service such as the Post Office, where private capitalism did not operate, was the only place in which a system of joint control would be more than a travesty of the Guild idea; that the well-organized industries such as the mines and railways were already ripe for far more control than the small titbits foreshadowed by the Whitley Committee, while Industrial Councils in ill-organized industries would be nothing more than a menace; and finally, that the creation of an illusory bond between employers and workers while the real control remained—as it must remain—in the hands of one side alone, was more likely to lead to the formation of labor supported industrial trusts than National Guilds.

The predictions of the League have been very closely fulfilled. The clause relating to "an increased share in the control of industry" has disappeared with a singular unanimity from the constitution of all the councils set up and has been replaced in a number of cases by a sinister provision for the *joint maintenance of selling prices*; the railwaymen have rejected the whole scheme as entirely inadequate, and the well-organized industries generally have received it in chilling silence; while the imposing list of twenty or thirty Councils which have come into existence through the untiring efforts of the Ministry of Labor, compromises such relatively ill-organized trades as pottery, bobbin-making, match-making, zinc, and spelter, etc. In the public services the demands of the organized workers have gone unheard; at least, at the time of writing there is nothing more fruitful than the formation of an Interdepartmental Committee of Enquiry to chronicle.

In the winter of 1917 the League held its first public lectures. These dealt with the principles of National Guilds seen from various aspects. In spite of air-raids they were a great success and were followed in November by a series of debates between Guildsmen and some of their prominent critics. The series

arranged for the spring of 1918 dealt with some of the important problems of the day in the light of Guild Socialism, such as: unemployment, nationalization and State control, and the reconstruction of the political state. Upon these questions, as indeed upon a number of others, there is room for a good deal of debate. Part of the ground has been already covered in such books as Hobson's *Guild Principles in War and Peace*, Penty's *Old World for New*, Cole's *Self-Government in Industry*, Reckitt and Bechhofer's *The Meaning of National Guilds*, and a number of others; but much remains to be done, and it is possible that from these lectures will spring up a whole new crop of Guild theory in relation to current industrial and political problems. However that may be, it is clear from the experience of the past two years that the Guild idea has opened up a wide field of speculation, and that Guild Socialism has proved its claim to be one of the most vital forces at work on the thought of the twentieth century.

MARGARET I. COLE.

#### WORKSHOP ORGANIZATION AND WORKS COMMITTEES IN GREAT BRITAIN

Apart from the growth of organization among the less skilled and women workers, the most significant war-time development in British trade unionism has taken place in the workshops. Before the war shop stewards or delegates existed in a number of trades and districts, and Works Committees were occasionally found among trade unionists and in anti-union establishments. There was, however, nothing that could be described as workshop movement, and the various rank and file agitations had hardly conceived the serious purpose of basing their power upon workshop organization. The pre-war shop steward or delegate was a very minor semi-official of his trade union, usually quite devoid of any important industrial function. His jobs were to report the employment of non-members or the arrears in contributions among the members in his shop, and to proselytise for new members. He had no official power of negotiation, though in some cases he did a certain amount of negotiating work without official sanction. The pre-war Works or Workshop Committee was found most often in works with an anti-Trade Union bias, and was only seldom linked up with the Trade Unions or used by them as an instrument of workshop negotiation.

So far as the engineering and allied industries are concerned this position has been very greatly altered by the war. All over the country there has grown up a strong organization based upon the workshop—an organization consisting of shop stewards appointed by particular groups of workers, but often co-ordinated by Workshop and Works Committees, by local Workers' Committees including representatives from many works, and

even with the embryo of a national organization distinct from that of the trades unions themselves.

This development has so far been almost confined to the industries directly concerned in munitions work—to engineering, ship-building, and to certain branches of woodwork, especially in connection with aircraft. There are, however, signs of similar development in other industries of the factory type, especially the cotton and boot and shoe industries, while similar rank and file movements have become prominent among the miners in some districts, notably in Scotland and on the railways.

### NATURE OF ORGANIZATION

Workshop and works organization in the factory industries rests essentially upon the shop steward—a delegate elected by a particular group of workers in the workshop, usually to represent a particular trade and often to represent a particular union. These stewards are of two kinds—official and unofficial. The official stewards are those who are recognized, and whose appointments are ratified by the District Committees of the trade unions to which they belong, while the unofficial stewards are unrecognized by the unions and owe allegiance only to the workers who have appointed them. Both types have grown very greatly during the war; but it is the unofficial stewards' organization which has attracted the greatest attention. It is, however, not always easy to say whether a particular steward is official or unofficial, and many official stewards play an important part in the unofficial movements which we have now to describe.

It was natural and even inevitable that the shop stewards in various shops and works should largely form themselves into Works and Workshop Committees. But the movement has by no means stopped at this point. First on the Clyde, but subsequently in many of the important centres, there have grown up unofficial Workers' Committees consisting of stewards from the various works in a district. These Workers' Committees have taken the lead in the rank and file movement during the war period, and have linked up into a provisional national organization. The philosophy of this movement, as expressed in the pamphlet on *The Workers' Committee*, written by Mr. J. T. Murphy of Sheffield, one of the principal leaders of the shop stewards, is that all final authority should be vested in the workers in the shops, that trade union organization should have throughout a workshop basis, and that the instruments of advanced action should be Workers' Committees, consisting of delegates from the shops, and representing all grades of workers, skilled or unskilled, men or women.

This form of organization has arisen partly because of the shortcomings of the trade unions themselves, and partly because of the special conditions created by the war. In the first place, the craft basis of trades unionism in the metal industries has meant that authority has been divided between a huge number



of separate and sometimes unfriendly unions, while the separate organization of skilled and unskilled is contrary to the "Industrial Unionist" theories which dominate the younger men. Secondly, the official trade unions have been seriously hampered by war-time restrictions, and this has facilitated the growth of an unofficial "guerilla" organization, not hampered by, and not amenable to, war-time discipline.

#### FUTURE OF WORKS COMMITTEES

Even if the growth of workshop organization is largely the product of war conditions, there can be no doubt at all that it has come to stay. Indeed, this is generally recognized on all sides. The trade unions realize that in future much greater power will have to be exercised by the shop steward and the Works Committee, while the employers see that they are compelled to recognize trade union shop stewards as entitled to negotiate on behalf of the workers in the shop or works.

The first explicit admission of the new situation was made in the Shop Stewards' agreement concluded between the Engineering Employers' Federation and a number of trade unions in December, 1917. This agreement provided for the recognition by the employers, under certain conditions, of individual shop stewards, but not of Works Committees representing the stewards in a works or shop collectively. On account of this limitation and certain other objectionable features, the largest trade union, the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, refused to sign the agreement, and negotiations have now been resumed with a view to the recognition of Works and Workshop Committees, as well as of individual shop stewards.

It will be noticed that this article has reference throughout to Works and Workshop Committees consisting entirely of trade unionists, and not to Joint Committees representing both the workers and the management. Although Joint Works Committees are advocated in the Whitley Report as part of the scheme of Joint Industrial Councils, there is little likelihood that they will be generally adopted. The Workshop movement is essentially an aggressive movement of a fighting Trade Unionist character, and a joint committee would by no means meet the idea of those who have built it up. This does not, of course, exclude joint meetings with the management, which follow logically upon "recognition," but it does mean that the Trade Union Works Committee intends to retain its identity and character as a fighting organization.

Among the adherents of the Workshop movement, there is considerable divergence of opinion on the question of recognition, whether by the trade unions or the employers. Many of the shop stewards hold that it is better, for the present at least, that their organization should remain unofficial, lest it be sterilized and subordinated to the control of official trade unionism. The advanced stewards look forward to the reorganization of

trade unionism on a class basis, with the seat of authority retained in the workshops, and they hold that until the craft unions are transformed in both structure and idea, the workshop movement should remain unofficial, as a sort of "ginger" element. On the other side it is urged that if the stewards are fully recognized in their unions, they are strong enough to force the pace from inside, and to transform the union organization in the way which they desire. The probability seems to be that the official shop steward and Works Committee will be the predominant type, but that unofficial Workers' Committees co-ordinating the various shops will for some time continue to be in existence.

#### ULTIMATE AIM OF MOVEMENT

The workshop movement has much wider implications than we have so far indicated. It is essentially a movement animated by a new idea—that of winning the control of industry for the workers. Beginning in the workshops, it aims at wresting control out of the hands of the employers, and transferring it gradually to the collective organizations of the workers. Clearly, any movement in the direction of control must take this form; for it is in the workshops that the workers are in the best position to realize their aspiration to assume a measure of real control. The workshop movement is dominated very largely by the Socialist theories of Industrial Unionism and National Guilds; and it is the fact that the workshop developments which have been fostered by war-time conditions work so closely with the prevailing theories of workers' control, that it gives them an importance which is far greater than even their present dimensions or their past achievements would indicate.

G. D. H. COLE.

#### GREECE

The war has weakened to a great extent the forces of Socialism and the labor movement. From the beginning of the war, the Socialist elements have either allied themselves with the cause of either one or the other of the belligerent sides. Only the Labor Federation, consisting of radical Socialists joined the Zimmerwald movement and has maintained an uncompromising internationalist position throughout the conflict.

The Socialist Party, under the leadership of Dr. Drakoules, was especially active in promoting the policies of Venizelos and became involved in the imperialist ambitions of the Greek bourgeoisie.

The Labor Federation was prosecuted during the war and many of its members were imprisoned. After the armistice the Socialist Party came under the ban of the government because the party was aiding the labor organizations in their economic struggles. The Venizelos government persecuted even those who previously had aided it in the campaign to bring about

the participation of Greece in the world war. The Socialist elements of Greece are joining the Inter-Balkan Socialist Federation, which has brought together the revolutionary elements of the Socialist movement in the various Balkan states. Conditions in the Balkans, have, however, as yet prevented the possibility for joint action.

The labor movement of Greece is mainly centered in the labor federations of Athens and Piraeus. Labor organizations have also sprung up in other parts of the country, and a national labor federation is in the process of formation.

The office of the Socialist Party is at 40 Rue du Pirée, Athens.

The Secretary of the Labor Federation is P. Dimitratos, Saloniki.

## HOLLAND

The Dutch Socialist movement was divided even before the war. The Social-Democratic Labor Party, which has this year celebrated its 25th anniversary, was split in 1911 in two factions. The Social-Democratic Party was formed by those who seceded from the parent organization. The war had accentuated the differences between the two Socialist parties and even within the S. D. L. P., there were manifested differences of opinion with regard to the war. The removal of the seat of the International Socialist Bureau to The Hague had to a great extent neutralized the partisan feeling with regard to the various belligerent groups as expressed by certain elements of the party.

The S. D. L. P. twice refused to join a coalition cabinet though Troelstra had advocated participation in such a ministry. The National Convention of the party, held for the purpose of considering this question, adopted a resolution by a vote of 375 to 320 declaring that "a party like the S. D. L. P., which in its origin, its nature and its aims is diametrically opposed to the political domination of the capitalist class, is under no obligation to join a capitalist ministry." Notwithstanding this attitude, a large number of Socialists continued to consider the S. D. L. P. as largely occupied with parliamentary activity, and as a result of that, the more radical party, the Social-Democratic Party has been growing in numbers and influence.

At the beginning of the war, when a new alignment took place in the international Socialist movement, the S. D. P. allied itself with the uncompromising international and anti-war Socialist groups. It participated in the Zimmerwald and Kienthal conferences and has lately affiliated with the Third (Moscow) International, having also changed its name to the Communist Party.

The S. D. L. P. has at present distributed among the 635 local organizations, 42,633 members including 7,000 women, while the Communist Party has a membership of 6,000. During the elections of 1918, the first elections under the system of proportional representation, the S. D. L. P. receiving 296,145 votes as

against 144,249 which it obtained in 1913, secured 22 representatives in the lower house of parliament, while the S. D. P. receiving 31,143 votes secured two seats. The S. D. L. P. has also three members in the Senate, and the party has increased its representation in provincial assemblies as well as city councils. In 1917 it had 66 members in the state assemblies and 417 in the city councils. The latter number has since been increased by 79, and the party has representatives in the governments of 149 cities. The central party organ, *Het Volk*, which was started in 1901 with 4,500 subscribers, has now over 40,000 subscribers. The circulation of *Het Junge Volk*, a monthly periodical published in the interest of young people has increased from 3,000 to 8,500.

The labor movement is also divided but along different lines. Besides the Federation of Trade Unions, which was founded under the influence of the S. D. L. P., and supports the party in its political work, there are Protestant, Catholic and so-called Free (Syndicalist) unions, which work in active opposition to each other. The membership of the Federation of Trade Unions was in January, 1919, 202,000, representing an increase of more than 80,000 members during the last two years. The Protestant unions number 25,000, the Catholic unions 54,000, and the Free unions 61,000 members.

The Secretary of the Social-Democratic Labor Party is J. W. Matthysen, Genestetstraat 16, Amsterdam.

### HUNGARY

The Hungarian Revolution in October, 1918, literally swept feudalism and militarism out of the country overnight, and raised the bourgeois democracy into the saddle, which in turn, only a few months later yielded to the proletarian dictatorship.

When the Austro-Hungarian Empire was falling apart, because its various component nations were deserting it, the Karolyi party, united with the Social Democrats and bourgeois radicals, and formed the Hungarian National Council. This political union became at the end of October the single organized power and together with the Soldiers' Council, formed by the Budapest Garrison, was preparing an attack upon the government.

On the night of October 30, the rumor spread among the troops of Budapest that the Soldiers' Council had been arrested. In the course of the night a regiment of soldiers marched to the headquarters of the National Council and put themselves at its disposal.

Under the leadership of the National Council, the troops took possession of the main post-office and the central telephone station. The railroads were also taken over by the Council. Almost everywhere the actions of the revolutionary troops had met with success and the patrols returned with constantly growing detachments of soldiers to the headquarters of the National

Council which for the time being was located in the lobby of the Hotel Savoy. The troops were sworn in and apportioned to their posts as quickly as they appeared. On the following morning, the city government unanimously decided to join the National Council. Archduke Joseph and his son swore allegiance to the Hungarian people and submitted to the National Council. In front of the Parliament buildings the officers' corps took the oath of allegiance to the new authority. In the course of the day only a few scenes of pillage had occurred; until ten in the evening 128 people had been wounded and 28 killed in the suppression of these attempts.

The new-born Hungarian Republic, whose formal proclamation soon followed, was persecuted from the very first day of its existence. All the protests and prayerful pleas for mercy on the part of the pro-Ally Karolyi to Wilson and the Allied governments could bring no change. Not even the starvation blockade was lifted. The new government had immediately recognized as its most pressing and important problem the assurance of provisions for the people. With the arrival of the available supplies of flour, which were given over to the municipal bakery and with supplying of bread and meat to the public kitchens, the problem was not entirely solved. The Karolyi government appealed to the Allies to lift the blockade so that provisions and raw materials, especially coal, could be imported and the industries revived. With the fall of the Hapsburg Monarchy and the signing of the armistice on Allied terms, the Karolyi government foresaw no difficulties in receiving industrial aid from the Entente.

Not only did the Allies ignore the appeals to lift the blockade and allow the new Hungarian People's Government to solve the pressing industrial problems but the new Slav states openly encouraged by the Entente governments took possession of important coal centers, carried away wheat and cattle, and even cut off the transportation of fuel, raw materials and provisions to Budapest, whose population, because of the addition of destitute and hungry fugitives from the districts overrun by the Slav troops had risen from one to two million. In addition, the Allies and the vassal states proceeded to partition Hungary. The indignant population answered the attacks on their territorial integrity with general strikes and other means at their command. In the middle of January, Karolyi was compelled to announce that elections for a constituent assembly were impossible since only five of the sixty-three counties of Hungary had been spared a hostile garrison.

In the meantime, the Communist idea was spreading among the rural and urban populations. Karolyi sought to compromise further with the workers. The new ministry of Birenkey pointed to four Socialists in its midst without any appreciable effect on the masses. A complete bankruptcy of the country and a hunger rebellion of the masses was imminent. The government freed

the imprisoned Communist leaders and abdicated in favor of proletarian dictatorship, which was proclaimed on March 24 followed by the prompt unification of all Socialist forces. The Social-Democratic Party and the Communists organized the government with leading members of both groups represented in it. In order to carry out the program of the government, the two parties fused into one—the Socialist Party of Hungary.

Alexander Garbai, for many years the secretary of the Mason's Union and member of the National Committee of the Social-Democratic Party, was put at the head of the new government. The Communist, Bela Kun, who played a leading role in the world-propaganda of the Russian Soviet Republic, was chosen People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs. The Commissariats of War, Finance and Social Welfare were distributed among Joseph Pogany, Eugene Vargar and William Bohm respectively.

The Constitution of the Hungarian Soviet Republic marked the abolition of the capitalist system of production and distribution with the establishment of a Socialist society as the final goal. It limited the suffrage to such persons who live by socially useful work.

The Soviet government existed for four and a half months, until it was overthrown by the invading Rumanian forces, who came to the aid of the Hungarian counter-revolutionists. A reign of terror against the members of the Soviet government and the Socialists ensued, exceeding that which had been conducted by the Germans and the White Guard in Finland. Hundreds of active Socialists and Communists were executed without trial; thousands were imprisoned, while many others had to flee to escape the brutality of the Hungarian counter-revolutionists, operating under the protectorate of the Rumanian military forces. Most of the members of the Soviet government, who fled to Austria, were interned there and the government refused to extradite Bela Kun and others at the demand of the new Hungarian government.

The fall of the Soviet government led to the disintegration of the Socialist Party. The old Social-Democratic Party and the Communist Party had united for a common purpose, which was the establishment of a régime leading to the inauguration of a Socialist state. The amalgamation of the two parties did not abolish all of the differences and the methods used by the Soviet government were not approved by a large number of the Social-Democrats, while the Communists on the other hand also frequently criticized the government for lack of firmness and determination. The union of the two Socialist elements was, however, real, and during the four and a half months of the existence of the Soviet government, the two parties worked together and have probably more than in any other country, shown adherence to revolutionary discipline.

In September, 1919, that portion of the Socialist Party, which was the Social-Democratic Party, held a convention and decided

to dissolve the union and to resume the old name. The Third (Moscow) International was repudiated and affiliation with the International Socialist Bureau was decided upon. Some elements of the party are actively seeking a coalition with the bourgeois parties in order to secure representation of the party in the present government.

The Communist Party has been driven underground and is forced to carry on its agitation in secret.

## INDIA

The labor movement in India is of comparatively recent growth. Though conditions in India have been ripe for the launching of a labor movement of inconceivable magnitude, the forces of repression have been sufficiently great to suppress all efforts of the masses and to keep them ignorant of their might and power.

Out of a total population of 315 millions, the agricultural and industrial workers number 289 millions; the agricultural workers alone constitute 72 per cent of the total population; the industrial workers number about 20 per cent. This small number in a country with such a vast population and such exceptional natural resources for industrial development is not surprising in view of the policy which Great Britain has been pursuing in India for the 162 years of her rule, of suppressing and discouraging indigenous industry in favor of British trade and British capitalists.

Although industrial progress has been slow, the conditions under which the small numbers of industrial workers live are perhaps even more deplorable and more degrading than in the worst slums of London and New York. The huts of the workers are devoid of light and ventilation. Furniture and clothing are rarely found. Rents are high and wages low. The average worker earns less than 10 cents a day, working for twelve hours at a minimum. His life is one long struggle for existence. The comforts and necessities of Western life he has never known.

The agricultural laborers fare no better. Their life is one continued struggle with hunger. The farmer and the small peasant population is always at the mercy of the money lender. Before his harvest ripens, the farmer must needs mortgage it to pay the landlord his rent and the Government its taxes. Money for seed for the next crop he obtains at the money lenders. Having sold his crop at the earliest opportunity he must purchase foodstuffs for his family at higher rates than those for which he originally sold his crop. He has no means with which to improve his methods of farming and must use antiquated tools, with an ever diminishing return from his lands as a result.

In the face of these facts, the British Government spends 48.28 per cent of its total budget (1919 figures) for military, 27.1 per cent on railways financed by British capital. The remaining 24.62 per cent it proposes to spend on education, sanitation, irri-

gation, agriculture, industries, sciences, and on the general administration of the Government.

The movement for political and economic freedom is about 34 years old. If one takes the year 1857 (the Sepoy Mutiny) as the first indication of a revolutionary movement, then the political agitation may be said to be 62 years old. The awakening of the people, led by the intellectuals, has been along two lines:

1. The political, divided into two camps—the Revolutionary and the Nationalist;

2. The economic, as manifested in the *Swadeshi* (boycott) movement, the formation of labor unions, and the successful organization of strikes.

Thus far the political movement has been the stronger and more prominent of the two. The revolutionists have organized themselves into numerous secret societies and have carried on an active propaganda in the face of all government repression. Many have been executed for their activities and numbers have been sent to the Andamans, the Siberia of India, for life terms. The revolutionary movement, until very recently, was strongest in Bengal. In the recent disturbances, however, the Punjab has figured prominently.

In April and May of 1919, numerous arrests and imprisonments took place. Prominent leaders, hitherto conservative in their attitude, were deported to destinations unknown. The riots, however, were not revolutionary in character. A Commission, headed by Justice Rowlatt, was appointed in 1918 to investigate the extent of revolutionary activity in India. The report of the Commission and the recommendations for repressive measures resulted in the passage in March of the Rowlatt Bill. The Bill was passed in the face of the universal opposition of the people of India and of all the Indian members of the Legislative Council. Despite this, the revolutionary movement continues to be an active force with which the British Government must contend.

The Nationalist movement, with most of its adherent Home Rulers, has gained the greatest number of people to its cause. It has many able Indian leaders, a host of English sympathizers, and the whole Native press supporting it. Within the Nationalist Party are found two wings—the moderates and the radicals. Both factions, however they may differ in method of procedure, are united in their desire for the political and economic independence of India.

As a protest against foreign control of industry, the economic weapon of the boycott has been used extensively. The *Swadeshi* movement, which aims at the establishment and fostering of native industries and the boycotting of all foreign goods, particularly British, was first started in 1877. During the régime of Lord Curzon, in 1905, it attained striking success. In the disturbances of April and May of this year, the *Swadeshi* movement



was again started under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. It is too early now to measure the success of the present movement.

The growth of labor unions is the most significant fact in the economic struggle. Owing to the lack of educational institutions and the meagerness of the present educational system, the masses have not been made to understand the desirability of and the necessity for co-operation. Only 6 per cent of the entire population is literate. The expenditure per head per year on education is 2½c. This is the lowest figure for expenditure on education of any country in the world. Despite this most serious handicap, unions have been organized and have grown in great numbers. The first unions came into existence within the first decade of this century. In 1918 the cotton workers of Madras organized into a union with a large membership. In the same year and in the first few months of 1919 the Madras Railwaymen and Press unions, Tramwaymen and Ricksawalas union were also organized. The largest union which has thus far been formed has been the Madras union. A recent strike, declared by the cotton workers was successfully won by the union and the wages of the workers were increased.

The Madras strike was overshadowed by the strike of 120,000 mill workers at Bombay in January, 1919. After numerous demonstrations the strikers were granted an increase in their wages. But upon the heels of this increase came a rise in the price of foodstuffs. The hours of work remained excessive; housing conditions continued to be disgraceful. Though it might be said that the strike was successful in demonstrating a united movement on the part of mill-operatives, the conditions still obtaining would warrant modification of any statement of success.

However, the outlook is promising. Sporadic and halting as the labor movement seems, it is, nevertheless, gaining new ground and fresh supporters. The mass movement of April 6, 1919, is illustrative of a general awakening. As a protest against the passage of the coercive Rowlatt Bills, a general strike was declared throughout India. All shops were closed and business was suspended. Meetings and demonstrations were held everywhere. All religious differences were sunk. Hindus, Mohammedans, and Parsees united to observe this day. April 6 will go down in history, not merely as a day of protest but also as the birthday of revolution in India.

N. S. HARDIKER.

## IRELAND

When James Connolly and his associates were killed or imprisoned by the British military authorities in the Easter uprising in 1916, it was thought that the Irish revolutionary labor movement had been crushed. Immediately following the uprising, however, the Irish workers began to organize. Although they were handicapped by the death and incarceration of most of their

leaders, they met with remarkable success. Beginning with about 5,000 members, the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, which was entirely separate from the old line conservative craft unions, counts today among its members more than one hundred thousand men and women. In 1916 it had but 7 branches. In 1919, there were 290 branches, including farm laborers, mill hands, creamery workers, teachers, clerks, factory workers of all kinds in nearly all parts of Ireland, with the exception of the Belfast district organizations. The National Executive sitting at Liberty Hall, Dublin, is the governing body of the I. T. and G. W. U.

During 1918 there were two spectacular and far-reaching strikes. The first was a nation-wide protest against conscription. Railway workers and others with English industrial affiliations, joined Liberty Hall in a general strike. As a result of this demonstration, the government abandoned its conscription program. The second big battle was the general strike of all the school teachers in support of their demand for a substantial increase in their salaries. The teachers followed up their victory by affiliating with the I. T. and G. W. U.

The Irish workers have not gained any victories on the political field, but this is not the fault of the Irish Labor Party, which is the political expression of the industrial organization. From the beginning, when the Irish Trade Union Congress at Derry City voted to enter the political arena independent of the Nationalist, Sinn Fein, and Tory parties, and also of the British Labor Party, and decided to affiliate with the International Socialist Bureau, its road has been beset with many difficulties. Owing to the question of self-determination, it was deemed wiser not to function at all in the elections of 1918, in order not to interfere with the efforts of the Sinn Feiners to bring about a clear and definite expression of the voters as to whether they wanted an independent republic or the emasculated home rule policy of the Nationalists. The National Executive ordered the withdrawal of all the labor candidates leaving the field clear to the Sinn Feiners, who won a decisive success. The Executive was, however, careful to state that they by no means endorsed the economic doctrines of the Sinn Fein party or agreed with many of its proposed reforms and that the Irish Labor Party reserved the right to enter the political field when conditions had changed. It pointed out that no matter how intense the national struggle with England's rulers may be, the Irish workers must at all times continue their struggle for freedom from exploitation through the Irish Labor Party, which would always retain its independence and function as a distinct body. William O'Brien, the chairman of the congress, one of the ablest of the country's Socialist leaders, declared that though the Irish Labor Party and Sinn Fein differed in their conception as to what Ireland should be, nevertheless Labor was overwhelmingly republican and, therefore, friendly to Sinn Fein.

During the last year, Maxim Litvinov, the Soviet Ambassador to England, visited Dublin, where he was greeted by the largest demonstration ever held in the city. The Irish Labor movement was represented at the Berne International Conference by Cathal O'Shannon and James Hughes. They supported the Left throughout the Conference and forced it to recognize the principle of self-determination for all countries.

The most recent Irish Trade Union Congress met at Drogheda, August 4, 1919. A program of immediate reforms was drawn up which included demands for better housing of the workers, improvements in education, release of political and class-war prisoners, and the right of free speech. Following are some of the important resolutions adopted:

1. That all civil rights and liberties be restored to civil servants and the oath of allegiance be annulled.

2. That the working class of Ireland renews its fraternal greetings to the workers of Russia, and congratulates the Workers' Republics of Russia and Hungary upon their successful resistance to the attack made upon them by International Capitalism. It condemns the intervention of the Allies and associated powers as an attack upon the workers of Russia and Hungary, and calls upon the Labor and Socialist parties in the Entente countries to take action at once to save these Workers' Republics, declaring its readiness to make this international action effective.

3. It calls on the workers of England, Scotland and Wales to use all the forces at their command to compel the British Government to immediately withdraw the army of occupation from Ireland.

4. It condemns the League of Nations as a breach of the principles of democracy and self-determination and opposed to the accepted policy of the labor movement.

5. One of the most significant resolutions adopted was one introduced by a delegate from the Irish Drapers in favor of the One Big Union idea, which was adopted by a vote of 131 to 50. The resolution stated that the powers of the National Executive should be very considerably increased so as to secure more co-ordinated effort in regard to industrial and political action; and that a scheme be drawn up to be submitted to a special meeting of the Trade Union Congress.

The following suggestions are to be embodied in the plan:

1. The National Executive to have special control in regard to industrial disputes in consultation with the Executive of the society or societies which may be affected, or which are likely to be affected, and have power to declare, if the executive or executives of the societies to be affected so recommend a strike in any particular trade or calling, or in any number of trades or callings, to the extent of, should it be thought necessary, a general strike throughout the entire country.
2. That each society should contribute to the funds of the National Executive

at the rate of so much per member per year. The Congress in the discussion strongly indicated approval of the One Big Union movement.

The Irish Transport and General Workers' Union has had remarkable success among clerical workers. It has conducted victorious strikes among agricultural laborers and factory workers. It has established co-operative tailoring establishments and restaurants. During the Limerick strike, a Soviet was organized, to be used as a strike weapon. After it had forced the military authorities to withdraw from the city and had compelled the civil authorities to restore free speech, the Soviet was discontinued.

During the last three years the Irish labor movement has developed and grown to be of great importance and has acquired an important standing in the International Socialist and labor movements.

The Secretary of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union is William O'Brien, Liberty Hall, Dublin.

PATRICK QUINLAN.

## ITALY

The Italian Socialist Party was the first Socialist Party of power and influence to ally itself with the Third (Moscow) International, and which openly endorsed the program and manifesto of the Moscow Conference. This important step was taken by the National Executive Committee of the party which met in March 1919 at Milan, by a vote of 10 to 3, and which was later endorsed by an overwhelming vote at the National Convention of the party. At the previous convention, the party decided to withdraw from the International Socialist Bureau and declined to send delegates to the Berne International Conference. The National Executive Committee later decided, however, to send two of its members to Berne to observe the activities of the Conference. At the same convention, the party reiterated its anti-war position, called the Socialist deputies to task for failing to take a more aggressive stand in the Chamber of Deputies, and gave the Executive Committee power to expel recalcitrant deputies. It also refused to send delegates to the Inter-Allied Socialist and Labor Conference in London on the ground that it admitted the American Federation of Labor, while delegates from the Socialist Party of America and the Russian Communist Party were not present. The party also repudiated both the mission from the American Federation of Labor and the Social-Democratic League of America, which visited Italy.

The National Executive Committee submitted a proposition in December 1918 to the party subdivisions favoring the elimination of all minimum demands from the party program which is used in electoral campaigns. The proposition met with almost unanimous approval of the different sections of the party. It also issued a declaration in which it sponsored "the establishment

of a Socialist Republic and the dictatorship of the proletariat, with the following scope: 1. The socialization of the means of production and transportation, land, mines, railroads, steamships operated and managed directly by the peasants, sailors, miners and workers; 2. Distribution of commodities through co-operatives or municipal agencies exclusively; 3. Abolition of military conscription and universal disarmament following the union of all Socialist proletarian international republics of the world.

The declaration also vigorously advocated the withdrawal of troops from Russia, and announced that the Socialist Party "would not join in the homage to the representative of the United States," so that when President Wilson addressed the Chamber of Deputies, he found nearly 40 seats, usually occupied by the Socialists, empty. The party convention also went on record against re-admission of all those former members of the party who supported the government in the prosecution of the war and instructed its sub-divisions to strictly observe this mandate.

The Socialist Union, which was organized by the pro-war Socialists did not succeed in attracting to itself many of the members of the party. It formed an alliance with the so-called "reformist Socialists," who had split away from the party, following the war with Tripoli.

During 1919, the party continued its agitation for amnesty for political prisoners, and secured the release of several of its leaders, among whom were Constantino Lazzari, veteran secretary of the party, his assistant, Nicola Bombacci, and the editor of the party organ *Avanti*, Giacinto Serrati.

In June, 1919, the International Socialist Bureau sent a committee consisting of Ramsay Macdonald and Jean Longuet to discuss with the Italian party the reconsideration of the withdrawal from the Second International. The negotiations proved of no avail. The Italian Party, however, joined the international demonstration decided upon by the International Socialist Bureau on July 21 with the result that Italian Socialists alone among the "Allied" Socialists, conducted a general strike in protest against the Russian blockade. Entire provinces were prostrated by the industrial standstill. All traffic and communication ceased and in more than 240 municipalities, among them, Genoa and Florence, Soviets were established.

The Socialist Party has denounced the Paris Peace and the proposed League of Nations, seeing in this attempt the "re-creating of the Holy Alliance among the conquerors, to oppress not only politically but also economically, the conquered populations, dumb victims of the mistakes and rapacity of the bourgeoisie, captained by imperialistic capitalism and against the international proletariat."

Preparatory to the next congress of the Socialist Party, the National Executive Committee, issued a draft of a program, in which the party is called upon to prepare for the coming

revolution by the formation of agencies which would be in a position to direct the course of the revolution, with the aim of establishing a Soviet form of government. The program even goes as far as to promulgate certain fundamental principles underlying the dictatorship of the proletariat, such as the disenfranchising of persons who do not do any socially useful work.

In the Parliamentary elections of November 1919, the Socialist Party scored a tremendous victory, receiving about 3,000,000 votes as against 883,409 in 1913, or more than a third of the votes cast, and increasing its representation in the Chamber from 44 to 159. The campaign was waged on an anti-war and revolutionary program, which included unqualified support to the Russian Soviet Government.

The industrial labor movement is divided into two distinct groups, one co-operating closely with the Socialist Party, and the other consisting of the syndicalist organizations, which are not interested in political action. The General Confederation of Labor, which is the strongest labor federation, has endorsed the war position of the party and was instrumental in forcing the Italian Government to discontinue its participation in the anti-Russian campaign. The government was also forced to publicly announce that no more troops would be sent to Russia, that no munitions would be dispatched, and that no Italian steamers would be allowed to transport munitions or materials to the Russian counter-revolutionary elements. At a national conference in April, the Italian labor unions demanded the convocation of a constituent assembly for a revision of the form of government favoring the transformation of the national parliament as constituted at present into a national soviet.

The membership of the Italian labor unions is estimated at present to be about 1,000,000, which is an increase of almost 300,000 since 1917, and an organization campaign is at present on throughout the country to enroll more workers into the unions.

The Secretary of the Socialist Party is Constantino Lazzari, Via del Seminario 87, Rome.

The Secretary of the Confederazione Generale del Lavoro is A. Rigola, Via Manfredo Fanti 2, Milano.

## JAPAN

The world war was most fortunate for Japan. It gave her complete control of trade in the Far East and in the Pacific and extended her commercial influence to the Indian Ocean and the South Sea Islands. It augmented her trade with the United States and the European Allies, which continued almost without interruption in spite of the danger of the U-boat attacks. The industries were also stimulated.

Labor being in a state of slavery in Japan, exploitation of labor was at its height during the war. The employers expected to adjust war industries to peace industries when peace was declared, at the expense of the workers, through unemployment

and the reduction of wages. They knew the workers could not resist, for they were unorganized.

But the year 1918 brought about a change in the condition of the Japanese workers. The Russian Revolution had affected them tremendously and had revealed to them the power of workers and peasants when they organize and combine.

The following table gives an idea of the awakening of the Japanese workers.

	<i>Number of Strikes</i>	<i>Number of Strikers</i>
1907.....	57	9,854
1908.....	13	822
1909.....	11	310
1910.....	10	2,934
1911.....	22	2,100
1912.....	49	5,736
1913.....	47	5,242
1914.....	50	7,904
1915.....	64	7,852
1916.....	108	8,413

Strikes increased considerably in 1917. From January to August there were thirty principal strikes involving 31,136 workers. To a great extent this marked increase was due to the ever rising cost of living, but it was primarily a result of the general awakening of labor with the growth of industry together with the influence of the Russian Revolution.

During the first three years of the war the Japanese workers did not suffer from the high cost of living as much as the European and American workers, because the price of rice, the most staple food of the Japanese, was almost normal in spite of the rise in price of other articles of necessity. This was true until the spring of 1918 when the capitalists and even the government attempted to raise the price of rice, the chief product of Japan. They thought that the high price of rice would bring prosperity, since a large percentage of the people were engaged in the rice producing industry. And so the price of rice rose higher and higher until it was twice the average cost. The masses suffered extremely and their protests against the hoarding rice dealers and the government took the form of rice riots. The capitalists and the powerful bureaucracy were astounded, are panic-stricken even to-day and are attempting to pacify the masses in various ways, especially the poor, by means of charity and patronages.

These riots took place at 140 points extending throughout the empire. At some places the national troops were called out to quell the rioters. Sometimes actual battles took place between the troops and the rioters. At Ube for example, 6,000 rioters fought against the troops, fifteen persons were killed and many hundreds wounded.

#### ORGANIZATION OF WORKERS

The riots have made a profound impression on the minds of the people and they will not be deceived by charity and a government patronized labor movement. They have become decidedly class-conscious and are demanding wage-increases, shorter working hours and the right to strike.

Since the rice riots many of the more intelligent element admit the advisability of and even advocate allowing workers to organize and form unions. Baron Shibusawa and Osaki Yukio, the ex-mayor of Tokyo and member of Parliament, have decided to organize a Labor Party. Osaki Yukio, who is the leader of the opposition of the present government, is now in France studying for his future work as leader of the coming Labor Party.

B. Suzuki, the Gompers of Japan, who differs from the leader of the American Federation of Labor only in that he has not a large organization behind him, is deceiving labor and injuring the growth of a class-conscious labor movement in Japan. through his Workers' Friendly Society.

Little can be said of the Socialist movement in this country, for its activities are suppressed and the members are forced to carry on the work underground. The only Socialist organ is the *New Society*. The Socialists succeeded recently in getting their own printing press, which will facilitate their work very much. This monthly is entirely scientific and academic, and contains information of the movement in other countries and discussions of theoretical Socialism. The paper has an ever-increasing circulation in spite of occasional confiscation and suppression.

The future looks hopeful and encouraging for the workers are becoming more and more class-conscious. Within a few years, the Japanese workers will have a strong labor and Socialist movement and will help in bringing about the solidarity of the international proletariat. The *zeit geist* of labor and social conditions in Japan is rapidly advancing. SEN KATAYAMA.

## NORWAY

The Socialist and labor movement of Norway has during the past two years undergone very radical changes. The achievements of the Russian Revolution and the experiences of the Finnish Socialist and labor movements with bourgeois dictatorship had brought the Norwegian Socialists and trade unionists into an alliance with the revolutionary labor elements of other countries. At the congress of the Social-Democratic Labor Party in 1918, a series of resolutions were passed which placed the Norwegian party on record for the Kienthal program. The radical elements in the party were not entirely victorious. Several of their proposals aiming to place the party on record in favor of the general strike, the anti-conscription strike, and the use of direct action, failed of adoption.

At the congress of the party in 1919, the Left elements of the party carried all their propositions, and have as a result of the decisions, assumed control and leadership of the Social-Democratic Party. The congress carried the resolution approving mass action as a method to be used in the class struggle by a vote of 158 to 126. While the resolution favoring an anti-con-



scription strike was defeated by a vote of 120 to 115, the congress went on record favoring the idea of such a strike when the opportune moment would arrive. The congress also decided to join the Third (Moscow) International, and called upon the Norwegian workers to refuse to aid in delivering materials to Russian counter-revolutionary governments.

As a result of the decisions of this congress, a new Executive Committee was elected, consisting of the leaders of the left elements. Kyrre Grepp and Emil Stang were elected to the presidium of the party, and Martin Tranmael was chosen secretary. Jacob Vidnes, for many years representative of the Norwegian Party in the international Socialist Bureau and editor of the *Sozial-Demokraten* resigned his office and Olav Scheflo was elected in his place. Holterman Knudsen and other old officials and parliamentary leaders of the party withdrew from the administration. They are active in forming a new party consisting of the moderate elements.

In the elections of 1919, the party increased its vote, receiving 297,000 votes against 196,000, which the party obtained in the elections of 1915. This was due to the participation of women in the elections, among whom between 20,000 and 30,000 cast their votes for the Socialist candidates. The Socialists have also a large representation in the various municipal councils and in Christiania the Socialists constitute almost one-half of the City Council.

The party claims at present a membership of about 94,000. It has eight daily newspapers and 19 weeklies, with a circulaion of about 150,000. It owns its own press and news bureau, and furnishes daily news, editorials and articles for the party press. The party conducts also a large number of evening schools for its members, and there are 127 labor lyceums in Norway, which belong either to the party, the labor unions or the co-operative societies. There is also a strong young people's organization, consisting of about 8,000 members which publishes a weekly *Klassenkampen* (Class Struggle). This organization was responsible to a great extent for winning the party to a more radical position.

As in the other Scandinavian countries, the industrial labor movement of Norway is closely allied with the Socialist Party. All labor organizations consider the Socialist Party as their political representative. The General Labor Federation had in January, 1916, 70,408 members; in 1918 it had 81,500, and in January, 1919, 108,000 members. It is estimated that Norway has altogether not more than 250,000 industrial workers. Having almost one-half of these workers organized in labor unions, Norway can be considered one of the most thoroughly organized countries.

The labor movement has kept apace with the Socialist Party and has also adopted a more radical attitude. The Norwegian labor organizations joined in the international one-day strike

demonstration on July 21, 1919, as a protest against the economic and political isolation of Soviet Russia.

The Secretary of the Social-Democratic Party is Martin Tran-mael, Folkets Hus, Christiania.

### POLAND

The Socialist movement in Russian Poland was the oldest of any other labor or Socialist movement in the former Russian Empire. It originated in the other sections of the former Polish Kingdom in Krakow and Lemberg, where Socialist thought influenced the national revolutionary movement. This partly explains the nationalist character of the Polish Socialist movement.

Russian Poland had two Socialist parties—the Social-Democratic Party of Poland and Lithuania, and the Polish Socialist Party. The former and the radical wing of the latter were a part of the general Russian Socialist movement, and as such, participated in the general revolutionary movement, regarding the emancipation of Poland only as a part of their struggle. The other faction of the Polish Socialist Party, which was the strongest, was nationalist in character, and was primarily interested in the struggle for Polish independence. During the war this faction allied itself with the Polish Socialists of Austria, and under the leadership of Ignatz Daszynski, supported by the Polish Legion under the command of General Pilsudski, saw in the victory of the Central Powers, the fulfillment of its nationalist ideals.

Since the Russian Revolution and the formal proclamation of Polish independence, the Socialist groups found a new orientation. The radical wing of the Socialist Party and the Social Democracy joined their forces and formed the Social-Democratic Party of Poland. Because of the persecution by the Paderewski Government, the Social-Democratic Party was not in a position to participate in the elections to the *Sejm* (Chamber of Deputies), and it advised its adherents to abstain from voting. The election resulted in a majority for the Paderewski Government with about 80 Socialists of different shades elected as members of the *Sejm*. A few radical Socialists were elected by the Polish Socialist Party and the Jewish Socialist organization, *Poale Zion*.

The Communist Party was organized in May, 1919. Many sections of the Social-Democratic Party joined the new organization and a referendum is being voted upon among the membership to affiliate with the Communist Party. Both parties joined the Moscow International Conference, adhere to the principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and are opposed to participation in the present government.

The Polish Labor Federation, formed in January, 1916, has organized workers in 18 different trades and comprises a membership of about 65,000. The Federation of Trade Unions, which has been recently organized to include all labor organizations claimed in June, 1919, a membership of about 350,000. The labor

movement is under the influence of the Socialist organizations which caused the Paderewski Government to sponsor the organization of Christian unions with the aid of the Polish clergy. This attempt has proved a failure.

#### PORTUGAL

Founded in 1876 under the influence of Lafargue and Spanish Internationalists, the Socialist Party of Portugal has increased considerably during the last years. Its clear-cut anti-war policy has gained for it many adherents and helped to consolidate the radical labor movement. The Socialist Party, through its sole representative in Parliament, Manoel Jose de Silva, refused a vote of confidence to the pro-war government. The party also declined to participate at the Berne International Conference, but has so far not affiliated with the Moscow Conference. The last parliamentary election, held in May, 1919, increased the representation of the Socialist Party in Parliament from one to two. Two members of Parliament who consider themselves Socialists, but who were not official party candidates are permitted to co-operate with the two regular Socialist members. They are not, however, bound by the decisions of the party. The total vote for the candidates of the party was 35,000, thus trebling the Socialist vote.

The Secretary of the Socialist Party is Caesar Nogueira, Rue do Bemformosa, 150, Lisbon.

The Secretary of Labor Federation is Francisco dos Santos, Rue do Laranjal, 83, Porto.

#### RUMANIA

The Socialist movement of Rumania was hard pressed during the entire period of the world war. It had worked from the very beginning of the war against Rumania's participation in the world conflict. The influence of its propaganda on the masses was responsible to a great extent for the preservation of neutrality during the first 16 months of the war. After Rumania entered the war the Socialist movement suffered a great deal. The founder of the Rumanian Social-Democratic Party, Dr. Rakowsky, and other leaders were arrested. Their imprisonment tended to prevent, however, an aggressive opposition movement against the war. Mass strikes and anti-war demonstrations were organized by the Socialists. As the persecutions of the Socialist and labor movements grew and with German military occupation of Rumania, the Socialist movement was either demoralized or driven underground. Notwithstanding these trying conditions, the Socialist and labor elements continued their internationalist position and at no time favored a "civil peace" with the government.

Dr. Rakowsky, who escaped to Russia and during the Kerensky régime was kept as a war prisoner, was liberated after the Bolshevik uprising and became one of the officials of the Soviet government. In December, 1918, he returned to Rumania and

began to rebuild the Socialist organizations. When Rumanian troops were sent to fight the Soviet Government of Hungary, the Socialist and labor elements attempted a revolution in Rumania which failed because of the aid given the Rumanian Government by the Allies. In the elections of November 1919, the Socialists elected 12 deputies. The membership of the party has increased from 4,000 to 24,000.

The Social-Democratic Party sent two delegates to the Berne International Conference with instructions not to participate in its deliberations but only to observe the proceedings and report to the executive committee. The question of affiliation with the International Socialist Bureau was almost unanimously voted down by the members of the party. A vote is now pending upon the question whether the party should affiliate immediately with the International established by the Moscow Conference or whether it should wait until the next convention which will meet in December, 1919. The Rumanian party was among the first to endorse the Zimmerwald and Kienthal movements.

The Federation of Trade Unions works in harmony with the Socialist Party. It numbered about 14,000 members in 1916 and increased to 16,000 in 1918. Its present membership is estimated at 75,000 which is almost entirely Socialist.

### RUSSIA

Since the publication of the 1917-18 issue of the American Labor Year Book, the Russian Revolution entered a new phase. On November 7 (October 25) 1917, the Kerensky Coalition government consisting of representatives of the bourgeoisie and moderate Socialists was overthrown by the Petrograd Workmen's and Soldiers' Council, under the leadership of the Bolsheviks, and a Socialist government was organized under the presidency of Vladimir Oulianov (Nicolai Lenin). This government presently gained the adherence of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils throughout the Russian Republic. The forces opposed to this change made numerous attempts to overthrow the Bolshevik Government in various sections of the former Russian Empire. The Bolshevik Government, supported by the All-Russian conventions of the Soviets of Workmen's and Soldiers' delegates, organized as a "dictatorship of the proletariat," and has since firmly maintained its power over the most settled sections of European Russia, notwithstanding the attempts of its enemies on all sides to overthrow it with the aid of foreign capitalist governments.

According to an enumeration made by the Soviet Government in February, 1919, the total population under the control of the Soviets numbered 86,000,000. Estimating the population of the Russian Empire, exclusive of Poland, on January 1, 1914, at 142,500,000,<sup>1</sup> it appears that the Soviet Government controlled 60 per cent of the population of the former Empire. Since that

<sup>1</sup> See *Soviet Russia*, Vol. 1, No. 4, June 28, 1919, pp. 12-13.

time the Soviet Government has regained control of vast areas on both sides of the Ural Mountains and is pushing forward into Siberia.

Lack of space forbids a detailed history of the 21 months of the Soviet rule in Russia. We shall confine ourselves to the most salient features of the new political, economic, and social system established in Russia.

Politically the Soviet Government is avowedly a class government which derives its power from the proletariat and those tillers of the soil who employ no hired labor. Those groups of the Russian peasantry which cultivate their land in whole or in part with the aid of hired labor constitute but a minority of the peasantry. The power of the Soviet Government thus undoubtedly rests upon the will of the majority of the Russian people.

In the economic field the Soviet Government has carried out a great radical reform of land tenure—the expropriation of large land-holdings. All land has been declared national property, but the distribution of the expropriated estates has been left to the organs of local self-government in the rural districts.

A number of “socialized” farms have been established by the Central Government as models for the organization of large scale farming on scientific principles. The government encourages the establishment of co-operative farms to replace gradually the small scale farm. These endeavors, however, are still in the experimental stage.

In the industrial field the Soviet Government undertook to nationalize all large capitalistic establishments. A great number of industries have already been nationalized, and it is expected that the plan will be expanded as fast as practicable.

The practical realization of this plan has been attended by great difficulties. It must be borne in mind that the war had brought ruin to the transportation system and totally unbalanced the industries of the country even before the Revolution. On the other hand the suspension of specie payments immediately upon the declaration of war and the flooding of the country with paper money resulted in the depreciation of the rouble. After the overthrow of the Czar’s government this depreciation proceeded so rapidly that, according to an article which appeared in the official publication of the Ministry of Finance under Kerensky, there was serious apprehension that the cost of printing a paper rouble would soon exceed its exchange value.

This condition led to serious industrial disturbances during the Kerensky régime. In the summer of 1917, it was estimated that the cost of living had increased since the preceding summer by eleven hundred per cent. This extraordinary increase in the cost of living led to a series of strikes after the overthrow of Czarism, yet notwithstanding the fact that the strikes were backed by the powerful Soviet organization, the wages increased but five hundred per cent. The rapid increase in wages and

prices of materials unsettled all calculations of the manufacturers and a number of establishments were forced to shut down, which resulted in unemployment in the large industrial centers. Such was the condition of Russian industry when the Soviet Government assumed control of it.

If one considers the disorganization which attended the introduction of various war-time "dictatorships" in American industries, the difficulties besetting the nationalization of industry in Russia will easily be understood. A number of industrial establishments had to be nationalized in order to furnish employment to the workers, in lieu of paying unemployment benefits to them. The former administration of most of the nationalized establishments in the beginning practiced sabotage, refusing to aid the Soviet Government in its plans. It became necessary to entrust the management of the factories to workers who naturally lacked the necessary experience. Investigation of the business of the nationalized factories by the Supreme Council of National Economy in many cases disclosed inefficiency and corruption. Although stern measures were adopted by the Soviet Government against grafters, yet it was impossible to prevent grafting altogether. It must, furthermore, be borne in mind that nationalization was carried on in the heat of a revolutionary struggle which would naturally tend to undermine the discipline in the factories. The Soviet Government endeavored to increase the efficiency of the working force by restoring the piece work system. Gradually, industrial experts gave up the opposition to the Soviet Government and accepted employment as managers in industrial enterprises.

Opponents of Socialism point to the difficulties of nationalization of industry in Russia as proof of the impracticability of Socialism in general. Anti-Bolshevik Socialists in Russia and elsewhere criticize the industrial policy of the Soviet Government as a premature attempt to establish Socialism in a country with a backward capitalistic industry. It must be borne in mind, however, that the industrial experiment of the Soviet Government has been in operation but a very short time and under the most abnormal and trying conditions, amidst civil war and complete isolation from the outside world, through the Allied blockade.

Industrial establishments have been conducted by the Russian Government since the days of Peter the Great, and the Soviet administration of industry would not suffer by comparison with them.

The Supreme Council of National Economy has avowedly refrained from forcing nationalization upon those industries which are still in the handicraft stage. On the contrary it has taken steps to encourage artisans' shops (*kustari*), and to promote free co-operation among independent artisans.

Unbiased students will watch with interest the further devel-

opment of nationalized industries when normal conditions will be restored in Russia.

I. A. HOURWICH, PH.D.

## THE RUSSIAN SOVIET GOVERNMENT BUREAU IN THE UNITED STATES

The Government of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic on January 2, 1919, appointed L. C. A. K. Martens as its representative in the United States.

On March 19, 1919, Martens sent his credentials to the Department of State accompanied by a memorandum which outlined the political strength and constructive ability of the Soviet Government and in conclusion said:

In view of all that is stated above, I venture to say that the Soviet Government has given all such proofs of stability, permanence, popular support and constructive ability as ever have been required from any Government in the world as a basis for political recognition and commercial intercourse. . . .

Fully realizing that the economic prosperity of the world at large, including Soviet Russia, depends on uninterrupted interchange of products between various countries, the Soviet Government of Russia desires to establish commercial relations with other countries, and especially with the United States. . . .

The Soviet Government of Russia is willing to open its doors to citizens of other countries for peaceful pursuit of opportunity, and it invites any scrutiny and investigation of its conditions, which I feel sure will prove that peace and prosperity in Russia—and elsewhere, in so far as the prosperity in Russia affects other countries—may be attained by the cessation of the present policy of non-intercourse with Soviet Russia, and by the establishment of material and intellectual intercourse. . . .

I am empowered by my government to negotiate for the speedy opening of commercial relations for the mutual benefit of Russia and the United States, and I shall be glad to discuss details at the earliest opportunity.

The organization of a diplomatic and commercial bureau for the purpose of attaining the objects set forth in this memorandum was at once begun. A staff of technical experts was appointed to head the several departments of the Mission.

Permanent offices were established in the World Tower Building, 110 West 40th Street, New York. The work of the Bureau may best be explained by reference to the separate departments.

### DIPLOMATIC DEPARTMENT

The Diplomatic Department, headed by Santeri Nuorteva, is charged with the establishment of diplomatic and commercial relations with the Government of the United States. The State Department was informed of the personnel of the Mission and the functions of the various members of the staff. Diplomatic immunity was requested for the Mission. In a later note to the State Department the representative of Soviet Russia protested against the activities of certain Russian officials of former régimes who were improperly retaining possession of property in America belonging to the Russian people, and were misrepresenting themselves as agents authorized to receive and expend funds on behalf of Russia. The attention of the American Government was called to the fact that the representative of

the Soviet Government was the only authorized agent in the United States empowered to act on behalf of the Government and people of Russia. At the time of the forcible entry of the premises of the Mission and the seizure of files and documents belonging to the Soviet Republic by agents of the New York State Legislative Committee on June 12, 1919, protest was lodged with the State Department against this violation of the immunities and privileges customarily accorded to representatives of foreign states.

#### COMMERCIAL DEPARTMENT

The Commercial Department, is organized for the purchase in the United States of all goods required by the Soviet Republic, and for the sale of Russian goods in the United States. The nationalization of export and import trade places the entire foreign trade of the country under the Supreme Council of National Economy in Moscow and its representatives in foreign countries.

The people of Soviet Russia at the present time require a great quantity and a variety of manufactured products, food-stuffs, cotton, etc. The imports of Russia prior to the war were about \$700,000,000 annually. At present, considering the extra demands of the reconstruction period, of rebuilding the railway system, of creating new factories and workshops, Soviet Russia has need of supplies representing purchases in the world's markets of double that amount.

The Department is organizing to meet the conditions which will arise as soon as trade between America and Soviet Russia is resumed. It will have sections under competent directors to deal with every branch of industry, following modern business methods in the establishment of standards of quality and value. Goods measuring up to those standards will be paid for according to their actual worth. Shoddy or sweatshop goods will not be dealt in. The Department is instructed to buy goods made under trade union conditions, and these instructions will be followed. The Soviet Government will not buy anything made by child or convict labor. If the cost of goods manufactured under proper conditions is higher than those produced under sweatshop conditions, the Russian people are willing to meet it.

The Commercial Department has already (Oct. 1, 1919) placed contracts with American manufacturers for a variety of products amounting approximately to thirty million dollars.

#### LEGAL DEPARTMENT

The Legal Department, under the supervision of Morris Hillquit, advises the Bureau so that its actions may at all times conform to the laws of the United States. The Department co-operates with the Commercial Department in the drawing of contracts with American business men seeking trade with Russia. The Bureau performs the usual duties of a Consulate in protecting the rights of Russian citizens in the United States.



A number of Russian citizens have applied for legal aid and such has been furnished to them. The raid upon the Soviet Bureau by local authorities engaged the attention of the Legal Department in protecting the rights of the representative of the Russian Government and securing the return of property forcibly removed from the offices of the Bureau.

#### DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS

This department, headed by Dr. I. A. Hourwich, prepares for publication in *Soviet Russia* and elsewhere articles on the economic, industrial and social conditions of Russia based upon the available official statistics. The department also aids the Commercial Department in the compilation of statistics on the foreign trade and requirements of Soviet Russia. All foreign trade having been nationalized by the Soviet Government, the statistics of production and consumption in Russia will henceforth serve as a basis for an intelligent direction of Russian commerce.

#### TECHNICAL DEPARTMENT

The Technical Department is gathering all information available relative to scientific methods in America which might be applied to the development of industry in Soviet Russia. It also supplies technical data to the other departments of the Bureau, chiefly to the Commercial Department. The Technical Department has secured the services of a number of specialists who are devoting all their time to the solution of a series of problems bearing upon improved methods of production in industries which already exist in Russia, as well as the introduction of new industries. The Department has received many offers from inventors who are desirous of placing their inventions at the service of the Soviet Government. All these are given the most earnest consideration. The Department is making a canvass and registration of Russian technicians in America with a view of using their trained skill to the best advantage of Soviet Russia. A conference was called for the organization of all experts in the United States who might be willing to aid Russia. Unfortunately the raid upon the Bureau which took away the correspondence and files made it necessary to postpone this conference until the records of the Bureau could be restored. Meanwhile a number of organizations had been formed throughout the country with the aim of drawing together technical experts interested in the problems of Soviet Russia. The New York Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia, formed on the initiative of a group of technicians, mechanics and engineers, is typical of these organizations. In response to numerous inquiries from different organizations throughout the country wishing to have a suggested form of by-laws for societies of technical aid to Soviet Russia, the Department has worked out a project which it recommends to the attention of such organizations.

## INFORMATION DEPARTMENT

The Information Department, under the supervision of Santeri Nuorteva, is conducted with the purpose of acquainting the American people with the facts concerning Soviet Russia. The official statements of the Bureau are issued through this Department which endeavors to answer all inquiries from the press concerning Soviet Russia and to place the most recent available information regarding political, economic, industrial, and military conditions at the service of editors and writers. The Department publishes *Soviet Russia*, a weekly magazine of information about Russia, the subscription price of which is \$5.00 per year.

SANTERI NUORTEVA.

## SERBIA

Serbia, which has probably suffered most in the war, has a labor movement thoroughly imbued with the class spirit and ready to take its place among the advanced Socialist groups. The industries of the country are not developed to a sufficient degree to make a labor movement either on the political or industrial field possible. The Social-Democratic Party of Serbia actively entered for the first time in the national elections in 1904 when it polled 2,500 votes for its candidates. It elected in 1912 two of its leading members, Laptshevitch and Kazlerovitch, as deputies to the national parliament, the Skuptchina.

From the beginning of the war the party assumed an internationalist and anti-war attitude. The two Socialist members of the Skuptchina spoke and voted against war as well as against war credits. The party sent delegates to the Zimmerwald and Kienthal conferences, has refused to participate in the Berne International Conference and has allied itself with the international organization formed by the Moscow Conference. The Jugo-Slav Government organized in December, 1918, includes two Socialists who have been repudiated by the party, Karl Triller, who holds the portfolio of Industry and Commerce; and Anton Kristan, who is Minister of Social Welfare. The government is persecuting the Socialists; and on May 1, 1919, 350 members of the Social-Democratic Party were arrested at Sarajevo and transported to Montenegro. The party organ, *Radnitchke Novine*, edited by the talented journalist Novakovitch, is a potent force for Socialist education among the workers. Its circulation is over 15,000. In addition there are published under party control three weekly papers.

The Labor Federation comprises at present 18 national unions with a membership of about 60,000 industrial and agricultural workers. This number represents an increase over the pre-war membership.

The Secretary of the Social-Democratic Party is Douchan Pavlovitch, Belgrade.

## SPAIN

During the war the Socialist movement of Spain under the leadership of the old Marxian scholar, Pablo Iglesias, became to a certain extent involved in pro-Allied propaganda. This was because the bourgeoisie and the feudal nobility were trying to force Spain into the war on the side of Germany. Since the armistice, the leaders of the Socialist movement have changed their conceptions with regard to the war. The Russian Revolution has in the meantime had a tremendous influence upon the Spanish workers and has forced the leadership of the Socialist Party to take a decided position against the attitude of the Spanish Government in supporting the Allied countries in their campaign against Soviet Russia.

At the convention held in the Spring of 1919, the Socialist Party declared against all and any interference in Russian affairs. It also declared for a general strike against invasion of Russia and ordered its representatives in Parliament to introduce a bill forbidding the provisioning of the counter-revolutionary governments of Russia by Spanish merchants or shippers. Virginia Gonzales, the leader of the radical group of the party recommended affiliation with the Third (Moscow) International, but her proposition was voted down by a big majority. The party maintains its affiliation with the Second International and was represented at the Berne and the Lucerne International conferences.

The membership of the party has increased considerably. The party has six representatives in the Cortes, who directed strong attacks against the government in its failure to relieve the sufferings of the people resulting from the increased cost of living. Mass demonstrations and a partially successful general strike were organized by the party in conjunction with the General Labor Federation, to force the government into action.

The Secretary of the Socialist Party is Daniel Anguiano, Caranza 20, Madrid.

The Secretary of the Labor Federation is Vincente Barrio, Calle de Piamonte 2, Madrid.

## SWEDEN

The Swedish Social-Democratic Labor Party is one of the Socialist parties in Europe whose tactics and policies have been changed considerably during the war. While it opposed the participation in capitalist governments before the war, it allowed, in 1916, members of the party to enter any cabinet which would approve of a certain minimum program. Hjalmar Branting with two other Socialists soon after joined a liberal coalition government. The introduction of the eight-hour day in the government railway shops was the only result of this collaboration.

The struggle between the moderates and the radicals within the party led to a split in 1917 and the formation of a new party—the Socialist Party—consisting of the left elements. The

Social-Democratic Labor Party is, however, still by far the strongest of the two parties. Its organization is very extensive and it works in closest contact with the industrial labor movement, which is largely influenced by it.

The Social-Democratic Labor Party is largely responsible for the neutrality which Sweden has maintained during the war. While Branting and the other leaders of the party were outspoken in their pro-Ally sentiments, they nevertheless worked energetically against Swedish participation in the war. The party is affiliated with the International Socialist Bureau and was represented at the Berne Conference, at which Branting acted as presiding officer.

The Socialist Party is actively engaged in revolutionizing the labor movement of Sweden. Its representatives in the Rikstag moved for the unification of the three Scandinavian countries into a republic. They were defeated by the combined opposition of the bourgeois parties as well as the majority of the Social-Democratic deputies. At its convention in June, 1919, the Socialist Party adopted a statement by a vote of 136 to 69 favoring mass action as a means in the struggle for the conquest of political power and the establishment of Socialism, declaring for the principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat and advocating parliamentary activity only as a means of revolutionary propaganda. It also explained that a Socialist society must be built upon the Soviet basis, and declared the most important work of the Socialist movement to be the education of the workers in the fundamentals and structure of the new society. The convention also voted to join the Third (Moscow) International and adopted a program of activities in the municipalities, since the party controls several municipal governments.

The Social-Democratic Labor Party controls at present a great many town councils, has 600 of its members in the city councils and more than 6,000 on the town, school and taxation boards. The parliamentary strength of the two parties is as follows:

The Social-Democratic Labor Party.....	86
The Socialist Party.....	12

During the recent elections to the upper house of the Swedish parliament, the Social-Democrats secured 48 seats and the Socialist Party 4.

The industrial labor movement of Sweden as in other Scandinavian countries is closely allied with the Socialist movement. In 1913 the General Labor Federation had 93,600 members. Its numbers now 180,000. The general strike of 1908 led to a decrease of the membership which fell to about 60,000. The Federation works in harmony with the Social-Democratic Labor Party and is greatly influenced by the leadership of that party.

## SWITZERLAND

The Swiss Social-Democratic Party went through stormy years. One regular and two special conventions were held during 1918-1919 which brought about a complete re-orientation of the Socialist movement. The most important of these gatherings was the special convention held December, 1918, at Berne. There were represented 180 sections with 360 delegates, and 32 representatives of the Socialist press.

The question of greatest moment was the re-establishment of the International. The discussion on this matter centered about three different resolutions. One, moved by the National Executive Committee, aimed at the preservation of unity within the movement and proposed to postpone the consideration of tactical differences until a time when the questions at issue could be discussed with more deliberation and calm. It also advocated the participation in the proposed international conference which was to meet soon after at Berne. The second resolution, introduced by the chairman of the National Executive Committee, Mueller, favored non-participation for a time at any international conference. The third resolution, moved by the leader of the extreme left, Friedrich Platten, declared against sending of delegates to the Berne Conference and favored the acceptance of the invitation extended by the Russian Communists for an international conference at Moscow. The Platten resolution was adopted with 198 against 154 votes, while the resolution of the National Executive Committee was defeated by a vote of 238 against 147.

The regular convention of the party, held eight weeks later, supplemented the position taken at the previous convention by declaring itself in favor of the principle and policy of the dictatorship of the proletariat as well as endorsing the Soviet form of government and pledging full support to the Soviet Russia. The general strike was endorsed as one of the most important weapons of the working class while political action, understood as participation in parliamentary activities, the repudiation of which was demanded by the extreme left of the party, was defeated. The convention also went on record against the participation of any members of the party in the federal government.

At the same convention the withdrawal from the Second International was endorsed by a vote of 459 to 1, while the Joining of the Third (Moscow) International was approved by a vote of 318 to 147.<sup>1</sup>

Refusal to repudiate political action led to the organization of a Communist Party in May, 1919. Side by side with this party there are in existence "Communist groups" as recognized branches within the Social-Democratic Party. The Communist Party differs only very slightly from the Social-Democratic

<sup>1</sup> The decision of the Convention to join the Third International was defeated in a referendum by a vote of 14,612 to 8,722.

Party since the latter affiliated itself with the Moscow International and adopted its program.

The National Executive Committee of the party issued a proclamation on June 5, 1919, informing its members about the conferences which were held with a commission of the Berne International, consisting of Macdonald, Longuet and Buxton, and declaring that the party had no intentions of rejoining the Second International unless the latter adopts the revolutionary class struggle as the basis of its activities and refuses to cooperate with liberal bourgeois elements.

The by-elections which have taken place during the last year brought an increase of votes and representatives for the Social-Democratic Party. The system of proportional representation, adopted last year, aided in the increase of representation for the party. These gains were especially marked in the elections at Zurich and Lucerne where the Socialists doubled their representation. In the parliamentary elections of October 1919, the Socialists increased their representation in the National Council from 18, which they obtained in 1914, to 41 out of a total of 200. The membership of the party increased during last year from 27,000 to 34,000, while the opportunistic "Grütli Bund" remained without power or influence.

The Social-Democratic Party and the labor unions prepared in 1919 a series of demands in order to meet the rising cost of living. These demands included a minimum wage, price fixing, the establishment of public kitchens, government control of necessities, emergency public works and the seizure of war profits in excess of ten per cent. The Trade Union Congress meeting at Basle in July, 1918, decided by a vote of 277 to 4 to call a general strike to enforce these demands. The strike was declared on November 9, 1918, and lasted for three days, when it was called off by the strike committee. The demands especially brought forth during that strike included new elections for parliament, woman suffrage, eight-hour day, insurance for aged and invalids, state control of exports and imports. Over 900,000 organized workers participated in the strike which paralyzed the most important industries. The leaders of the strike were later indicted and some of them were convicted to serve a term in prison and pay court expenses. Among those convicted were Robert Grimm, Friedrich Platten and Friedrich Schneider, all leading Swiss Socialists. The Trade Union Congress, held in December, 1918, criticized the general strike committee for ending the strike without securing all the economic and political demands.

The Federation of Trade Unions has now more than 150,000 members, an increase of 15,000 above the pre-war strength of the Federation.

#### GUILD SOCIALISM

The Labor movement to-day, both in the political and in the industrial sphere, exists and claims allegiance as a protest against

the economic system. The class struggle which it incarnates is justified as a criticism of the unequal division of freedom, responsibility, and wealth between the capitalist and the wage-earning classes. It must seek to abolish the wage system, or it is nothing. Under the wage system, labor is bought and sold as an article of commerce; the worker without economic resource other than his trade union to aid him in the bargaining, must sell himself to the highest bidder or else starve. He is treated not as a human being, but as a commodity, and his wages depend upon the higgling of a market in which all the scales are weighted against him.

This system all Socialists and Labor men seek to abolish; but there are wide differences both in the methods they propose and in the ends they have in view. For many years the workers, through their political and industrial organizations alike, have sought a remedy in the nationalization of industry and the capture of the parliamentary machine. They have supposed that given a democratic State and State ownership of industry, the wage system will be abolished and the freedom of the workers secured. They have thought this because they have fixed their minds too exclusively on the distribution of wealth. The horrors of poverty, the wrongs of the worker as a consumer, they have fully realized; but they have failed to see the other aspect of the problem—the tyranny in the workshop, the despotic administration from above to which the worker is subject as a producer. They have been mindful of poverty, but they have forgotten industrial slavery, or, if they have remembered it, they have not seen the solution of the problem to which it points.

Trade Unionism has always been recognized as a means not only of raising wages, but also of mitigating tyranny in the factory. It has been used for this purpose both against the private capitalist, and where the state or the municipality controls a service. The postal associations and the tramway workers have found no less cause for protest against the tyranny of their employers than the engineers or the railwaymen; the co-operative employees, who live under a "democratic" system, would have had no freedom but for the efforts of their unions.

#### THE GUILD IDEA

Under every system of management trade unions are thwarted in their efforts after freedom, because the actual control is in the hands of others, of outsiders. They can only criticize the conduct of industry; they cannot themselves control it. Guild Socialists believe that the actual management of industry should be in the hands of the workers themselves; that in every industry the whole personnel engaged, including both brain workers and manual workers, should organize and direct production. If democracy is good in the State and in local government, it is good, they hold, in industry also. Indeed, only on industrial democracy can a truly democratic society be built. They declare, then, for the control of production by the producers.

At the same time they recognize that the consumers, those who buy and use commodities and services, have rights and functions in industry. The State, as the representative of the organized consumers, cannot surrender the whole control of industry to the producers. It must safeguard the community against exploitation; it must keep a control over prices. Leaving the normal conduct of industry to the producers, it must keep the right to interfere. There must be between producers and consumers, a balance of power.

This system is called the system of National Guilds. Under it the management of each industry would be in the hands of a National Guild, including all workers in the industry. All the Guilds would be linked up in a Guild Congress representing the whole body of producers. Each Guild would administer its own internal affairs and matters of common interest would be discussed and settled by the Guild Congress. Where the consumers were concerned there would be discussion between the Guild concerned and the State, or, in matters of common concern and in cases of disagreement, between the Guild Congress and the State. In these discussions each party would have its economic power behind it; the Guilds would be in possession of the *management* of industry, the State would be the *owner* of the means of production. Guildsmen advocate State ownership and Guild management of industry, and they urge that the national revenue should be raised mainly by a tax on the Guilds. This tax would be the consumer's chief weapon against exploitation.

If this ideal is accepted, it remains to suggest how it can be reached. The answer is that the Guilds must come, through Industrial Unionism, out of the trade unions of to-day. The Guild system can only be realized if the unions make it their first object to secure the control of industry. The change must be gradual, but the first steps can be taken, and are being taken, in the trade union world to-day. Capitalistic industry is breaking down, and if the trade unions use their chance they may secure, here and now, a first instalment of that control which alone can bring them industrial freedom.

G. D. H. COLE.

## NOTES ON THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT AT HOME AND ABROAD

The world-wide movement of organized consumers to establish commercial democracy and help build the Co-operative Commonwealth is growing phenomenally in size, influence, and consciousness of its revolutionary function and destiny.

### I.—FOREIGN COUNTRIES

The single event of greatest importance and significance is probably the entry into politics of British co-operators, who now compose one quarter of the total population of the United Kingdom. The English Government is unique among the greater foreign governments in that it has failed to recognize the service



performed by co-operative societies in stabilizing prices and securing the efficient distribution of necessities. Because of governmental opposition which has ranged from local draft boards to Lloyd George himself, the co-operators have formally affiliated with the British Labor Party. Despite the discrimination against it, the English Co-operative Wholesale Society reports a record turnover in 1917 of \$288,550,660, an increase of about \$27,500,000 over that of 1916. The sales of the Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society for 1917 were over \$85,415,000, an increase of a little less than thirteen million dollars. These two societies have jointly purchased 10,000 acres of land for wheat-growing in Western Canada; and they now have 20,000 acres of tea-plantations in India and Ceylon. The trade of the German Co-operative Wholesale in 1917 was \$26,934,320; of the Danish, \$22,444,875; of the Finnish, which has since been cut in half by the German military machine, \$18,208,335; the Swiss, \$17,032,935; the Austrian, \$16,178,985; Swedish, \$6,131,980; Dutch, \$4,166,790; and of the Norwegian, \$2,343,460. The combined sales of the ten chief co-operative wholesales of the world were less than 380 million dollars in 1916; in 1917, they were over 477 millions. Some of this increase is accounted for, of course, by the rise of prices.

"The state within a state," as the movement has been defined, is a democratic institution formed within the old competitive world—sapping away the chief foundation of the capitalist system—private profit. There is now scarcely a country to which the Co-operative movement has not spread. At the beginning of the century there were but seventeen Japanese co-operatives. There are now five thousand, two thousand of which are credit unions, with a membership of over half a million. The present Socialist administration of Yucatan is vigorously forwarding Consumers' Co-operation. In Mexico City, Mexico, the candidates of the National Co-operative Party were elected at the last elections. One Mexican Society, the Sociedad Nacional Co-operativa, organized three years ago with a loan of \$50,000 from the national government, has now paid back the loan and won five thousand members. During the past year a co-operative was formed at Teribersk on the Murman Coast of Russia within the Arctic Circle. Incidentally, nearly one-half of the population of Russia is composed of co-operators; there are fifty thousand co-operatives, of which half are distributive; The Moscow Narodny (People's) Co-operative Bank has been constituted the centre of the Russian financial system; and the splendid success of the Soviets is largely due to the Russian Co-operative movement. The last International Co-operative Congress held in 1913 was attended by delegates from twenty-four countries, representing some twenty million heads of families; and since then the number of co-operators has increased about ten-fold.

The French Co-operative Wholesale Society did a business in 1917 of ten and a half million dollars, an increase of

four millions over the preceding year. At the request of the French National Federation of Distributive Societies, the National Relief Committee has placed \$100,000 at the disposal of the French Co-operative Movement to rehabilitate the societies in the invaded districts—about a third of the French co-operatives. The French Government has furthermore, created with the Labor Department a Superior Council of Co-operation, composed for the most part of delegates elected by co-operators, to suggest and criticize legislation of interest to co-operating consumers and producers. The central co-operative organizations of the Allies have also decided to establish a common fund for the reconstruction of the destroyed co-operatives in Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, Montenegro, Poland, Serbia, and Roumania.

Under the stimulus of the International Co-operative Alliance, which has kept in the most intimate touch with the movement in all countries, a fund has been raised in England for the relief of women and children of the Central Powers stranded there; and Germany has reciprocated. The Scandinavian countries are forming an international co-operative wholesale—a movement in which there is every indication that almost all the countries of the continent will soon join. England has already established international exchange with the Scandinavian countries, Switzerland, France, and Russia. The Conference of the Co-operators of Allied Countries was held at Paris in February, 1919. Delegates were invited from the United States; but the United States Government refused passports to those elected to attend. The Tenth International Co-operative Congress will probably be held in Switzerland this year. In other words, not only has the Co-operative movement thrived throughout the war, but it has also the proud record of having remained steadfastly international in principle and practice.<sup>1</sup>

## II.—THE UNITED STATES

The most noteworthy recent occurrence in the history of the American Co-operative Movement is that the American Federation of Labor at its annual convention in the fall of 1917 not only went on record as advocating Consumers' Co-operation, but also voted that a fund of \$20,000 be established for the organization and maintenance of a department of the Federation to found and advise co-operative stores. The Illinois, Washington, California, and Utah State Federation of Labor, the National Women's Trade Union League, the United Mine Workers of America, the Nonpartisan League, and the Workmen's Circle have all endorsed and are all enthusiastically furthering the movement, while the railway brotherhoods are vitally interested in it.

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<sup>1</sup> For a fuller account of the Co-operative movement abroad, see the *American Labor Year Book*, 1917-18, pp. 319-334.

Another recent event of great significance and consequence was the first national Co-operative convention ever held in America. It took place in Springfield, Ill., September 25-27, under the auspices of the Co-operative League of America.<sup>1</sup>

The tendency toward federation, accompanied by a movement toward standardization and the pooling of the purchases of co-operatives, is quite a recent development in America. The Tri-State Co-operative Association at Pittsburg, Penna., has established a wholesale and is federating the 100 co-operative stores in Western Pennsylvania, Eastern Ohio, and West Virginia, doing an annual business of over five million dollars. The Puget Sound Co-operative Wholesale Society, Everett, Wash., and the Federation of Jewish Co-operative Societies, at the second convention held in June, 1918, adopted unanimously a resolution recommending all affiliated co-operatives to support the Socialist Party. All of these organizations were formed during the past two years; while the great central States Federation of Co-operative Societies, Springfield, Ill., embracing the 65 flourishing miners' stores of Illinois, and the many others of the states adjacent, a great number of which own their own meeting-halls and hospitals, was founded in 1916.

#### PUBLICATIONS

There are several periodicals devoted to the American Co-operative movement. The Co-operative League of America, 2 W. 13th St., New York City, publishes many pamphlets, leaflets, and a monthly paper, *Co-operation*. The Pacific Co-operative League, 236 Commercial Street, San Francisco, Cal., a federation of about thirty stores and a thousand members, recently started a monthly entitled *The Pacific Co-operator*. The highly successful Seattle Consumers Co-operative Association also publishes a monthly, started this year, *The New Leaf*. The Federation of Jewish Co-operative Societies of America, 61 Second Avenue, New York City, has a quarterly printed in Yiddish, *The Co-operative World*. The American Finnish Co-operative movement with its 20,000 members and 150 stores, doing an annual business of over four million dollars, conducts several journals in Finnish, and annually distributes about \$100,000 worth of printed matter. The Canadian Co-operative movement likewise has a monthly of its own, *The Canadian Consumer*, published by the Co-operative Union of Canada at Brantford, Ontario.

Consumers' co-operation is far less developed in size, influence, centralization, propaganda power, scientific attitude, and consciousness of its goal in this country than in almost any of the European countries; but it has made tremendous strides here recently, strides that augur well for the future. Both these facts are also true of agrarian co-operation.

<sup>1</sup> For an account of the Springfield Conference, see special article.

## AGRICULTURAL CO-OPERATIVES

There are in the United States over twelve thousand farmers' co-operative organizations, chiefly creameries and grain elevators, doing an annual business exceeding one billion dollars. In California more than half of the fruit grown is handled by co-operative bodies; while one national society, the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union, has over 3,500 members. Unfortunately the movement of organized farmers is not as revolutionary as that of organized consumers; although signs are not wanting that the two may combine against the middleman and the social system of which he is a symbol. Indeed, a start in this direction has already been made in California where the California State Federation of Labor, the California Branch of the Farmers' Union, and the Pacific Co-operative League have formed an alliance for mutual defense and offense.<sup>1</sup>

RALPH CHEYNEY.

## THE FIRST AMERICAN CO-OPERATIVE CONVENTION

The most significant event in the American Co-operative movement during the past year was the National Co-operative Convention, which was held in the State House at Springfield, Ill., on September 25, 26, and 27, 1918, under the auspices of the Co-operative League of America. Delegates and representatives were present from all parts of the United States. Labor was strongly represented. Most of the papers and discussions were by workingmen. The Convention held three intensive sessions daily and discussed the closer union of Co-operative societies of America with one another and with the labor movement.

Representatives from the agricultural producers' Co-operative organizations were received as fraternal delegates, and a session was given to the consideration of harmonizing producers' and consumers' Co-operative societies. The American problem is quite different from the European problem in this respect. Here the strongest feeling of harmony prevails, and is uniting these two elements of Co-operation against their common enemy—the middleman.

This has been called the First National Convention. There have been others, but none so representative, none which set going such potent forces. There were present 185 delegates who registered from 386 Co-operative societies. These came from states as widely separated as Massachusetts and California. About 300 Co-operators were in attendance. The organized labor movement was well represented. A single labor delegate came with credentials from organizations representing 285,000 railroad men. Another delegate was the president of an organization of 250,000 workers. Fraternal delegates represented more than a

<sup>1</sup> For a fuller account of the Co-operative movement in America, see the *American Labor Year Book*, 1916, pp. 300-305.

million organized trade unionists, and 100,000 agricultural co-operators.

Cablegrams, telegrams, and greetings were received from the five great Russian societies, from the French Union, and many other organizations. George Keen, Secretary of the Canadian Union, presented the greetings of the Canadian societies. The Convention was inspired by the revelations of the greatness of the American movement. Not only were a surprising series of successes revealed, but the aims and ideals of the movement were seen to be high also. There was discovered a hunger for the social expressions of Co-operation. Encouraging educational work was reported upon.

#### LABOR AND CO-OPERATION

The sympathy existing between the trade union movement and the Co-operative movement was everywhere apparent. It is obvious that these two organized forces are destined to become even more closely affiliated, and to move forward together. The workers are realizing that their organization as consumers is essential to guarantee them the control of the purchasing power of their wages. They have learned that an increase of wages means little if not backed up by a stabilizing control of the cost of commodities.

#### PRODUCERS' CO-OPERATIVES

The reports of the entrance of consumers' societies into the field of production were most encouraging. Not only is the consumers' movement being harmonized with that of the co-operative producers, but consumers are effectively entering the field of production for themselves. The resolutions offered by the committee on co-operative producers dealt with the problem of the agricultural co-operators in the most enlightened spirit. This question is being worked out in our own original way here in America and the results look good.

The resolutions of the Committee on Co-operative Unity recognized the Co-operative League of America as the soul of the American movement. Societies are urged to affiliate with it. It is recommended that the League functionate as do the Unions in Europe, and that it be supported by the societies.

#### THE AMERICAN WHOLESALE

The American Co-operative Wholesale was inaugurated by this Convention. The committee on wholesale consists of D. T. Clarke of the Tri-State Society, C. E. Lunn of the Seattle Society, J. Numivuori of the Finnish Wholesale of Wisconsin, D. F. Lowrie of the Wholesale of the Northern States, D. McDonald of the Wholesale of the Central States, E. O. F. Ames of the Pacific Wholesale of California, and K. G. Grandahl of the New England Finnish Societies. These men represent six wholesale societies now in existence. Their resolution to federate all of their societies and establish an American Wholesale was met with

great enthusiasm. They were elected directors of the new organization, and have set themselves earnestly to the task of creating an all-American Wholesale.

#### EXTENT OF CO-OPERATIVES

The presence of women on the program of each day was noteworthy. This Convention revealed the fact that the movement in the United States has entered upon a period of unprecedented activity during the past year. New societies are springing up everywhere. There were at the time of the Convention about 1,000 true Co-operative distributive societies. Six months after the Convention the League has records of 2,000 societies in the United States.

The Convention revealed several especially active centers of growth. The California movement is promoted by the Pacific Co-operative League of San Francisco. At Seattle, Washington, is another wholesale. This Puget Sound movement has not only a rapidly increasing number of consumers' societies but producers' societies also. It has organized within the past year milk condensing plants, runs its own slaughter house, bank, fish cannery, and is about to establish a grist mill.

Societies were reported from all of the Northern states. These are distributive societies more or less closely related to the agricultural movement. The Co-operative Wholesale at St. Paul, Minnesota, is growing steadily and has both producers' and consumers' societies affiliated with it.

Most fully represented at the Convention was the society of the Central States. It is made up of about sixty distributive societies. This is one of the most virile and substantial movements in the country. Its members are largely coal miners. Among these organizations are some societies with several stores handling not only groceries and meats but dry goods and tools, owning their own buildings, and carrying on recreational and other social functions.

The Tri-State Society sent several delegates. It is composed of about 100 organizations in Western Pennsylvania, Ohio, and West Virginia. It has a Wholesale and transacts a large and increasing business. In New England the movement is slow except where foreign elements dominate. The Finns, Poles and Italians have some thriving societies and sent representatives to the Convention.

#### THE FINNISH MOVEMENT

The most remarkable racial group represented was the Finnish. They reported upon 150 Co-operative societies with assets of approximately \$3,000,000 and with an annual business of \$5,000,000. They have 50 grocery stores owned by about 15,000 members with a yearly business of \$2,000,000; four mills; three bakeries; 26 boarding houses; several apartment houses; three publishing houses; three daily newspapers; two monthlies; and two weeklies. These are true Co-operative societies. The Fin-

nish publishing society distributed about \$100,000 worth of literature last year. The Finns have developed recreations and have established two Co-operative amusement parks. They conduct schools, libraries, meeting-halls, dramatic entertainments and concerts. They own many buildings. In New York City they have a five-story building which costs \$150,000; it contains a library, dormitories, billiard room, bowling alleys, and serves for a general social center and club purposes. The Finns conduct one of the best Co-operative banks in the country. The majority of the 200,000 Finns in the United States are embraced in the Co-operative movement. Practically all of the Finnish Societies are affiliated with the Finnish Co-operative League. The Wholesale with headquarters at Superior, Wisconsin, which had just been organized, was reported to the Convention as steadily enlarging its capacity.

#### THE CONTRIBUTION OF FOREIGN ELEMENTS

The Convention discovered that Co-operation is not a foreign movement. It has been going on here for seventy-five years. The only peculiarly American feature has been its unmitigated propensity to fail. Its principal foreign feature is the introduction of success. While the movement remained in the hands of native Americans its history was one long series of failures. During recent years much foreign element has been introduced into it, and its successes have largely been inaugurated by those immigrant people who have come from countries where co-operation has become substantially established.

The Co-operative League of America is the organization which is working to federate all of these diverse elements into a consolidated American movement. The National Convention proved a long step forward in this direction.

JAMES PETER WARBASE,  
*President, Co-operative League of America.*

## PART SIX

# THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

### THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST PARTY DURING THE WAR

The Socialist Party carried aloft the standard of International Socialism during the war; so that when President Wilson visited Italy in January, 1919, we find the Italian Socialist Party, in a proclamation addressed to the President and published in its daily, *Avanti*, January 4, 1919, stating that, "To the honor of the Socialists of the United States, we recollect that they also adhere to our international principles and did not support your war."

After having conducted an unceasing "war against war" campaign to keep America out of the bloody European maelstrom, the American Socialist Party, through its secretary, Adolph Germer, in its official organ, *The American Socialist*, dated the week of April 7, 1917, declared, "We have every reason for congratulating ourselves for so far keeping this nation out of the European war!"

The United States Government entered the war April 6, 1917, six senators and fifty representatives, including the Socialist, Meyer London, voting against the war declaration.

The Socialist Party held its now famous National Emergency Convention at St. Louis, Mo., April 7-14, and adopted what has since become popularly known as the St. Louis Anti-War Proclamation and Program, later ratified overwhelmingly by a referendum of the party membership.

On International May-Day, 1917, the third May-Day since the beginning of the European War, the workers of America through the Socialist Party proclaimed with great joy: "All hail the workers of Russia and the new Russian Republic, the forerunner of the United States of Europe!"

It was in May, 1917, that the *American Socialist* published the article, "The Price We Pay," by Irwin St. John Tucker, reprinted by the party as a leaflet. This indictment of the war has been read side by side with the St. Louis Proclamation at practically all of the Socialist "sedition" trials.

The party, through its official organ, the *American Socialist*, May 12, 1917, protested against sending the Root Mission to Russia. This mission included Charles Edward Russell, later expelled from the party.

This month saw the party inaugurating also a campaign to have Congress submit the Conscription law to a referendum



as was done in Australia. It launched also a struggle against proposed censorship legislation. No sooner had these efforts got under way than the federal authorities began making raids on Socialist headquarters in different parts of the country, and a prophecy of what later took place was made when the Chicago Evening Post, May 26, reported a raid on the National Party Headquarters in Chicago.

In June, the national democratic administration denied passports to the Socialist Party delegates to attend the International Socialist Conference at Stockholm, Sweden. It was at this time that the first court blow was aimed at the national organization, a federal grand jury at Grand Rapids, Mich., returning an indictment against the party's secretary, Adolph Germer, and twelve others, for publication and distribution of Socialist literature.

June 15, 1917, marked the coming into existence of the Espionage law. On that date it received the signature of President Wilson, and immediately a reign of terror was inaugurated against the Socialist press. The party's official publication, the *American Socialist*, was among the first to suffer. Its issues of June 16, 23, and 30, were barred from the mails.

The party national executive sent a commission to Washington in July, including Frank P. Walsh and Clarence Darrow, to interview Department of Justice and postal officials regarding the interpretation put on war legislation affecting the party and its publications. During July, the *American Socialist* was issued subject to local censorship.

After promising to issue an interpretation of war legislation for the benefit of Socialists and Socialist publications, the Department of Justice and the Post-Office Department failed to do this, and Postmaster-General Burleson refused to give Congress facts about the press censorship in reply to resolutions introduced in the Senate, with the Socialist representative, London, introducing a similar resolution in the House. In August, the second-class mailing privilege of the *American Socialist* was revoked. In September, its publication was completely suspended under promise by local postal officials that it would be allowed to transfer its mailing list to the *Eye Opener*. The promise was set at naught by failure of Washington officials to make a ruling on this matter.

While the party was planning to launch a national campaign against war profiteering, a score of city police, secret service men, and deputy marshals from the Department of Justice in Chicago seized, on September 5, the National Headquarters of the party. After three days' investigation, during which samples of all literature on hand, files of Socialist publications, financial records, and letter files, in addition to much other matter, was taken, the Socialist Party headquarters was allowed to resume activities.

In October secretary Germer and the others indicted at Grand Rapids, Mich., were put on trial and freed of the charge of conspiring to circulate literature to interfere with the draft and

enlistments. This month saw also the second-class mailing privilege of *The Eye Opener* challenged; but this threat was never carried out.

In spite of the persecution and intimidation that was becoming daily more widespread, the Socialist Party candidates made a big showing in the November, 1917, elections, especially in New York City and Chicago.<sup>1</sup>

The party started the new year 1918, by launching a "Million-Dollar Campaign and Defense Fund" to meet the cost of furnishing legal defense for indicted and persecuted party members, and to carry on propaganda leading up to the congressional elections in November.

The party national executive endorsed the peace program of the Russian Socialist government and issued a proclamation calling for the preservation of civil and political freedom in the United States.

Then came the Government's *coup d'état* against the Socialist Party. On February 2, it developed secret indictments had been returned against Victor L. Berger, member of the national executive committee; Adolph Germer, national executive secretary; J. Louis Engdahl, editor of the party's official publications; William F. Kruse, the head of the National Young People's Socialist League; and Irwin St. John Tucker, former head of the party's literature department. This indictment was made public on March 9, charging the Socialist officials with conspiring to accomplish the usual violations of the Espionage act. Bail to the amount of \$10,000 was furnished for each defendant who was then allowed to remain at liberty. Socialists of the nation received the indictment as a direct attack on the party itself.

Splendid showings were made at the April elections; Mayor Daniel W. Hoan being re-elected Mayor of Milwaukee, and Victor L. Berger in the special senatorial election in Wisconsin, polling more than 100,000 votes, carrying nearly a dozen counties, all in the face of the indictment returned against him.

New and more drastic amendments to the Espionage act became part of the law in May, further limiting the rights of free speech, free press, and free assemblage. Against this increased oppression the Socialist Party launched its 1918 Congressional campaign with a giant mass meeting in the huge Auditorium in Chicago on June 9. This was followed by a national effort demanding recognition by the United States Government of the Russian Soviet Republic and opposing intervention.

It was in this month of June that the national Socialist headquarters learned that the Post-Office Department had been systematically holding up its outgoing first-class mail, as well as that of the *Eye Opener*, some of it being allowed to go out after the passage of four or six months. Some of this first-class

<sup>1</sup> For further information on election results see *American Labor Year Book*, 1917-18.

mail is now known to have been held for as long as eleven months and a year before being released. It became known also that the post office was holding up registered packages containing the party's due stamps.

### THE AUGUST CONFERENCE

In August there was held in Chicago a conference of the state secretaries, the members of the national executive committee, and other Socialist officials. No change was made by this conference in the party's attitude toward the war. Eugene V. Debs, who had just been indicted at Cleveland, Ohio, for a speech made before the Ohio Socialist convention at Canton, addressed the conference and urged that the party remain true to the St. Louis proclamation. At this meeting the executive committee, conferring with the conference of Socialist officials, adopted a Congressional Program, which rivaled the British Labor Party's Reconstruction Program. Issues of the *Eye Opener* and other publications containing the Congressional Program were barred from the mails.

In the November elections, Meyer London, the lone Socialist in Congress, was defeated, but Victor L. Berger was again elected in Milwaukee, in spite of the fact that several additional indictments had been returned against him.<sup>1</sup>

The armistice did not prevent the federal prosecutors in Chicago, from hurrying preparations for the trial of the five Socialist officials indicted in Chicago. After repeated delays, the trial was finally started December 9, just nine months after the indictment had been made public. The trial lasted nearly five weeks resulting in a guilty verdict being returned January 8, 1919.

All during the war, the Socialist Party has maintained its strength and increased the power of its organization in spite of the various movements that have either been launched against it, or that have attracted the attention and energies of some of its members.

One of the big subjects up for discussion at the St. Louis convention, April, 1917, was the Socialist Party attitude toward the Nonpartisan League. It was decided to hold aloof from this manifestation of discontent among the farmers of the Northwest, which has continued to spread in all directions. The League has withdrawn from at least two states, Oklahoma and Texas, where the party movement is strong.

Shortly after America's entry into the war, the National Party was born, some pro-war Socialists having conceived the idea of

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<sup>1</sup> Berger was subsequently refused his seat in Congress on the ground that he was found guilty of opposing the war. At a special election held November 19, 1919, Berger was returned from the same district with 24,367 votes, increasing his former vote by nearly 7,000, and defeating his fusion opponent by about 5,000 votes.

uniting with Single Taxers, Prohibitionists, and other radicals to start a new national political organization. This effort seems to have gone to an early grave.

One of the most active anti-Socialist organizations was the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy, formed through an amalgamation of ex-Socialists with the Socialist hating element of the American Federation of Labor. It has been charged that it was subsidized by the Bureau of Public Information of the Government and that it is now working hand in glove with the National Civic Federation. In some states it conducted a propaganda against the Socialist Party in co-operation with the misnamed Councils of Defense and so-called "Loyalty" Legions. It seems now to have fallen into disrepute with the thinking labor elements.

Another effort of renegade and outcast Socialists was the organization of the Social-Democratic League, which even sent a government inspired "mission" to Europe to preach patriotism to the workers of Great Britain, France, and Italy. Their fame had travelled before them and the Socialist and Labor groups of those countries refused to deal with them. They spent their time with government and anti-Socialist elements. The standing of this organization in the International Socialist movement may well be judged from the refusal of the International Socialist Conference held at Berne, Switzerland, to seat its representatives. It, too, now seems ready for the graveyard of anti-Socialist hopes.

### THE LABOR PARTY

Since the end of the war, many ex-Socialists and "loyal" Socialists are seeking refuge in the so-called Labor parties that are springing up locally over the country. At its January 1919 meeting, the party national executive adopted a statement taking a position of "watchful waiting" toward this new manifestation of part of labor's forces to act and to think independently on the political field.

The following is the statement which the National Executive Committee addressed to members of the party with regard to the formation of labor parties in this country:

The formation of Labor Parties in several of the larger cities has aroused the interest of members of the Socialist Party. This new political party, an expression of the radicalism of the times as well as a protest against the conservatism of the American Federation of Labor, may spread to other industrial centers. In view of this possibility, we, the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, remind every Socialist Party member:

1. That State and National Constitutions of the Socialist Party forbid members from joining any other political organization.

2. That endorsement of any other political organization by any member or subdivision of the Socialist Party is equally prohibited.

3. That even though the new Labor Party may proclaim in favor of industrial democracy, may enunciate the fact of the class struggle, and may profess internationalism, the history of all such organizations has shown that they must be judged by their deeds rather than their promises.

Socialist Party members are asked to view this new political venture in

the light of these facts. They should understand that it is the persistent and uncompromising attitude of the Socialist Party, together with the sweep of late events, which accounts for the radical expressions in Labor Party platforms. It is only by continuing our position and our economic interpretation of events that we can hope to organize the workers so that they will not only declare for industrial democracy, but will also act through the Socialist Party to gain this goal.

On the other hand, our members must realize the futility of destructive criticism of this new Labor Party. Where the Labor Party is dominated by old party politicians and corrupt influences, there we must oppose the Labor Party. But where it is a rank and file movement, declaring for independent political action, based upon the class struggle, we must refrain from criticism which would result in enmities and hostilities. We must maintain an open mind and a philosophical attitude towards this new political manifestation. In times like these, a measure of common sense instead of prejudice, because of the competition in the political field, should rule us.

Middle and Western Europe is ablaze with revolution; Great Britain is making strides towards Socialism; unrest and dissatisfaction is fast ripening in the orient; Russia is living through the labor pains of an industrial democracy. Times such as these may give rise to a new party in this country, Socialist in all but name; but unless such a party should manifest its character by proof in action, all Socialists must maintain their position of advance guards of labor's forces upon the political field. Only by this method can we hope to educate all workers in the fundamental principles as enunciated and practiced by our party, and which are absolutely essential to the winning of the world for the workers.

#### INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Three delegates, Algernon Lee, James Oneal, and John M. Work, were chosen by the Socialist Party to represent it at the International Socialist Conference at Berne, February 7, 1919. An effort was made to get passports. These were granted only to Lee and Oneal, and this only after a strenuous campaign of protest, and not until after the conference had started its sessions, when it was too late for the American delegates to be in attendance before adjournment. Oneal was sent abroad, however, to represent the American party and get in touch with the Socialist organizations abroad.

The party's international delegates were instructed, in case they had been able to attend the conference, "to vote as a unit, and to take as their guiding motive the purpose of aiding in every effort that creates a united, class-conscious, militant, and international Socialist movement." This may be taken as the American party's position in the efforts to re-unite the Socialist forces of the world. In this effort, American Socialism stands ready and will without doubt play a big part.

#### THE EMERGENCY CONVENTION OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY<sup>1</sup>

The Socialist Party which has throughout America's participation in the war maintained unity, has with the signing of the armistice, and especially since the beginning of 1919, been subjected to factional disputes resulting in the formation of three distinct Socialist parties.

The St. Louis Declaration on War and Militarism, adopted

<sup>1</sup> See articles on the Communist Labor Party and the Communist Party.

at the very beginning of the war, saved the party from disruption, which the other Socialist parties had experienced during the war. With the exception of a few individuals, who left the party because of its stand on the war, and who later allied themselves with the reactionary and chauvinist elements, the entire membership was enthusiastically supporting the party.

The revolutions in Europe, and especially the achievements of the Russian and Hungarian workers, in establishing proletarian governments on the one hand, and the defection of certain leading Socialist parties who abandoned the revolutionary character of the Socialist movement on the other, led to new alignments among the Socialists of Europe. This was bound to affect the American Socialists, especially because during the last year, the Socialist Party has been greatly augmented by enrollments of large numbers of foreign-speaking members, whose close interest in the developments abroad led them almost altogether to ignore the nature and purpose of an American Socialist movement. According to these new members, recruited in the main by the Slavic Federations of the party, the Socialist Party has outlived its usefulness and was to be ranked among the parties which had betrayed the best aspirations of the working class. The failure or inability of national and local administrative bodies or elected officials to immediately carry out the wishes of this militant portion of the party, led to the denunciation not of those officials, but of the party itself.

Groups were formed throughout the country representing the so-called "left" elements, whose announced aim was to capture the party for what they conceived as revolutionary Socialism. The preponderant majority of the members who enrolled themselves in these groups were those who belonged to the foreign language federations of the party. These elements, having in the meantime perfected a national movement through the media of the Federations, were bent upon securing the control of the party administration. A concentrated effort was made in the Spring of 1919 to secure the election of their candidates as members of the National Executive Committee, the international secretary and delegates to the International Socialist Congress. The seven Slavic Federations were especially instrumental in controlling the vote of their members with the result that a majority of those to be elected were chosen by them. Subsequent investigation has proved, however, that not only was there an attempt made to control votes, but that fraudulent means were used by these elements to secure a higher vote than they were entitled to.

The National Executive Committee, meeting in May, set aside these elections and as the National Convention was approaching, appointed a committee to make a thorough investigation of the methods used in these elections, and to report their findings to the Convention. The Russian, Lettish, Lithuanian, Ukrainian, Hungarian, South Slavic and Polish Federations were sus-

pending this investigation, in addition to the state organization of Michigan which was suspended because of its violation of the party constitution and platform.<sup>1</sup> From subsequent developments, it was apparent, that these Federations and the Michigan organization intended to separate themselves from the party in order to form a new organization. When a national conference of the so-called "left wing" elements was held in New York prior to the National Convention of the party, the Federations and the Michigan organization insisted on the immediate formation of a new party. These organizations later issued a call for a constituent convention to organize a Communist Party to meet at Chicago at the same time the Emergency Convention of the Socialist Party was to meet.

The Socialist Party Convention opened August 30 at Machinists' Hall, Chicago. It was agreed that no business was to be transacted until all the delegates were seated. A Contest Committee, consisting of seven members, was elected to hear the contests and to report their findings to the Convention. In view of the pending split, and because of the irregularities committed in the election of delegates due to the failure of certain elements in the party to recognize the validity of the suspension of the foreign federations by the N. E. C., a number of delegates were contested either by the National Executive Committee or by organizations which the delegates claimed to represent. The majority of the contests centered about the irregularities in the election of delegates. In the case of the Oregon, Minnesota, California and Washington delegations, the state organizations permitted members of the suspended foreign language federations to participate in the elections. The convention seated all contested delegates from these four states. The delegates from Wyoming and Iowa were contested because they were not in the party the required number of years. They were not seated. The delegate from West Virginia was not seated because since his election he became a resident of another state. The Nebraska delegation was contested because of various irregularities, but the Convention seated the two delegates from that state. The Utah delegation was contested by the state secretary, but the Convention seated those delegates in spite of the protest. The Pennsylvania delegate, who was contested because of his participation in the Left Wing Conference in New York, was seated as a delegate. Three delegates were contested because they established a rival Socialist Party headquarters and called upon the party organizations to send dues to them. One of them was seated while the other two were not. The Convention also seated a fraternal delegate from the German Language Federation, though the state secretary of New York announced that he was no longer a member of the party in that state. The con-

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<sup>1</sup> Later the state organizations of Ohio and Massachusetts were suspended for violation of the party constitution and other irregularities by the N. E. C.

tested delegates who were seated as well as several other delegates who were actively engaged in "left wing" activities and who were seated without contest left the Convention to participate in the formation of the Communist and Communist Labor parties.

The committee, which was appointed by the N. E. C., to investigate the election of party officials known as Referendum C rendered its report, in which the suspected irregularities were substantiated. The Convention unanimously adopted the report, thus supporting the N. E. C. in setting aside the referendum elections.

The National Executive Committee rendered its report reviewing the hardships which the party had undergone since the St. Louis Convention suffering from the assaults of the government from without and impeded by the factional disputes within the organization. In a supplementary report, requested by the Convention, the N. E. C. explained the conditions which led it to suspend the several federations and state organizations. In accepting the report of the N. E. C., the Convention voiced its disapproval of the summary suspensions of these organizations in the following words: "Had the N. E. C. made a sufficient effort to acquaint the membership of the suspended and expelled organizations with the facts, and endeavored to have them repudiate their officials, many members now outside of the party would have remained in the party."

In view of the charges made by the seceding delegates that the Convention was "packed," a committee, consisting largely of delegates who have criticized the N. E. C., was elected to investigate these charges. The committee rendered a unanimous report disapproving the allegations made by the seceders.

The Convention acted on the reports of the various committees. It approved the recommendation of the Press Committee to establish a national news service to supply news and information to Socialist and labor papers. It also approved the recommendations of the Committee on Propaganda and Organization, that the National Office maintain a bureau of information concerning military, political and industrial prisoners; that literature be prepared dealing with the economic question of the race problem for distribution among the Negroes; that a special committee be established for propaganda among women; that a speakers' bureau be inaugurated for the purpose of supplying speakers to the various subdivisions of the party; that the National Office maintain an up-to-date card-file system of the party membership and establish a uniform bookkeeping system throughout the party, and that it send the party Bulletin to all the members.

Several constitutional changes were decided upon at the Convention, the most important being the election of the National Executive Committee by the Convention instead of, as previously, by referendum, the election of a Board of Appeals



to hear charges in case of suspension of federations or state organizations, and the adoption of a Preamble to the Constitution, serving as a declaration of Socialist principles and explaining the aims of the Socialist movement. The N. E. C. was instructed to appoint a committee for the purpose of drafting such a declaration of a more permanent character. The Preamble is reproduced below.

The Convention adopted a series of resolutions, in which the position of the party on various national and international problems was voiced:

*Ireland.*—Protesting against the military occupation of Ireland and demanding self-determination for the Irish Republic.

*India.*—Protesting against the deportation of Indian revolutionists from the United States and demanding self-determination for India.

*Jewish Pogroms.*—Condemning the pogroms against the Jews, and pointing out the absence of such pogroms in Soviet Russia and Hungary.

*Pan-American Relations.*—Warning against the extent of American imperialism, and protesting against Mexican intervention.

*Mexico.*—Electing a fraternal delegate to the convention of the Mexican Socialist Party.

*Espionage Law.*—Demanding the repeal of the Espionage Law and the re-establishment of civil liberties.

*Race Problems.*—Protesting against mob violence against Negroes.

*Military Training.*—Protesting against the agitation for universal military training because "one of the chief purposes of an army is to maintain the power of the capitalist state and supply it with a mighty weapon against labor in revolt."

*Deportation and Immigration.*—Protesting against the deportation of American residents and favoring free immigration.

*Mooney.*—Protesting against his imprisonment and calling upon members to participate in the one-day strike October 8, 1919.

*Berger.*—Demanding that Victor L. Berger be seated as Member of Congress from Wisconsin.

*Plumb Plan.*—Explaining Socialist idea of public ownership and democratic management of public utilities, and pointing out that the movement for the nationalization and control of railroads as proposed in the Plumb Plan is not entirely in accord with the Socialist program.

*Co-operatives.*—Favoring the establishment of co-operatives and recommending that literature be distributed on the subject.

*Industrial Representation.*—Favoring an amendment to the United States Constitution to provide for the election of representatives in the various legislative bodies from occupational groups instead of geographical units.

*Economic Organization.*—Favoring industrial unionism and establishing a labor department in the party for the preparation of literature and more active work among the labor unions.

*Agenda.*—Instructing the N. E. C. to prepare an agenda for the next party national convention.

*International Socialist Relations.*—See full text of the majority and the minority reports reprinted below.

*Manifesto.*—A great number of national and international questions are treated in the Manifesto. The full text of the Manifesto is printed below.

The Convention went on record offering the presidential nomination of the party to Eugene V. Debs, the nomination to be ratified at the 1920 Convention.

A temporary National Executive Committee to serve until the next convention was elected consisting of Wm. H. Brandt, Mo.; John Hagel, Okla.; Wm. H. Henry, Ind.; Edmund T. Melms, Wisc.; James Oneal, N. Y.; George E. Roewer, Mass.; Oliver C. Wilson, Ill.

The Board of Appeals will consist of the following members: Jacob Panken, S. John Block and Eugene Wood, N. Y.; Daniel C. Hoan and Oscar Ameringer, Wis.; Wm. F. Kruse, Ill.; O. G. Crawford, Pa.

Before adjourning on September 6, the Convention issued a proclamation to the members in which the work of the Convention and the defection of certain elements of the party is explained and an appeal for concerted action in behalf of revolutionary Socialism is made.

#### PREAMBLE TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY

The Socialist Party of the United States is the political expression of the interests of the workers in this country, and is part of the international working-class movement.

The economic basis of present day society is the private ownership and control of the socially necessary means of production, and the exploitation of the workers who operate these means of production for the profit of those who own them.

The interests of these two classes are diametrically opposed. It is the interest of the capitalist class to maintain the present system and to obtain for themselves the largest possible share of the product of labor. It is the interest of the working-class to improve their conditions of life and get the largest possible share of their own product so long as the present system prevails, and to end this system as quickly as they can.

In so far as the members of the opposing classes become conscious of these facts, each strives to advance its own interests as against the other. It is this active conflict of interest which we describe as the class struggle.

The capitalist class, by controlling the old political parties, controls the powers of the state and uses them to secure and entrench its position. Without such control of the state its position of economic power would be untenable. The workers must wrest the control of the government from the hands of the masters and use its powers in the upbuilding of the new social order, the Co-operative Commonwealth.

The Socialist Party seeks to organize the working-class for independent action on the political field, not merely for the betterment of their conditions, but also and above all with the revolutionary aim of putting an end to exploitation and class rule. Such political action is absolutely necessary to the emancipation of the working-class, and the establishment of genuine liberty for all.

To accomplish this aim, it is necessary that the working-class be powerfully and solidly organized also on the economic field to struggle for the same revolutionary goal; and the Socialist Party pledges its aid in the task of promoting such industrial organization and waging such industrial struggle for emancipation.

The fundamental aim of the Socialist Party is to bring about the social ownership and democratic control of all the necessary means of production—to eliminate profit, rent and interest, and make it impossible for any to share the product without sharing the burden of labor—to change our class society into a society of equals, in which the interest of one will be the interest of all.

As subordinate and accessory to this fundamental aim, it supports every measure which better the conditions of the working-class, and which increases the fighting power of that class within the present system.

#### MAJORITY REPORT ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

1. The Second International is no more. We repudiate the Berne conference as retrograde and failing to act in the interests of the working class. It is the duty of the Socialist Party of the United States actively to participate in the speediest possible convocation of an international Socialist congress and to make every effort to reconstitute the functioning of the International.

2. In the reconstituted Socialist International only those organizations and parties should be given representation which declare their strict adherence by word and deed to the principle of the class struggle.

3. To such an international must be invited the Communist parties of Russia and Germany and those Socialist parties in all countries which subscribe to the principle of the class struggle. No party which participates in a government coalition with parties of the bourgeoisie shall be invited.

4. In such congress our party should urge the reconstruction of world-wide organization of the Socialist proletariat upon closer and firmer lines than have prevailed in the past, to the end that the revolutionary proletarian forces of the world may, at every critical moment, be effectively mobilized for simultaneous and harmonious action.

### MINORITY REPORT ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

We consider that the Second International ceased to function as an international Socialist body upon the outbreak of the world war.

All efforts to bring together the elements that made up the former international have only added strength to this conviction. The Berne Conference was a notable example of this collapse, especially with reference to its failure to take a helpful attitude toward Russia and its policy of hanging onto the tails of the Peace Conference in Paris and placid acceptance of rebuffs given it by members of that conference, the refusal of Russian passports, for instance.

Any International, to be effective in this crisis, must contain only those elements who take their stand unreservedly upon the basis of the class struggle, and their adherence to this principle is not mere lip loyalty.

When leading Socialists join their national governments upon a coalition basis they accept and sanction policies which hinder Socialists and the working class generally from taking full advantage of the opportunities for deep-seated change which the war creates. This makes the workers content with superficial reformist changes which are readily granted by the capitalist class as a means of self-protection from the rising tide of working class revolt.

And when Socialists use the military organization of the master class as a means of crushing the agitation of their more radical comrades, they flatly take their position with the counter-revolutionaries whom they serve.

The Second international is dead. We consider that a new International which contains those groups which contributed to the downfall of our former organization must be so weak in its Socialist policy as to be useless.

The Socialist Party of the United States, in principle and in its past history, has always stood with those elements of other countries that remained true to their principles. The manifestoes adopted in national convention at St. Louis (1917) and Chicago (1919), as well as Referendum "D" 1919 unequivocally affirm this stand. These parties, the majority parties of Russia, Italy, Switzerland, Norway, Bulgaria and Greece, and growing minorities in every land, are uniting on the basis of the preliminary convocation, at Moscow, of the Third International. As in the past, so in this extreme crisis, we must take our stand with them.

The Socialist Party of the United States, therefore, declares itself in support of the Third (Moscow) International, not so much because it supports the "Moscow" programs and methods, but because:

(a) "Moscow" is doing something which is really challenging world imperialism.

(b) "Moscow" is threatened by the combined capitalist forces of the world simply because it is proletarian.

(c) Under these circumstances, whatever we may have to say to "Moscow" afterwards, it is the duty of Socialists to stand by it now because its fall will mean the fall of Socialist republics in Europe, and also the disappearance of Socialist hopes for many years to come.

### MANIFESTO OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY

The capitalist class is now making its last stand in history. It was entrusted with the government of the world. It is responsible for the prevailing chaos. The events of recent years have conclusively demonstrated that capitalism is bankrupt. It has become a dangerous impediment

to progress and human welfare. The working class alone has the power to redeem and to save the world.

In every modern country, whether monarchical or republican in form, the capitalist class was in control, monopolized the national wealth and directed the industrial processes.

Its rule has been one of oppression, disorder and civil and international strife.

The capitalist interests of every leading nation fully exploited the resources of their countries, and reduced their peoples to wretchedness and then set out to conquer the markets of the world for the sale of their surplus commodities, for the investment of their surplus capital, and for the acquisition of additional sources of raw materials and natural wealth.

A new era dawned upon the world, the mad era of capitalist imperialism. The weak peoples of the globe were subjugated by the strong nations. Asia, Africa and Latin America with their hundreds of millions of peaceful inhabitants were forcibly parceled out into colonies, so-called protectorates and spheres of influence for their capitalist conquerors.

The struggle for foreign markets became ever more desperate and acute. A violent clash among competing imperialistic nations became even more imminent and threatening.

The great rival powers of the world were uneasily and distrustfully watching each other and arming against each other. Millions of workers were taken from productive labor and trained in the savage art of killing their fellowmen. Civilizing and life-sustaining activities were subordinated to the mad race for military and naval supremacy. The nations of Europe groaned under the oppressive burdens of great armaments and became frantic with fear of mutual attacks. Capitalism in its full development caused human society to revert to the primitive conditions of savage tribal warfare.

Then came the inevitable collapse. The world was precipitated into the most savage and inhuman slaughter in history.

Millions of young men were killed. Millions more were maimed and crippled. Countries were devastated and depopulated. Industries were disorganized. Famine, disease and misery ravaged the people of many lands.

Finally, the ghastly combat ended. The Central Powers, vanquished and exhausted, laid down their arms. Imperialistic statesmen of the victorious allies dictated a so-called peace. It is a peace of hatred and violence, a peace of vengeance and strangulation. The reactionary statesmen at the Versailles peace conference were blinded by greed, passion and fear. They refused to heed the terrible lesson of the great war. They have left open the old international sores and have inflicted innumerable and grievous new wounds upon a distracted world.

To strengthen their precarious rule of violence and reaction the triumphant representatives of Allied capitalism have created an Executive Committee of their governments, which they have the insolence to parade under the counterfeited label of a League of Nations.

The true aim of this alliance of capitalist powers is to safeguard their plunder, to bully and dominate the weak nations, to crush proletarian governments, and to thwart everywhere the movements of the working class.

It was the world-wide struggle between the working class and the capitalist class which dictated the decisions of the Versailles Conference. This is clearly shown on the one hand by the desperate attempts to crush Soviet Russia and by the destruction of Socialist Finland and of Soviet Hungary, and on the other hand by its recognition of the unsocialistic coalition government of Germany.

The so-called League of Nations is the Capitalist Black International against the rise of the working class. It is the conscious alliance of the capitalists of all nations against the workers of all nations.

It now becomes more than ever the immediate task of international Socialism to accelerate and organize the inevitable transfer of political and industrial power from the capitalist class to the workers. The workers must reorganize the economic structure of human society by eliminating the institution of the private ownership of natural wealth and of the machinery of industry, the essence of the war-breeding system of international commercial rivalry. The workers of the world must reorganize the economic structure of human society by making the natural wealth and the machinery of industry the collective property of all.

The workers of the world are already ushering in the new order of true civilization.

In Germany and Austria the workers are now the dominant political powers. While the leaders of the workers of these two countries have as yet proved too timid to use their political power for the abolition of economic exploitation, the masses are showing an ever increasing determination to end the impossible government co-partnership between capital and labor and to establish in its place a genuine Socialist industrial democracy.

The workers of Great Britain, France and Italy, the workers of the newly created nations, and the workers of the countries which remained neutral during the war, are all in a state of unprecedented unrest. In different ways and by different methods, either blindly impelled by the inexorable conditions which confront them, or clearly recognizing their revolutionary aims, they are abandoning their temporizing programs of pre-war labor reform. They are determined to control the industries which means control of the governments.

In the United States, capitalism has emerged from the war more reactionary and aggressive, more insolent and oppressive than it has ever been.

Having entered the war "to make the world safe for democracy," our government has enthusiastically allied itself with the most reactionary imperialism of Europe and Asia. In the preparation of the infamous "peace treaty," acts of violence and of plunder were sanctioned by our peace delegates. Acts of infamy were masked by our eloquent president in idealistic and sanctimonious phrases.

And while thus serving as an accomplice of black reaction abroad, our administration and the capitalist interests behind it were busily engaged in the ruthless work of suppressing civil rights and liberties at home.

Under the pretext of war-time necessity, Congress and state legislatures enacted drastic laws, which effectively nullified the right of political criticism and opposition, freedom of speech, of the press and of assemblage. Although these laws were clearly unconstitutional, our courts skilfully avoided declaring them invalid. The Socialist Party, which during the war was the only party of peace and progress and the sole political defender of civil rights and labor's interests in the United States, was brutally outlawed. Its press was crippled, many of its meetings were dispersed, a great number of its defenders were persecuted and jailed.

Under the cloak of false patriotism and behind a barrage of terroristic jingo sentiment, deliberately incited by them, the capitalists of America launched an orgy of profiteering which all but ruined the nation. The administration permitted a relatively small number of men to make profits amounting to billions of dollars, while the price of the necessities of life rose to overwhelming heights. While the war created thousands of new millionaires, the short sighted workers of the United States were appeased by increases of their nominal wages, which left them behind their pre-war standards of life. While the vain, conservative labor leaders were bribed by meaningless posts of honor, the courageous spokesmen for the radical labor groups were put behind prison bars.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the end of the war has found the organized workers of America far behind their brothers in Europe who are everywhere strengthening their forces to throw off the chains of industrial and political subjugation.

But even in the United States the symptoms of a rebellious spirit in the ranks of the working masses are rapidly multiplying. The widespread and extensive strikes for better labor conditions, the demand of the two million railway workers to control their industry, the sporadic formation of labor parties apparently though not fundamentally in opposition to the political parties of the possessing class, are promising indications of a definite tendency on the part of American labor to break away from its reactionary and futile leadership and to join in the great emancipating movement of the more advanced revolutionary workers of the world.

Recognizing this crucial situation at home and abroad, the Socialist Party of the United States at its first national convention after the war, squarely takes its position with the uncompromising section of the international Socialist movement. We unreservedly reject the policy of those Socialists who supported their belligerent capitalist governments on the plea of "national defense," and who entered into demoralizing compacts for so-called civil peace with the exploiters of labor during the war and

continued a political alliance with them after the war. We, the organized Socialists of America, pledge our support to the revolutionary workers of Russia in the maintenance of their Soviet Government, to the radical Socialists of Germany, Austria and Hungary in their efforts to establish working-class rule in their countries, and to those Socialist organizations in England, France, Italy and other countries, who during the war, as after the war, have remained true to the principles of uncompromising international Socialism.

The people of Russia, like the American colonists in 1776, were driven by their rulers to the use of violent methods to secure and maintain their freedom. The Socialist Party calls upon the workers of the United States to do all in their power to restore and maintain our civil rights to the end that the transition from capitalism to Socialism may be effected without resort to the drastic measures made necessary by autocratic despotism.

We are utterly opposed to the so-called League of Nations. Against this international alliance of capitalist governments, we hold out to the world the ideal of a federation of free and equal Socialist nations.

A genuine and lasting peace can be built only upon the basis of reconciliation among the peoples of the warring nations and their mutual co-operation in the task of reconstructing the shattered world.

We emphatically protest against all military, material or moral support which our government is extending to czarist counter-revolutionists in Russia and reactionary powers in Hungary and demand the immediate lifting of the indefensible and inhuman blockade of those countries.

We demand the unconditional and immediate liberation of all class war prisoners convicted under the infamous Espionage Law and other repressive legislation. We demand the immediate and unconditional release of all conscientious objectors. We demand the full restoration to the American people of their constitutional rights and liberties.

The great purpose of the Socialist Party is to wrest the industries and the control of the government of the United States from the capitalists and their retainers. It is our purpose to place industry and government in the control of the workers with hand and brain, to be administered for the benefit of the whole community.

To ensure the triumph of Socialism in the United States the bulk of the American workers must be strongly organized politically as Socialists in constant, clear-cut and aggressive opposition to all parties of the possessing class. They must be strongly organized on the economic field on broad industrial lines, as one powerful and harmonious class organization, co-operating with the Socialist Party, and ready in cases of emergency to reinforce the political demands of the working class by industrial action.

To win the American workers from their ineffective and demoralizing leadership, to educate them to an enlightened understanding of their own class interests, and to train and assist them to organize politically and industrially on class lines in order to effect their emancipation,—that is the supreme task confronting the Socialist Party of America.

To this great task, without deviation or compromise, we pledge all our energies and resources. For its accomplishments we call for the support and co-operation of the workers of America and of all other persons desirous of ending the insane rule of capitalism before it has had the opportunity to precipitate humanity into another cataclysm of blood and ruin.

Long live the international Socialist revolution, the only hope of the suffering world!

## THE COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY<sup>1</sup>

On Sunday evening, August 31, 1919, Alfred Wagenknecht, who styled himself national secretary of the Socialist Party, called to order a gathering in another room of the Machinists' Hall, Chicago, where the regular Socialist Party Convention had opened the day before. This meeting was declared to be the real emergency convention of the Socialist Party. Some 80 or

<sup>1</sup> See articles on the Communist Party and the Emergency Convention of the Socialist Party.

90 persons were seated as delegates. Of these slightly less than one-half had refused to take their seats in, or had bolted from the Socialist Party Convention, while others had made no effort to be seated at that convention. This included most of the Ohio, Minnesota, Oregon, California and Washington delegation, and representatives from other state organizations, all of whom were sent to attend the regular convention of the Socialist Party. On September 2, this group assumed the name of the Communist Labor Party, thus forming a separate and distinct Socialist party. The slogan "to capture the Socialist Party for revolutionary Socialism" was forgotten, when the party showed a disposition to accept almost everything the "left" elements were demanding, and the Convention voted to seat their delegates.

The most vigorous discussion ensued during the following days over the attitude of the party toward political action. The Platform Committee brought in a statement which appealed to the workers to unite with the Communist Labor Party on the *political field*. This was amended to urge the workers to unite "for the conquest of political power, to establish a government adapted to the Communist transformation." The amendment was carried by a vote of 46 to 22. Several of the delegates took this to mean that the Communist Labor Party was disavowing political action and either left the convention altogether or remained passive during the following sessions. The convention subsequently defined political action of the working class as "action taken by the workers to impose their class-will on the capitalist state." The convention adopted a platform and a program which are reproduced below.

Throughout the convention, various attempts were made to form a basis of co-operation with the Communist Party. The Communist Party replied that the Communist Labor Party contained a number of inconsistent elements who joined their convention "because of personal grievances against the old party officialdom or against the Left Wing officialdom." The Communist Party asserted that they would welcome individual delegates who would prove their claim to revolutionary Communism, but they would not permit the Communist Labor group to enter as a body on equal terms. A series of proposals and counter-proposals followed, all of which led to the refusal of the Communist Party to take the Communist Labor group within its fold. Before adjoining, the Communist Labor Party issued an appeal to the Communist Party for unity and instructed its National Executive Committee to consider it as a standing invitation to the Communist Party for amalgamation.

#### PLATFORM OF THE COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY

1. The Communist Labor Party of America declares itself in full harmony with the revolutionary working class parties of all countries and stands by the principles laid down by the Third International formed at Moscow.

2. With them it thoroughly appreciates the complete development of capitalism into its present form of Capitalist Imperialism with its dictator-

ship of the capitalist class and its absolute suppression of the working class.

3. With them it also fully realizes the crying need for an immediate change in the social system; it realizes that the time for parleying and compromise has passed; and that now it is only the question whether all power remains in the hands of the capitalist or is taken by the working class.

4. The Communist Labor Party proposes the organization of the workers as a class for the overthrow of capitalist rule and the conquest of political power by the workers. The workers organized as the ruling class, shall, through their government make and enforce the laws; they shall own and control land, factories, mills, mines, transportation systems and financial institutions. All power to the workers!

5. The Communist Labor Party has as its ultimate aim: The overthrow of the present system of production, in which the working class is mercilessly exploited, and the creation of an industrial republic wherein the machinery of production shall be socialized so as to guarantee to the workers the full social value of their toil.

6. To this end we ask the workers to unite with the Communist Labor Party for the conquest of political power to establish a government adopted to the communist transformation.

#### PROGRAM OF THE COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY

1. We favor international alliance of the Communist Labor Party only with the Communist groups of other countries, those which have affiliated with the Communist International.

2. We are opposed to association with other groups not committed to the revolutionary class struggle.

3. We maintain that the class struggle is essentially a political struggle, that is, a struggle by the proletariat to conquer the capitalist state, whether its form be monarchical or democratic-republican, and to replace it by a governmental structure adapted to the Communist transformation.

4. Communist Labor Party platforms, being based on the class struggle, and recognizing that this is the historic period of the Social Revolution, can contain only one demand: The establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

5. We favor organized Party activity in co-operation with class-conscious industrial unions, in order to unify industrial and political class-conscious propaganda and action. Locals and Branches shall organize shop branches, to conduct the Communist propaganda and organization in the shops and factories, and to encourage the workers to organize in One Big Union.

6. The Party shall propagandize industrial unionism and industrial union organization, pointing out their revolutionary nature and possibilities.

7. The Party shall make the great industrial battle its major campaigns, to show the value of the strike as a political weapon.

8. The Party shall maintain strict control over all members elected to public office—not only the local organizations, but the National Executive Committee. All public officials who refuse to accept the decisions of the Party shall be immediately expelled.

9. In order that the Party shall be a centralized organization capable of united action, no autonomous groups or federations independent of the will of the entire Party shall be permitted.

10. All Party papers and publications endorsed by the Party, and all educational and propaganda institutions endorsed by the Party, shall be owned and controlled by the regular Party organization.

11. Party platforms propaganda, dues, and methods of organization shall be standardized.

#### THE COMMUNIST PARTY<sup>1</sup>

Two days following the opening of the Socialist Party Convention, and a day after the Communist Labor Party was formed,

<sup>1</sup> See articles on the Communist Labor Party and the Emergency Convention of the Socialist Party.



the delegates from the seven Slavic Federations, the Michigan state organization and several others, including a number of persons who only a few days before vigorously attacked the plan for the formation of a new party, opened a convention in response to the call to form a Communist Party. While those who formed the Communist Labor Party had it as their slogan to capture the Socialist Party for revolutionary Socialism, and later decided to form an organization of their own, the governing elements in the Federations and the Michigan organization openly agitated for the formation of a separate and distinct Socialist Party, in which they might have absolute control. The Federations particularly, representing a membership numbering between 25,000 and 30,000, of which the largest number was recruited within six months before their suspension from the party for gross violations of the party constitution and discipline during the referendum election, felt that they could form an organization, which though admitting other elements, would, nevertheless, be under their control.

Those representing the English-speaking Socialist organizations found themselves at the mercy of the Federations, whose delegates, acting under the unit rule, always outvoted them. Thus in the election of the various committees which were to deal with the problems of organization and policy, the Federations always secured a majority of representatives, and their opinions dominated throughout the Convention. When the English-speaking delegates favored the acceptance of the invitation of the Communist Labor Party for a joint conference to consider the advisability of forming one organization, the Federations frustrated that plan and only after the withdrawal of the other delegates from one of the most important committees, the Federations yielded, but only sufficiently to placate the recalcitrant delegates. Their refusal to accept the Communist Labor group within their fold could not be modified since they controlled a majority of the Convention.

The Convention adopted a program, which is reprinted below. It represents the attitude of the Communist Party toward a number of disputed questions of tactics and policy. The most characteristic feature of the constitution is the provision that "no person deriving his *entire* livelihood from rent, interest or profit, may be a member of the Communist Party."

The twenty Michigan delegates and several others disapproved of the policies enunciated by the Convention and did not participate in the deliberations or voting upon the program and other documents adopted by the Convention. Though the Michigan state organization was the first to inaugurate a movement for a Communist Party, it found itself at the Convention entirely neutralized by the numerical strength of the Federations, and was unable to exert any influence on the proceedings.

## PROGRAM OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

The Communist Party is the conscious expression of the class struggle of the workers against capitalism. Its aim is to direct this struggle to the conquest of political power, the overthrow of capitalism and destruction of the bourgeois state.

The Communist Party prepares itself for the revolution in the measure that it develops a program of immediate action, expressing the mass struggles of the proletariat. These struggles must be inspired with revolutionary spirit and purposes.

The Communist Party is fundamentally a party of action. It brings to the workers a consciousness of their oppression, of the impossibility of improving their conditions under capitalism. The Communist Party directs workers' struggles against capitalism, developing fuller forms and purposes in the struggle culminating in the mass action of the revolution.

I. The Communist Party maintains that the class struggle is essentially a political struggle, that is, a struggle to conquer the power of the state.

(a) The Communist Party shall keep in the foreground its consistent appeal for proletarian revolution, the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat.

As the opposition of the bourgeoisie is broken, as it is expropriated and gradually absorbed into the working groups, the proletarian dictatorship disappears, until finally the state dies and there are no more class distinctions.

(b) Participation in parliamentary campaigns, which in the general struggle of the proletariat is of secondary importance, is for the purpose of revolutionary propaganda only.

(c) Parliamentary representatives of the Communist Party shall not introduce or support reform measures. Parliaments and political democracy shall be utilized to assist in organizing the working class against capitalism and the state parliamentary representatives shall consistently expose the oppressive class character of the capitalist state, using the legislative forum to interpret and emphasize the class struggle; they shall make clear how parliamentarism and parliamentary democracy deceive the workers; and they shall analyze the capitalist legislative proposals and reform palliatives as evasions of the issue and as of no fundamental significance to the working class.

(d) Nomination for public office and participation in elections are limited to legislative bodies only such as municipal councils, state legislatures and national congress.

(e) The uncompromising character of the class struggle must be maintained under all circumstances. The Communist Party, accordingly, in campaigns and elections, and in all its other activities, shall not co-operate with groups or parties not committed to the revolutionary class struggle such as the Socialist Party, Labor Party, Nonpartisan League, People's Council, Municipal Ownership Leagues, etc.

II. The Communist Party shall make the great industrial struggles of the working class its major campaigns, in order to develop an understanding of the strikes in relation to the overthrow of capitalism.

(a) The Communist Party shall participate in mass strikes, not only to achieve the immediate purposes of the strike, but to develop the revolutionary implications of the mass strike.

(b) Mass strikes are vital factors in the process out of which develops the workers' understanding and action for the conquest of power.

(c) In mass strikes under conditions of concentrated capitalism there is latent the tendency towards the general mass strike which takes on a political character and manifests the impulse towards proletarian dictatorship.

In these general mass strikes, the Communist Party shall emphasize the necessity of maintaining industry and the taking over of social functions usually discharged by the capitalists and the institutions of capitalism. The strike must cease being isolated and passive; it must become positive, general and aggressive, preparing the workers for the complete assumption of industrial and social control.

(d) Every local and district organization of the party shall establish contact with industrial units in its territory—the shops, mills and mines—and direct its agitation accordingly.

(e) Shop committees shall be organized wherever possible for the purpose of Communist agitation in a particular shop or industry by the workers employed there. These committees shall be united with each other and with the Communist Party, so that the party shall have actual contact with the workers and mobilize them for action against capitalism.

III. The Communist Party must engage actively in the struggle to revolutionize the trade unions.

As against the trades unionism of the American Federation of Labor the Communist Party propagandizes industrial unionism and industrial union organizations emphasizing their revolutionary implications. Industrial unionism is not simply a means for the every-day struggle against capitalism; its ultimate purpose is revolutionary, implying the necessity of ending the capitalist parliamentary state. Industrial unionism is a factor in the final mass action for the conquest of power, as it will constitute the basis for the industrial administration of the Communist Commonwealth.

(a) The Communist Party recognizes that the A. F. of L. is reactionary and a bulwark of capitalism.

(b) Councils of Workers shall be organized in shops as circumstances allow for the purpose of carrying on the industrial union struggle in the old unions, uniting and mobilizing the militant elements; these Councils to be unified in a Central Council wherever possible.

(c) It shall be a major task of the Communist Party to agitate for the construction of a general industrial union organization embracing the I. W. W., W. I. U., independent and secession unions, militant unions of the A. F. of L. and the unorganized workers, on the basis of the revolutionary class struggle.

IV. The Communist Party shall encourage movements of the workers in the shops seeking to realize workers' control of industry, while indicating their limitations under capitalism; concretely, any movement analogous to the Shop Stewards of England. These movements (equally directed against the union bureaucracy) should be related to the Communist Party.

V. The unorganized, unskilled workers (including an agricultural proletariat) constitute the bulk of the working class. The Communist Party shall directly and systematically agitate among these workers, awakening them to industrial union organization and action.

VI. In close connection with the unskilled worker is the problem of the Negro worker. The Negro problem is a political and economic problem. The racial expression of the Negro is simply the expression of his economic bondage and oppression, each intensifying the other. This complicates the Negro problem, but does not alter its proletarian character. The Communist Party will carry on agitation among the Negro workers to unite them with all class-conscious workers.

VII. The United States is developing an aggressive militarism. The Communist Party will wage the struggle against militarism as a phase of the class struggle to hasten the downfall of capitalism.

VIII. The struggle against imperialism necessarily an international struggle constitutes the basis of proletarian revolutionary action in this epoch.

(a) There must be close unity with the Communist International for common action against imperialism.

(b) The Communist Party emphasizes the common character of the struggle of the workers of all nations, making necessary the solidarity of the workers of the world.

## SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY, 1917-19

Of actual and positive achievements the party can point to but very few. We have increased our membership, though not phenomenally; we have succeeded in putting our message "across" despite the almost insuperable difficulties which were engendered by the war. The real achievement, however, the

achievement best appreciated by ourselves, is that we have not only survived, but come through stronger, the combined assaults of capitalism from without and disruption within.

As to the former, our tale will not vary much from that which could be, and no doubt will be told by the Socialist Party and other radical bodies. It is the usual story of petty persecution by petty bureaucratic politicians. Among our "casualties" in this respect may be mentioned the demise of our German organ, the *Volksfreund und Arbeiter Zeitung*, a paper which loyally served the working class for more than a generation. The paper (a weekly) was deprived of its second class mail privilege and its financial status made it impossible for it to continue under the additional financial strain.

The *Weekly People*, the party's official English organ, has also been deprived of its second class mail privilege, but if the hope had been nourished that its death would result, that hope has not been materialized. We are publishing weekly (and mailing whenever the Post-Office Department graciously permits) the *Weekly People* with the never-failing help of our staunch members and sympathizers. Several issues were "withheld from dispatch," but all save one issue were released again.

Our Lettish organ, *Proletarets*, is also among the "casualties," as a direct result of the war. Its financial status did not enable it to comply with the translation clauses of the "Trading with the Enemy Act," and it discontinued publication in 1917.

Our Hungarian organ *A Munkas* also suffered in that it, too, lost its second class mail privilege. The paper survived, and is continuing its efforts on behalf of the Hungarian speaking working class of America.

That we were compelled to refrain from much agitation because of the general war condition, and our purpose being not primarily to gain votes or offices, resulted, of course, in a "marking time" march.

As to the disruption from within, that is an event too recent, and too strictly of an internal character, to interest many outsiders at this time. Suffice it to state that as on previous occasions we rode the storm safely, and one result was to knit the organization closer together. We are in fact better prepared than ever to take part, and, as we expect, the lead in that great work of reconstruction ahead of us.

The theories of the Socialist Labor Party have received a startling, and in a certain sense unexpected vindication in Russia. To be sure, Russia economically was not so situated as to present a most favorable soil for the application of the Socialist Labor Party's principles. But so far advanced, generally, is capitalism now, that Russia, under the leadership of Lenin, soon found it necessary to proceed along the lines laid down by the Socialist Labor Party, namely to discard the political state machinery and to organize the workers and peasants along occupational lines. This process of organization, and the result—the Soviets, cor-

responds to the industrial union program long ago formulated by the Socialist Labor Party,<sup>1</sup> with such differences, of course, as naturally result from the differences between the two countries (Russia and the United States of America). Furthermore, the soundness of the principles of the Socialist Labor Party has been recognized by no less an authority than Lenin himself, who, it is said, has been much impressed with Daniel De Leon's writings, which it is further reported, are being translated into the Russian language.

Thus, while the party as such has not increased much in membership and votes, it can, nevertheless, look back with satisfaction upon the harvest so far reaped, and look forward with confidence to the harvest yet to be reaped, and, if all signs do not fail, a harvest to be reaped in a not too distant future.

More recently, since the signing of the armistice, the party decided that besides the general broad propaganda always carried on, the time had come to concentrate upon a given field so as to pull in shape, more rapidly, the industrial forces of the working class. The mining industry was selected and invaded and the propaganda of the S. L. P. carried to the workers in the mines. This move, carefully planned and energetically executed, met with instant success. The state of Illinois, the key position of the United Mine Workers of America, was taken in hand first. There the miners are today in full revolt against both the mine owner and the reactionary labor leader—the latter always a working partner of the former. The miners are now determined to take their organization into their own hands, to place all power with the rank and file and they are taking a decided revolutionary position that aims, ultimately, at the overthrow of capitalism.

The party membership in the coal fields is now growing and so is the dissemination of the party organs and of party literature.

Thus strengthened in courage, in conviction and in outlook, the Socialist Labor Party continues its work for the education, the organization, and the ultimate emancipation of the working class.

ARNOLD PETERSEN,  
*National Secretary, S. L. P.*

### MEYER LONDON IN CONGRESS

Re-elected to the 65th Congress, Meyer London was again the sole Socialist Member of the Lower House. The 65th Congress, the members of which were elected in 1916, was called in special session April 2, 1917.

#### LONDON'S WAR RECORD

In the previous Congress Meyer London devoted much energy

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<sup>1</sup> See *Burning Question of Trades Unionism* (1904) and *Socialist Reconstruction of Society* (1905) and *Industrial Unionism*, by Daniel De Leon.

to an analysis of the historical causes which had led to the European war.

London voted against a declaration of war. On the first day Congress convened, he introduced a resolution calling upon the President to "renew his suggestion to the belligerents for a termination of the war." He premised his resolution upon the fact that since the rupture of diplomatic relations with Germany, a revolution had taken place in Russia which gave a more hopeful aspect to the entire situation.

The country having determined through its constitutional authority to enter the war, London directed his efforts to suggesting a democratic basis for the conclusion of the war at the earliest possible time.

He opposed the adoption of the Conscription Bill. He spoke and voted for the volunteer system.

Disregarding the traditional policy of Congress to refrain from discussing international problems, problems of war and peace, and to leave it to the Executive branch of the Government alone, Meyer London contended that the elected representatives of the people should undertake a discussion of these questions, so that they may be seen and understood by the people.

In a series of speeches on the international situation, London pointed out the fundamental causes of wars, showed what the Socialists throughout the world have done to prevent the outbreak of this war, and what they are doing to have the war terminate in a way that will make future wars impossible.

On August 4, 1917, London introduced a resolution requesting the President to invite delegates of the legislative bodies of the governments at war with Germany to an interparliamentary conference with the avowed object of promoting democracy in international relations, and for the purpose of reaching a "common understanding of the basic principles upon which a lasting peace may be established." On August 7, three days later, the Speaker of the House of Representatives laid before the House a communication from the French Chamber of Deputies stating that Mr. Franklin Bouillon, a Member of that Chamber and vice-president of the Inter-Allied Parliament, was on his way to the United States, bearing "an invitation to the American Congress on behalf of the British, Italian, and French sections of the Inter-Allied Parliament."

London undertook to sponsor in the American Congress the proposal of an International League to secure Peace when, on December 6, 1917, he presented a resolution proposing that Congress "Shall initiate the organization of an international league to secure a durable peace," for which purpose the President of the United States should invite the representatives of the parliaments of all the countries at war with the central powers to convene in Joint conference at Washington, D. C.

On January 11, 1918, and again on August 27, 1918, London addressed Congress in support of his resolution pleading for the

establishment of an international system where co-operation among nations will replace anarchy and chaos. He pointed out that had the twenty-three nations which one by one had declared war on the Central Powers during the four years of its continuance, announced their readiness in July, 1914, to compel Austria-Hungary to submit its claims against Serbia to arbitration, there would have been no war. He showed that the establishment of a League of Nations was made not only possible but also practicable by the war.

In the course of his address he took up the fifteen points of the peace program of the Russian Socialists and showed how they agreed in almost every respect with the fourteen points enunciated by President Wilson. These aims were announced by the Russian Socialists before they entered into separate peace negotiations with the Central Powers.

On May 1, 1918, while the Socialists of the world were commemorating May Day, London addressed the House on "International Socialism" and the "Inter-Allied Labor War Aims." He dwelt on the efforts that the Socialists in the parliaments of Europe had put forward to prevent a European war; and now, during the crucial days of July, 1914, they continued to oppose until the last moment every attempt to precipitate the conflict. Taking up the "Memorandum on War Aims" adopted by the Inter-Allied Socialist and Labor Conference, he pointed out that each one of its proposals reaffirmed the wish of the Socialists of the world to conclude the war on a democratic basis, and to eliminate the causes of war.

#### THE RUSSIAN PROBLEM

Opposed to the idea of a separate peace between Russia and Germany, London sent on April 18, 1917, the following cablegram to N. S. Tchcheidse, President of the Soviet at Petrograd: "As the only Socialist member of the American Congress, hopeful that rejuvenated Russia will be a compelling factor for a universal and lasting peace, I respectfully urge authoritative statement correcting disquieting rumors that Russian Socialists favor separate peace with Germany." He pleaded for toleration and sympathy to the Russian people. When the suggestion of allied intervention into Russia was made, London presented a resolution on March 4, 1918, declaring that such an invasion would be on a par with the infamous attacks on Belgium and Serbia and that the Russian people, "who have suffered the horrors of a long war under an inefficient and autocratic form of government, must by all the principles of right conduct among the nations be left unmolested to work out their own destiny."

On July 13, 1918, London addressed Congress again on the Russian situation. He described how the Russian people had fought almost bare-handed against the most efficient military machine in the world, and asked that the United States extend a helpful hand to an exhausted and bleeding ally. He demanded

that the Russian Government be recognized by the United States without recognizing the Brest-Litovsk treaty.

On October 16, 1918, while the German offers of peace to the United States were being denounced by the press, London introduced a resolution declaring that the flood of "noisy and boastful statements" coming from irresponsible sources misrepresent the true spirit of the American people, and that "all manifestations of vindictiveness and of exaggerated nationalism in allied countries tend to retard instead of to hasten the efforts of the revolutionary forces within the countries of the central powers for peace and for the democratization of their political institutions, and that the peoples against whom the allies and the United States are now arraigned shall be welcomed to membership" in an international league to secure peace.

#### ESPIONAGE LEGISLATION

In the crop of war measures that began to appear shortly after the declaration of war, there were a number that menaced the civil liberties of the people. London opposed all such measures.

London delivered two addresses on the first Espionage Bill which came before the House less than a month after the declaration of war, and which placed very dangerous restrictions on freedom of speech and press.

On July 10, 1917, London introduced a resolution calling upon the Postmaster General to advise the House whether "any print, newspaper, circular, periodical, or other publication had been denied the privileges of the mails in the enforcement of the Espionage Law, and if so, whether any reason had been assigned to the publishers at the time the privileges of the mails were denied, and what the reasons were." Under the rules of the House the demand for a resolution of inquiry must be accompanied by the qualifying statement "if not incompatible with the public interest." The resolution was reported adversely.

London pleaded for the adoption of the Federal Amendment enfranchising women and voted for it when it passed the House.

#### SOCIAL INSURANCE

On December 13, 1917, London re-introduced his resolution providing for a commission to inquire into the advisability of establishing national insurance against unemployment, invalidity, and sickness. Two days later the Committee on Labor reported it favorably by a unanimous vote. The resolution having been defeated by a vote of 199 to 133, London re-introduced the measure in three different forms. He appealed for its passage as a war measure, pointing out that the dislocation of industry consequent upon peace, will throw millions of men out of employment. He incorporated in the *Congressional Record* the Reconstruction program of the British Labor Party to show what British Labor was determined to accomplish.

A similar Social Insurance resolution was introduced by London in the 2nd Session of the 64th Congress, but it failed to



receive the two-thirds vote necessary for its passage. (It came up for consideration under a special rule which required a two-thirds instead of a majority vote.)

#### MISCELLANEOUS MEASURES

On January 19, 1918, London introduced a resolution appropriating \$100,000,000 to relieve the distress of wage-workers caused by the order of the Fuel Administrator to suspend the operation of factories for fourteen days. No action was taken.

The breaking up of a Socialist convention in Mitchell, S. D., was brought to the attention of the House by London on February 1, and when, a week later, a Member rose to defend the action of the authorities in breaking up the convention, London condemned again the action of the local authorities.

During the discussion of the bill providing for the federal control of railroads, London offered an amendment making ninety-nine years the period of control. This was defeated. In a speech on the subject, he urged government ownership instead of government control.

On May 7, 1918, the conference report on the amendment to the Espionage Law, popularly known as the Sedition Bill, came up. The amendment was so drastic, that twenty-two votes were cast against it in the Senate. In the House of Representatives, London raised a point of order on the amendment and also delivered a speech against it. He cast the only dissenting vote.

The ukase of the Governor of Iowa, prohibiting the use of foreign languages in public, including its use in public religious services was brought to the attention of the House by London on June 5.

A proposal to accept charitable gifts for the rehabilitation of the wounded soldiers was opposed by London on the ground that the nation, not charitable individuals, should be charged with providing the necessary funds for the assistance of disabled soldiers.

The decision of the United States Supreme Court declaring the long-fought-for Child Labor Law unconstitutional, was made the subject of an address, in which London urged that a way be found to prevent the nullification of the will of the elected representatives of the people.

London spoke and voted for a bill establishing a minimum wage for women in the District of Columbia and advocated the extension of the principle to the entire nation.

The "work or fight" provision in the last Conscription Bill was opposed by London, as amounting to the conscription of labor.

During the 64th Congress London's opposition to sending an army into Mexico, on which measure he cast the only dissenting vote in that Congress, was vindicated. The President withdrew the army from Mexico.

During the last session of the 64th Congress, London continued his opposition to the bill restricting immigration when the ques-

tion of passing it over the President's veto came up in the House.

In the 2nd Session of the 64th Congress London demanded national food control. He renewed his effort in the 65th Congress.

During the 65th Congress he spoke and voted for increased pay for government employees. Soldiers' and Sailors' Insurance, housing for government employees, eight-hour day for government employees, and increased pay for postal employees. He urged the government ownership of mines.

London continued the practice of reporting periodically to his constituents on his work in Congress—a practice which he began when he was first elected to Congress.

During the last Congress he was a member of the Committee on Labor, Committee on Mines and Mining, and the Committee on Revision of Laws.

He introduced the following bills and resolutions during his two terms:

#### 64TH CONGRESS

*Peace*: Resolution to convene Congress of Neutral Nations for purpose of offering mediation to belligerents and setting forth the basic principles of a durable peace. (H. J. Res. 38.)

*Social Insurance*: Bill for the appointment of a commission to prepare plans for the establishment of a system of national insurance against invalidity, unemployment, and old age. (H. J. Res. 189, H. J. Res. 250.)

*Neutrality*: Resolution declaring the policy and intention of people of the United States toward belligerent nations. Declares opposition of Congress to war as a means of enforcing the claim that Americans may travel in armed merchantmen of belligerents. (H. J. Res. 170.)

*Bankruptcy*: Bill to amend act to provide uniform system of bankruptcy. (H. R. 15841.)

*Food*: Bill providing for Government control of food and to authorize the President to prohibit under certain conditions the exportation of food. (H. R. 19295.)

*Social Insurance*: Resolution for immediate consideration of H. J. Res. 250, providing for appointment of commission to study problem of social insurance.

*Food Emergency Commission*: Bill creating Food Emergency Commission to relieve distress due to high prices. Commission to purchase food, establish food distribution centers, and to sell food to consumers.

#### 65TH CONGRESS

*War*: Resolution calling upon the President to "renew his suggestion to the belligerents for a termination of the war." (H. Con. Res. 4.)

*Post Office Department*: Resolution inquiring into the exclusion of certain newspapers and periodicals from mails. (H. Res. 115.)

*Interparliamentary Conference*: Resolution for an interparliamentary conference to discuss basic terms of a lasting peace. (H. J. Res. 136.)

*League of Nations*: Resolution that Congress initiate the organization of an international league to secure a durable peace. December 6, 1917. (H. J. Res. 173.)

*Social Insurance*: Resolution providing for a commission to inquire into the advisability of establishing national insurance against unemployment, invalidity, and sickness. (H. J. Res. 189.)

*Social Insurance*: Bill authorizing the Secretary of Labor to make an investigation and report regarding insurance against unemployment, invalidity and old age. (H. J. Res. 226.)

*Unemployment*: Resolution authorizing the appropriation of \$100,000,000 to relieve distress among wage-workers. (H. J. Res. 217.)

*Russia*: Resolution protesting against the suggested invasion of Russian territory.

*Reconstruction*: Resolution creating a commission to prepare and recommend legislation for the securing of employment to all at the conclu-

sion of the war; for the taking over by the nation of the basic industries; for the nationalization of the railways, telegraph and telephone lines, and all public means of transportation; for the establishment of a national system of obligatory education. (H. Con. Res. 54.)

*Peace Proposals:* Resolution declaring that the American people are not inspired by any vindictive desire to destroy the German people, and that the German people will be welcomed to membership in a league of nations. (H. Con. Res. 55.)

MARX LEWIS,  
*Secretary to Meyer London.*

## THE SOCIALISTS IN THE NEW YORK ASSEMBLY

There were ten Socialists in the session of 1918 in the New York legislature, a larger number than had ever before sat in an American legislative body, with the exception of the group in the present session of the Wisconsin legislature.

These men, elected in November, 1917, were in every case old party workers, who had served the Socialist and labor movements in one capacity or another from ten to twenty-five years each. They succeeded the group of two, A. I. Shiplacoff and Joseph A. Whitehorn, who had sat in the 1917 session, and the "lone Socialist," Shiplacoff of the 1916 session.

The Socialist members of the 1918 Legislature were:

### BRONX COUNTY

Third District.....	Benjamin Gitlow
Fourth District.....	Samuel Orr
Fifth District.....	Charles B. Garfinkle

### KINGS COUNTY

Sixth District.....	William Morris Feigenbaum
Fourteenth District.....	Joseph A. Whitehorn
Twenty-Third District.....	Abraham I. Shiplacoff

### NEW YORK COUNTY

Fourth District.....	William Karlin
Sixth District.....	Elmer Rosenberg
Eighth District.....	Louis Waldman
Seventeenth District.....	August Claessens

The ten Socialists divided their work in the Assembly into three general parts. They strove first to get a hearing for the Socialist message, a task not all easy in the face of the nature of the House rules and procedure; they presented the Socialist program to the legislature for adoption; and they fought against anti-social and anti-labor legislation.

The session was held during the war, and the enemies of the party took every opportunity to ring the changes on the so-called issue of "patriotism." Threats to lynch the Socialist members were made upon the slightest provocation, and the seat of one of the members was challenged on the ground that in private, he had made an "unpatriotic" remark.

Under such unfavorable circumstances the Socialists presented their case and opposed legislation that they considered inimical to the interests of labor. Towards the end of the session they found that they had to a very considerable extent broken down the resistance of the leaders of the legislature with respect to giving them a hearing.

## THE SOCIALIST PROGRAM

The Socialist legislative program consisted of bills that fell into three general classes: bills for the socialization of various of the utilities of the state; bills for social and political reform; and bills on various general progressive lines made up the roster of the seventy-five or so measures proposed by the Socialist group.

Among the first group were bills for a control of the entire food supply by the state government to be administered as a public utility for public benefit; another was one treating the milk supply of the state in the same way. There were bills to establish a comprehensive system of municipal ownership with provision for the welfare of the workers engaged on the transportation lines. It was proposed, likewise, that a system of municipal dwellings be established, with provision for renting to the public at cost.

The social reform measures covered a wide field. Far-reaching and radical bills were introduced to establish a system of old age, maternity, unemployment, sickness, and accident insurance.

Bills were introduced to provide that the political liberties of the people should be maintained; that the militaristic legislation of former years should be repealed, that public employees should be safeguarded in their civil and political liberties.

It was provided in further Socialist measures that the educational system of the state should be developed, that public universities should be established and developed, that the scholarships for the state's youth should be increased in number.

A comprehensive series of bills improving the labor laws of the state was introduced. It was proposed to improve the compensation law, to improve the factory fire and safety laws. It was proposed by the Socialist Party that the eight-hour day be the legal day's work, and that baking at night be prohibited. The compulsory education law was strengthened in bills from the Socialist group.

The right of suffrage, recently conferred upon women, was to be maintained inviolate for those women citizens who had married non-citizens, according to another Socialist bill. Bills covering a complete system of initiative, referendum, recall, and the people's veto; bills providing for jury trial in the lower courts and the election of those judges now appointed were likewise proposed in the Socialist series of bills to bring government closer to the people; the right of issuing injunctions, and of employing armed thugs as strike "guards" was also prohibited according to proposed Socialist legislation.

Bills of general importance covered a rather wide field, such as the prohibition of the third degree, the abolition of the death penalty, provision for half fare for school children, and bills compelling landlords to provide heat and hot water in their apartments.

## FATE OF SOCIALIST BILLS

This, in general, was the Socialist legislative program. In the case of about ten of the bills, there were debates upon the floor. One measure passed both houses and became a law when signed by the governor. It provided that when a worker recovers wages in a court action, he can collect from the court clerk at once instead of waiting for several days to collect from the city chamberlain.

About ten other Socialist bills were reported out, and either killed outright or killed by the painless method of "recommittal" after debate. These included bills for the election of the lower judiciary, now appointive, bills for jury trial in the lower courts, and bills for the payment of wages in cash rather than by check. The debates brought out the Socialist arguments tellingly.

None of the bills of large importance, such as the food bill, the municipal ownership bills, the social insurance bills, the bills for the safeguarding of the political and civil rights of the people, etc., attracted the slightest attention in the legislature. They were widely discussed, however, outside.

## SOCIALISTS COMBAT REACTIONARY LEGISLATION

Military legislation of unparalleled viciousness was passed after the Socialists alone opposed it. However, some twenty-two members were brave enough to vote with the Socialists in the negative, although they did not speak on the subject of compelling every boy between 16 and 19 to undergo military training that is more severe than the Prussian system instituted by Bismarck.

In four cases, amendments to local charters came up, in which it was provided that the holding of property must be a qualification for voting. In this matter the Socialists compelled the Democrats to follow their lead in opposing the bills. But they were passed by Republican votes.

The most vicious bill of all was one proposed by a factory owner, who was chairman of the Committee on Labor, practically destroying the entire system of factory fire protection laws. The Socialists vigorously opposed this bill and well-nigh defeated it. In the very last moments of the session, through juggling of the votes, the bill secured one more vote than it required for passage. The Socialists alone spoke against it.

Another vicious bill was the so-called ice bill that placed all the ice crop of the state (after the coldest winter in the history of the state) in control of an ice dealer, former Governor Odell, who was to fix prices. The result was that the following summer ice was dearer than ever before. The Socialists assailed the bill and were venomously attacked for it as being "unpatriotic." A certain Democratic member, using the Socialist opposition to this bill as a text, called for the lynching of the Socialists and was warmly cheered by his colleagues. A year later, the same member took occasion to apologize to the Socialists for his

attack upon them, saying that they had been right in their opposition to the bill, and he had been wrong.

#### THE SOCIALIST ASSEMBLYMEN IN 1918

In the elections of 1918, the Socialist representation in the State legislature was reduced from ten to two, August Claessens being re-elected in the 17th Manhattan District and Charles Solomon succeeding Abraham I. Shiplacoff from the 23rd Kings District. In several of the districts, the defeat of the Socialists was accomplished by fusion of the Republican and Democratic parties, and the bitter fight which the reactionary press and other elements concentrated on the Socialists.

Notwithstanding their small number, the Socialist assemblymen attracted considerable attention throughout the state, winning favorable comment in many quarters.

The two Socialist assemblymen constituted an aggressive minority, participating effectively in practically all of the important debates on the floor of the House. They introduced legislation as follows:

A bill to curb rent profiteering in the large cities of the state; a bill to enable the cities of the state to enter upon municipal building schemes; bills proposing to take the milk business specifically and the food business generally, out of private hands and make them state functions; bills proposing to repeal various military laws now on the statute books of the state; a bill for the repeal of the law creating a state constabulary; a bill providing for the establishment throughout the state of a system of public employment bureaus rendering aid free of charge; a bill providing that advertisements for help in struck plants should so state, and several measures seeking the protection of workers on strike against strike-breaking agencies. Many of these measures were pressed by the Socialists, who obtained committee hearings on them, which brought to the committee rooms representatives of organized labor bodies from various parts of the state.

The Socialist delegation introduced several important resolutions bearing on broad national questions. They demanded of the legislature that it memorialize Congress for the liberation of political prisoners, for the repeal of the Espionage Act and similar legislation, and for the removal of American troops from Russian soil. They also introduced a resolution indicating legislation along national lines to meet the problem of unemployment. Public hearings were had on all these resolutions.

#### THE 1919 DELEGATION

In the elections of 1919, five Socialists were elected to the State Assembly. Solomon and Claessens were re-elected. The other three assemblymen were chosen in districts which had been carried by the Socialist Party in 1917. Two of them, Louis Waldman from the 8th Manhattan and Samuel Orr from the 4th Bronx, having been in the delegation of ten elected in 1917. Samuel De Witt was elected from the Fifth Bronx district.

WILLIAM M. FEIGENBAUM.

## SOCIALISTS IN THE NEW YORK BOARD OF ALDERMEN

Seven Socialists were swept into the New York Board of Aldermen on the crest of the radical wave that all but carried Morris Hillquit into second place in the Mayoralty campaign of 1917. John F. Hylan, Democrat, was elected with 313,956 votes. John Purroy Mitchell took second place with 155,490 votes, while Hillquit tallied 145,328.

The aldermen elected were: Abraham Beckerman, from the 6th District, Manhattan; Alexander Braunstein, 32nd District, Bronx; Maurice Calman, 20th District, Manhattan; Adolph Held, 4th District, Manhattan; Algernon Lee, 8th District, Manhattan; B. Charney Vladeck, 56th District, Brooklyn; and Barnet Wolff, 59th District, Brooklyn. Their term of office expired January 1, 1920.<sup>1</sup> Soon after their election and previous to their taking office, the seven aldermen met and organized. Lee was elected chairman and Vladeck secretary of the delegation.

The first important decision of the delegation taken upon the advice of the party organization, was to establish a bureau to assist the aldermen in their legislative work. The Bureau of Investigation and Research was created a month before the aldermen took office. Evans Clark, a member of the party and previously instructor in Politics in Princeton University, was appointed director. Charles Solomon, one of the younger leaders of the party and later to become a member of the State Assembly was chosen Executive Secretary.

The function of the bureau was to gather all the information and data available concerning every measure introduced by the aldermen, to assist in bill drafting, and to secure adequate publicity for the work of the delegation. The aim of the delegation was to have each measure they introduced buttressed by facts and legally sound.

The funds for the Bureau's support came partly from the salary of the aldermen themselves and partly from the party and other sources.

Assisted at every step by the work of the Bureau, the Socialist delegation, as one newspaper man expressed it "put the Board of Aldermen on the map." The aldermanic body had fallen into political decrepitude. Deprived of most of the powers of a legislature, membership in the Board had become an easy berth for petty politicians. For years the aldermen had played no part in public affairs. In spite of the fact that they were seven in a board of seventy, the Socialists soon focused public attention. For months they compelled recognition for their work even from the business-owned press. Even when the novelty wore off the

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<sup>1</sup> Beckerman, Braunstein and Vladeck were re-elected and A. I. Shiplacoff carried the district previously represented by Wolff in the Fall elections of 1919. The other Socialist aldermen were defeated by fusion candidates and by very small majorities.

Socialists still maintained their position as the provocative opposition of the Board.

The Socialist delegation has introduced measures designed to carry out almost all the planks of their 1917 municipal platform. Each revolutionary measure has been killed on the spot by Democrats and Republicans alike, or smothered to death in committee. These tactics have served to open the eyes of the workers to the identity of interests of the old party organizations. Only a couple of more or less innocuous reform measures have been allowed to pass either in the form introduced or remodelled in committee. Several times action by the Democratic majority in the interests of the workers has been forced by the previous introduction of Socialist bills.

In this latter class may be mentioned salary increases for underpaid city employees, lunches at cost for children in the public schools, municipal trading in fuel, food, and ice, and support of state legislation for an eight-hour day for the city's fire fighters. In no one of these cases has the action of the Democratic administration even approached what the situation demanded. In many cases action although authorized, is even yet to be taken. The little that has been done, however, has been largely the result of Socialist stimulation. From the start the work of the delegation has been hamstrung by the lack of aldermanic authority. Restricted by an absolute lack of home rule and by the limitations of a city charter that vests real control in the Mayor and the Board of Estimate, even a Socialist majority could accomplish little. Real power over the city's finances, over the position and salaries of its employees, over regulation of public service corporations, over condemnation of land for public purposes—almost every power, but traffic and building regulations—has been taken from the Board of Aldermen. However, the delegation introduced measures wherever there was even color of authority in the Board and fought at every opportunity to substitute the people's representation for the bureaucracy of the Board of Estimate as the government of the City of New York.

Among the more important bills, the Socialists introduced, the following may be mentioned as an index of the activities of the delegation:

1. Resolutions providing for municipal coal and ice distribution.
2. Four resolutions providing for comprehensive municipal ownership and operation of the agencies of food distribution.
3. An ordinance establishing a city bureau to furnish lunches to school children.
4. Several resolutions specific and general providing for public ownership and operation by the city and the employees concerned of all the elevated, subway, and street car lines of the city.
5. An ordinance to establish municipal day nurseries.
6. A minimum wage bill guaranteeing a living wage for all city employees.
7. An ordinance providing for adequate dental clinics for school children.
8. Several resolutions providing relief for the unemployed.



9. Resolution providing for municipal ownership and democratic management of the system of milk distribution.
10. Measures guaranteeing to city employees full union conditions; the right to organize, to bargain collectively, and to strike.
11. Eight-hour day for city firemen.
12. Bill to revise completely the city charter: to make the city government democratic in form and to eliminate the present features of bureaucracy, complexity and conflict of authority.
13. Resolutions advocating the repeal of the Espionage Law and immediate release of political and industrial prisoners.
14. Resolution favoring the erection of dwellings by the municipality.
15. Resolution demanding a new trial for Thomas Mooney.

EVANS CLARK.

## SOCIALIST DIRECTORY

### I. SOCIALIST PARTY

*National Executive Secretary*, Otto Branstetter, 220 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

*National Executive Committee*, Wm. H. Brandt, 940 Chouteau Avenue, St. Louis, Mo.; John Hagel, Box 777, Oklahoma City, Okla.; Wm. H. Henry, 41 Baldwin Block, Indianapolis, Ind.; Edmund T. Melms, 528 Chestnut Street, Milwaukee, Wis.; James O'Neal, c/o *New York Call*, 112 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y.; George E. Roewer, 20 Pemberton, Sq., Boston, Mass.; Oliver C. Wilson, 803 W. Madison Street, Chicago, Ill.

### II. SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

*National Executive Secretary*, Arnold Peterson, 45 Rose St., New York City.

### III. COMMUNIST PARTY

*National Executive Secretary*, C. F. Ruthenberg, 1221 Blue Island Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

### IV. COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY

*National Executive Secretary*, A. Wagenknecht, 3207 Clark Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio.

### V. PARTIAL LIST OF SOCIALIST PUBLICATIONS

*Arkansas Socialist* (Weekly), Little Rock, Ark.; *American Socialist* (Weekly), 1217 Hennepin Avenue, Minneapolis, Minn.; *Bridgeport Examiner* (Weekly), 651 Newfield Avenue, Bridgeport, Conn.; *Butte Daily Bulletin* (Daily), 101 So. Idaho St., Butte, Mont.; *Chicago Socialist* (Weekly), 803 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.; *Citizen* (Weekly), 156 Barrett St., Schenectady, N. Y.; *Clinton Co. Socialist* (Weekly), Clinton, Iowa; *Elore* (Hungarian-Daily), 5 E. 3rd St., N. Y. C.; *Forward* (Jewish-Daily), 175 E. Broadway, N. Y. C.; *Laisve* (Lithuanian-Daily), 455 Grand St., B'klyn, N. Y.; *Lapatoosu* (Finnish-Daily), Box 553, Superior, Wisc.; *Leader* (Daily), Milwaukee, Wisc.; *Liberator* (Monthly), 34 Union Square East, N. Y. C.; *Miami Valley Socialist* (Weekly), Mead and Longworth Sts., Dayton, Ohio; *Montana Socialist* (Weekly), Box 147, Butte, Mont.; *New Age* (Weekly), 583 Main St., Buffalo, N. Y.; *Newark Leader* (Weekly), 124 Market St., Newark, N. J.; *New York Call* (Daily), 112 Fourth Avenue, N. Y. C.; *New Yorker Volkszeitung* (German-Daily), 15 Spruce St., N. Y. C.; *Novy Mir* (Russian-Daily), 113 E. 10th St., N. Y. C.; *The Oklahoma Leader* (Daily), Box 777, Oklahoma City, Okla.; *Rajava* (Finnish-Daily), Box 468, Fitchburg, Mass.; *Reading Labor Advocate* (Weekly), 440 Washington St., Reading, Pa.; *Saint Louis Labor* (Weekly), 940 Chouteau Avenue, St. Louis, Mo.; *Socialist Review* (Monthly), 70 — 5th Avenue, N. Y. C.; *Socialist World* (Weekly-Official S. P. Organ), 220 So. Ashland Blvd., Chicago, Ill.; *Toveri* (Finnish-Monthly), 10th and Duane Sts., Astoria, Ore.; *Truth* (Weekly), Erie, Pa.; *Zukunft* (Jewish-Monthly), 175 E. Broadway, N. Y. C.; *Naye Welt* (Jewish-Weekly), 175 E. Broadway, N. Y. C.

## APPENDIX

### LEAGUE OF NATIONS LABOR CONFERENCE

The General Conference of the International Labor Organization of the League of Nations convened by the United States Government, met at Washington, D. C., October 29—November 29, 1919. The Conference adopted Draft Conventions and Recommendations for ratification by the various countries in accordance with the Labor Part of the Treaty of Versailles of June 28, 1919, and of the Treaty of St. Germain, September 10, 1919.<sup>1</sup> Forty-one countries were altogether represented at the Conference through government, employers' and labor delegates. The delegations of the following fifteen of these countries did not include labor representatives: Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, China, Colombia, Cuba, Ecuador, El Salvador, Haiti, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Persia, Rumania, Jugo-Slavia, Siam, Uruguay and Venezuela.<sup>2</sup>

The labor delegates of the other countries were: Americo Balino, Argentina; Corneille Mertens, Belgium; P. M. Draper, Canada; R. Tayerle, Checho-Slovakia; Luis Rosainz y de los Reyes, Cuba; C. F. Madsen, Denmark; Matti Passivueri, Finland; Leon Jouhaux, France; G. H. Stuart-Bunning, Great Britain; Timoleon Lamprinopoulos, Greece; Manuel Morena, Guatemala; Marayan Malhar Joshi, India; Gino Baldesi, Italy; Uhei Masumoto, Japan; J. Oudegeest, Netherlands; J. Teigen, Norway; Andres Mojica, Panama; Victor A. Pugazon, Peru; Edmund Bernatowicz, Poland; Alfredo Franco, Portugal; T. E. Kunhardt, San Domingo; Sveta Frantz, Jugo-Slavia; Archibald Crawford, South Africa; Francisco Largo Caballero, Spain; A. Herman Lindquist, Sweden; Conrad Ilg, Switzerland.

The following is a summary of the decisions of the Conference with regard to labor laws, which each country participating in the Conference is pledged to enact. A great many exceptions were allowed at the insistence of some of the delegations, who were anxious to secure modifications for their countries, which are less advanced in the field of labor legislation. Thus for example, provisions of the 48-hour week are not to

<sup>1</sup> See page 128 for labor clauses included in the Peace Treaty.

<sup>2</sup> The Australian labor organization refused to send delegates considering the Conference as representing capitalist governments. The German delegates were unable to arrive in time having been notified too late. Though not a member of the League of Nations, the United States was represented unofficially through Secretary of Labor Wilson, who was made chairman of the Conference. The U. S. Chamber of Commerce, which was asked to name the employers' representatives, did not respond and Samuel Gompers, who was appointed to represent American labor, attended but a few sessions and did not participate in the work of the Conference.

apply to Japan, British India, China, Persia, Siam and Greece. The workers of Japan and British India were allowed to work 57 and 60 hours a week respectively.

I. *Limitation of Hours*—The working hours of persons employed in any public or private industrial undertaking or in any branch thereof other than an undertaking in which only members of the same family are employed shall not exceed eight in the day and forty-eight in the week, with the exceptions herein provided for.

II. *Free Employment Agencies*—Each member which ratifies this Convention shall establish a system of free employment agencies under the control of a central authority. Committees which shall include representatives of employers and of workers, shall be appointed to advise on matters concerning the carrying on of these agencies.

III. *Employment Insurance*—The members of the International Labor Organization which ratify this Convention and which shall have established systems of insurance against unemployment shall, upon terms agreed between the members concerned, make arrangements whereby workers belonging to one member and working in the territory of another shall be admitted to the same rates of benefit of such insurance as those which obtain for the workers belonging to the latter.

IV. *Recruiting of Labor*—The recruiting of bodies of laborers in one country with a view to their employment in another country should be permitted only by mutual agreement between the countries concerned and after consultation with employers and workers in each country in the industries concerned.

V. *Reciprocity for Workers*—Each member of the International Labor Organization shall, on condition of reciprocity and upon terms to be agreed between the countries concerned, admit the foreign workers (together with their families) employed within its territory, to the benefit of its laws and regulations for the protection of its own workers, as well as to the right of lawful organization as enjoyed by its own workers.

VI. *The Employment of Women*—A woman shall not be permitted to work during six weeks following her confinement; shall have the right to leave her work if she produces a medical certificate stating that her confinement will probably take place within six weeks.

Women without distinction of age shall not be employed during the night in any public or private industrial undertaking.

In view of the dangers involved to the function of maternity and to the physical development of children, women and young persons under the age of eighteen years should be excluded from employment in... (specified processes in which lead compounds are used).

VII. *The Employment of Children*—Children under the age of fourteen shall not be employed in any public or private industrial undertaking or in any branch thereof other than an undertaking in which only members of the same family are employed.

Young persons under eighteen years of age shall not be employed during the night in any public or private industrial undertaking, etc.

VIII. *White Phosphorus in Matches*—Each member of the International Labor Organization, which has not already done so, should adhere to the international convention adopted at Berne in 1906 on the prohibition of the use of white phosphorus in the manufacture of matches.

IX. *Anthrax*—Arrangements should be made for the disinfection of wool infected with anthrax spores, either in the country exporting such wool, or, if that is not practicable, at the port of entry in the country importing such wool.

## A. F. OF L. "BILL OF RIGHTS"

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor called together the presidents and secretaries of the 113 national and international unions affiliated with the Federation, executive heads of the four railway brotherhoods and several conserva-

tive farmers' organizations, to meet in extraordinary session in Washington, December 13, 1919, to consider matters of great importance to organized labor in America. The arrogance of capital toward labor and the open or tacit governmental support extended to employers in their war upon labor unions, as characterized in the issuance of the injunction during the coal strike, the treatment of the steel strikers, and the introduction of anti-strike legislation in Congress, as well as the general persecution of the labor movement and imprisonment of labor leaders, made certain sections of organized labor look with hope toward the proposed conference. The conclave of labor, at which the burning questions were to have been treated lasted only 7½ hours. Besides adopting a statement prepared in advance by the Executive Council, which the press agents of the conference made known to the world as Labor's "Bill of Rights", the conference adopted a resolution in which the A. F. of L. was publicly absolved from any connection with the radical tendencies in the labor movement. The resolution read as follows:

WHEREAS, the American Federation of Labor, is an American institution, believing in American principles and ideas, and

WHEREAS, an attempt is being made to inject the spirit of Bolshevism and I. W. W.'ism into the affairs of the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, the American Federation of Labor is opposed to Bolshevism, I. W. W.'ism and the irresponsible leadership that encourages such a policy, therefore be it

RESOLVED that this conference of representatives of trades unions affiliated with the A. F. of L., and other organizations associated in this conference, repudiate and condemn the policy of Bolshevism and I. W. W.'ism as being destructive of American ideals and impracticable in application; be it further

RESOLVED that this conference reiterate the action of the conventions of the American Federation of Labor, and the advocacy of the principles of conciliation and voluntary arbitration and collective bargaining.

The "Bill of Rights" enunciated by the special conference differs little from former A. F. of L. statements. It is similar to the Declaration adopted at the beginning of the war at a similar conference and reprinted in the 1917-18 issue of the *American Labor Year Book*, and the Reconstruction Program adopted at the Atlantic City Convention which is reproduced in the first section of this volume.

Specifically this pronouncement contains the following protests, demands and declarations:

1. Protest against the denial of the right to organize to the workers in the steel mills.
2. Protest against the attitude of the employers' group at President Wilson's Industrial Conference, which led to the withdrawal of the A. F. of L. representatives.
3. Declaration for the right of federal, state and city civil employes to organize.
4. Protest against government by injunction.
5. Affirmation of the right of the workers to strike.
6. Protest against proposed anti-strike legislation.
7. Recommendation for the popular election of federal judges for six year terms.
8. Protest against declaring laws passed by Congress as unconstitutional.
9. Protest against considering trade union activity within the purview of anti-trust legislation.
10. Protest against using the cost of living as a basis for wage adjustments and declaring the right of the workers to fight for a progressively advancing standard.
11. Proposal to deflate the currency, to prevent hoarding and unfair price fixing, and the establishment of cooperative stores on the Rochdale system, as means to deal with the cost of living

problem. 12. Proposal to make public income tax returns and dividend declarations, as a means to reveal excessive costs and profits. 13. Declaration in favor of cooperation between "scientists of industry" and representatives of organized workers, for the purpose of securing a higher productivity. 14. Declaration in favor of public control of credits. 15. Declaration in favor of continuing government control of the railways for two years. 16. Declaration in favor of the adoption of the Peace Treaty as a guarantee against future wars, and to assure the benefits which would accrue to American labor from the ratification of the labor provisions of the League of Nations covenant.

The document does not contain any reference to methods which would be employed by organized labor to secure or guarantee the carrying out of the various proposals, except referring in general to the economic and political activity of the workers.

### THE CHICAGO CONVENTION OF THE AMERICAN LABOR PARTY<sup>1</sup>

The National Constituent Convention of the American Labor Party was held November 22-25, 1919 at Chicago, with about 1,000 delegates representing labor organizations in 37 states and the District of Columbia. Max Hayes of the International Typographical Union, John H. Walker and Frank Esper of the United Mine Workers, were chosen chairman, vice-chairman and secretary respectively of the convention.

The roster of the officers, those elected on various committees, as well as of the delegates generally revealed the fact that the convention was largely engineered by persons who have been for many years either members of the Socialist Party or have actively supported the Socialist movement in this country. The addresses of the officers of the convention, as well as of other active participants, were the same these persons have made formerly at Socialist gatherings. In fact, only such addresses evoked an interest among the delegates as were tinged with the Socialist philosophy and carried a radical message.

The convention officially organized the American Labor Party on a national scale. It decided to participate in the coming presidential elections, deferring nominations of candidates till 1920. The important decisions of the convention with regard to questions of organizations were as follows:

The name of the organization is to be known as the Labor Party of the United States. The object is to organize all brain and hand workers in support of the principle of political, social and industrial democracy.

Membership in the organization is open to workers 16 years of age and over.

Labor unions may affiliate with the party by paying per capita tax for the entire membership. A national committee consisting of two members—one man and one woman—from each state and territory is to administer the party affairs. Each sub-division of the party is to pay 5 cents a month for every member to the national organization. International unions affiliating with the

<sup>1</sup> See page 199 for an article describing the origin and growth of the AMERICAN LABOR PARTY.

party are to pay 2 cents per member per year, receiving one vote at the national convention.

State organizations are to be formed in every state which in turn are expected to organize labor parties in the cities and counties. The National Executive Committee was instructed to approach the various labor unions and secure their affiliation with the party. The Chicago Labor Party organ, the *New Majority* was endorsed as the national organ of the Labor Party. To secure additional finances for organization work, it was voted to appeal to the members to give the wages of one day's work to the party. To promote the educational work, it was decided to inaugurate travelling libraries and to work for the establishment of trade union colleges and universities in the various industrial centers. To secure democracy in the organization, provisions for the initiative, referendum and recall were included in the party constitution.

The character of the delegates can be particularly judged by the various resolutions which were adopted by the convention, and which were as follows:

1. Demanding the impeachment of Judge Anderson, for the issuance of an injunction against the officials of the United Mine Workers.
2. Denouncing the Federal Government for the injunction against the coal miners.
3. Protesting against the deportation of Hindus.
4. Protesting against the continuance of the Russian blockade and demanding the withdrawal of troops from Russia.
5. Protesting against the Jewish pogroms.
6. Advocating the principle of the initiative and the method of instructing Congressmen by referendum.
7. Demanding the release of all political and industrial prisoners.
8. Demanding a new trial for Thomas Mooney.
9. Declaring for the principle of self-determination for all peoples, including Ireland.
10. Demanding the withdrawal of troops from Russia.
11. Condemning the agitation for invasion into Mexico.
12. Declaring in favor of restoring all citizenship rights to the Negroes.
13. Condemning mob rule.
14. Endorsing the Co-operative movement.
15. Favoring free medical attention.
16. Favoring a popular referendum on prohibition.
17. Greeting two labor organizers, who were serving prison terms in Chicago.

Having deferred presidential nominations and the adoption of a platform to 1920, the convention adopted a Declaration of Principles, in which the position of the Labor Party on various important political and economic matters were stated. The various provisions of this Declaration are reminiscent of those portions of the Socialist Party platforms which have come to be known as "immediate demands." The following is an outline of the various demands of the Labor Party, contained in its Declaration of Principles, which was adopted unanimously by the convention.

1. Favoring a League of Workers, as against the proposed League of imperialist governments, and declaring for open diplomacy, disarmament, and the abolition of conscription and secret treaties.

2. Demanding the repeal of the Espionage Law and the restoration of civil liberties.

3. Favoring equality of both sexes and of all creeds, races and nationalities. Favoring the ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

4. Favoring the enactment of legislation taking away from the courts the right to issue injunctions in labor disputes.

5. Demanding that the Federal Government inaugurate a campaign for the reduction of the cost of living, and the curbing of profiteering.

6. Favoring nationalization under democratic management of all public utilities, basic industries and natural resources, banking and credit systems.

7. Endorsing the Plumb Plan for joint control and management of railways.

8. Favoring democratization of the educational system and the provision of free education from Kindergarten through University, with the right of teachers to participate in the determination of educational policies. Demanding the revision of text books to bring them in consonance with modern ideas and facts.

9. Favoring the reform of the election system to insure the popular control of elections.

10. Favoring nationalization of unused lands, including reclaimed tracts in swamp and arid areas.

11. Favoring a steep graduated tax on incomes and inheritance and limiting the amount of incomes and inheritances.

12. Favoring Home Rule for municipalities, with the right to acquire and operate public utilities and conduct other municipal activities.

13. Favoring the revision of the United States Constitution to the end that amendments may be adopted by a majority vote of Congress, and be submitted for ratification by referendum, including the right of amending the Constitution by popular initiative.

14. Favoring the use of the initiative, referendum and recall, as guarantees for the democratization of government.

15. Favoring an Executive Budget System for the United States.

16. Favoring state and government aid to provide land and homes for people.

17. Favoring the abolition or the limitation of the power of the United States Supreme Court to veto legislation.

18. Favoring the abolition of the United States Senate.

19. Favoring popular election of Federal judges for 4-year terms.

20. Favoring the enforcement by legislation of a single moral standard and fixing the age of consent not lower than 18.

21. Declaring for the right of the workers to have a part in the management of industry.

22. Favoring prohibition of the employment of children under 16 with the gradual raising of the limit to 18.

23. Favoring the abolition of private employment, detective and strike-breaking agencies and the extension of the federal and state employment service.

24. Favoring the enactment of legislation for the protection of the workers, in their right to organize and deal collectively through their representatives.

25. Declaring in favor of sufficient incomes for workers to maintain themselves in good health and comfort.

26. Declaring against convict labor and the sweatshop system.

27. Favoring the universal 8-hour day and the 44-hour week system of employment.

28. Suggesting the abolition of unemployment by the further reduction of hours of labor and the provision by the government of work during times of industrial depression.

29. Favoring the continuation of the soldiers' and sailors' insurance and the extension of life insurance by the government to old people. Favoring the establishment of health, old age, and maternity insurance and workmen's compensation throughout the country.

30. Favoring the abolition of the contract system on public work.

31. Demanding the union label on all supplies and materials used by federal, state and local governments including text books.

32. Demanding full political rights for railway and civil service employees.

Chicago was chosen as the seat of the national headquarters of the American Labor Party.

## LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

W. Francis Ahern	Sen Katayama
John B. Andrews	Harry W. Laidler
Roger Baldwin	Julia C. Lathrop
Bertram Benedict	Charles Laue
David P. Berenberg	Algernon Lee
F. G. Biedenkapp	Marx Lewis
Ira S. Bird	Ludwig Lore
Florence B. Broeckel	Owen R. Lovejoy
Leonard Bright	Hiram K. Moderwell
J. M. Budish	Felix Morley
Ralph Cheyney	George Nasmyth
L. S. Chumley	Scott Nearing
Evans Clark	Walter Nelles
Lindley D. Clark	Santeri Nuorteva
Fania M. Cohn	William F. Ogburn
G. D. H. Cole	Frank O'Hare
Margaret I. Cole	Leland Olds
Manual A. Cruzat	James Oneal
H. W. L. Dana	Arnold Petersen
Max Danish	Joseph Potofsky
Solon De Leon	Patrick Quinlan
Agnes De Lima	Charles Recht
Floyd Dell	Harvell L. Rotzell
Gabrielle Duchene	E. G. Routzahn
J. Louis Engdahl	Joseph Schlossberg
John Merriman Gaus	Philip Snowden
William M. Feigenbaum	Boris Souvarine
Lewis Gannett	Tilloah Squires
Benjamin Glassberg	Peter Stone
Charles T. Hallinan	H. G. Teigan
George Halonen	Norman Thomas
N. S. Hardiker	Albert M. Todd
Alice Henry	Laurence Todd
Margarett A. Hobbs	James Peter Warbasse
I. A. Hourwich	Harry Weinberger
S. C. Kiang Kang-Hu	Hulet M. Wells
William E. Williams	



# INDEX

## A

- Academic freedom, 86-9.  
 Ahern, W. Francis, 324-9.  
 Alaskan eight-hour law, 76.  
 Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, 177-185; Baltimore conflict, 179; Cincinnati struggle, 183; Convention 1914 in New York, 179; 1916 in Rochester, 182; 1918 in Baltimore, 182; Forty-eight and forty-four hour week, 182; History, 177; Nashville, split, 178; New vs. old unionism, 184; Organization, 179; Preamble to constitution, 180; Publication, 184; Socialism, 184; Strike 1918-19, 166-68; Strikes in New York and Chicago, 1915-16, 181; Wage award, 167.  
 Amalgamated Textile Workers of America, 172.  
 American co-operative movement, 394-9.  
 American Defense Society, 126.  
 American Federation of Labor, 141-58; Berne conference, 150; Character, 142; 1919 Convention, 149-58; Economic platform, 141; Finances, 143; Growth, 143; Irish independence, 153; Labor Party, 202; League of Nations, 150-4; Mooney case, 154; Negro workers, 154; Political prisoners, 154; Postal employes, 152; Principles, 141; Prohibition, 151; Record of unions, 146; Russian question, 153; Special conference (Bill of Rights), 435.  
 American Federation of Labor Reconstruction Program, 132-40; Child labor, 134; Co-operation, 134; Democracy in industry, 132; Education, 138; Freedom of expression and association, 137; Government ownership, 136; Hours of labor, 134; Housing, 138; Immigration, 137; Land ownership, 136; Militarism, 139; Political policy, 135; Popular government, 135; Private employment agencies, 138; Public employees, 134; Regulation of corporations, 137; Soldiers and sailors, 139; Taxation, 137; Unemployment, 133; Wages, 133; Waterways and waterpower, 136; Women wage-earners, 134; Workmen's compensation, 137.  
 American Federation of Teachers, 185-7.  
 American Labor Party, 199-203; Chicago convention, 437; of Greater New York, 202.  
 American "patriotic" societies, 123-7.  
 American Socialist Party during the war, 400-21; (See Socialist Party).  
 American Socialist Party emergency convention, 405-14.  
 American Socialist Society, 108-12. (Rand School of Social Science).  
 American Society of Equity, 282.  
 American Union against Militarism, 79.  
 Amnesty for Espionage Act victims, 96.  
 Andrews, John B., 236-40.  
 Anthracite labor conditions, 66.  
 Appendix—434; A. F. of L., Bill of Rights, 435; American Labor Party convention, 437; League of Nations—Labor conference, 434.  
 Army (See United States army).  
 Art and labor, 203-4.  
 Australia, 325-9; Labor party 325; Socialist parties, 328.  
 Austrian revolution, 329.

## B

- Baldwin, Roger, 89-96.  
 Beef, Cost of, 1914-18, 32.  
 Belgium—Socialist and labor movement, 330.  
 Benedict, Bertram, 113-6.  
 Berenberg, David P., 107-8; 175-7.  
 Berger, Victor L., 97, 402, 403.  
 Berkman, Alexander, and Emma Goldman, 105-7.  
 Berne Conference, 308; American delegates, 405.  
 Berne Conference and the A. F. of L., 150.  
 Berne Socialist Conference Labor Charter, 128-32; Child labor, 129; Education, 129; Health, and accident-prevention, 130; Hours of labor, 129; Immigration, 130; Minimum standards, 128; Right of association, 130; Social insurance, 131; Unemployment, 131; Wages, 131; Woman labor, 129.  
 Biedenkapp, F. G., 189-91.  
 "Bill of Rights," A. F. of L., 435.  
 Bird, Ira W., 166-8.  
 Bisbee, Ariz., deportations, 192.  
 Bituminous labor policies, 67.  
 Boeckel, Florence Brewer, 290-8.  
 Bondfield, Margaret, 151.  
 Bookkeepers', Stenographers', and Accountants' Union, 188.  
 Boston Trade Union College, 206.  
 Bright, Leonard, 188-9.

British labor movement, 351-62.  
 British Labor Party, 7-11, 351-62.  
 Brotherhoods-Machinists, 190; Metal Workers, 189 Railway, 62; Railway, 62; Railway clerks, 188.  
 Budish, J. M., 203-4.  
 Bulgaria-Socialist and labor movement, 331.  
 Burleson, A. Sidney and the A. F. of L., 152, 157.

## C

Canada—Winnipeg strike, 333-5.  
 Censorship of the postoffice, 94.  
 Cheyney, Ralph, 392-6.  
 Chicago program, American Labor Party, 200.  
 Chicago Teachers' Federation, 185.  
 Child labor, 129, 134. (See also Federal child labor legislation.)  
 Child labor laws, Enforcements during war, 41.  
 China-Socialist movement, 337-8.  
 Chumley, L. S., 198-9.  
 Civil Liberties, 82, 89, 137.  
 Clark, Evans, 429-31.  
 Clark, Lindley D., 230-5.  
 Cleveland cloakmakers' strike, 173-5.  
 Coal mines—Anthracite, 66; Bituminous, 67; Nationalization of, 68.  
 Coalition government, and labor in Great Britain, 7-11.  
 Cohn, Fania M., 204-6.  
 Cole, G. D. H., 359-62; 390-2.  
 Cole, Margaret I., 356-9.  
 Collective bargaining in war industries, 52.  
 Collectivism in war-time, Collapse of, 25.  
 Communist Labor Party, 414-6.  
 Communist Party, 416-9.  
 Community labor boards, 73.  
 Compulsory military training. (See Universal military training).  
 "Conductorettes," 22.  
 Conscientious objectors, 83-6; Absolutists, 85; and the A. F. of L., 154; Board of Inquiry, 84; Classification, 84; Court-martialed objectors, 85.  
 Contributors to the Labor Year Book, 440.  
 Conventions (See under names of organizations).  
 Co-operation, 134.  
 Co-operative convention, First American, 396-9.  
 Co-operative enterprises, 205, 392-6.  
 Corporations, Regulation of, 137.  
 Cost of foods, 263-4.  
 Cost of living, 255-66; Budgetary proportions, 262; Estimates, 256; Food, 263; Increase, 255; Standards, 259; Variations, 257, 261. (See also Standard of living.)  
 Court decisions affecting labor, 50,

78, 250-4; Adams vs. Tanner case, 251; Employment offices, 251; Federal eight-hour law, 254; Heitkamper vs. Hoffman case, 252; Hitchman Co., West Va., miners, 250; Holder vs. Hardy decision, 251; Hours of labor, 254; Minimum wage laws, 254; Organization of labor, 250; Paine Lumber Co. vs. Neil case, 252; Restraint of trade, 252; Strikes and picketing, 252; Workmen's compensation, 253.

Court-martial in the U. S. Army, 123.

Cruzat, Manuel A., 323-4.

Culture and labor, 203-4.

Czecho-Slovakia—Socialist and labor movement, 335-6.

## D

Dagenhart case, 224.

Dana, H. W. L., 79-83; 206.

Danish, Max, 173-5.

Debs, Eugene V., Trial of, 101-3.

De Leon, Solon, 75-9; 210-23.

De Lima, Agnes, 240-7.

Dell, Floyd, 104-5.

Democracy in industry, 132.

Denmark—Socialist and labor movement, 338-9.

Deportations pursuant to immigration laws, 112-3.

Directory of labor organizations in the U. S., 208. (For other countries see under name of country.)

Duchene, Gabrielle, 11-7.

## E

Education, 129; 138; 203-8.

Education, Vocational, 214.

Eight-hour day, 50, 62, 78. (See also Length of workday.)

Eisner, Kurt, 349.

Emergency convention Socialist Party, 405-10.

Employment—Agencies, Private, 138, 251; Legislation on, 219; Statistics, 1918-19, 301-2.

Engdahl, J. Louis, 97-100.

England (See Great Britain).

Equal suffrage, Extent of, 290.

Espionage Act, 90, 92, 401.

## F

Factories and workshops, Legislation on, 217.

Federal child labor legislation, 224-30; Congressional action on the child labor law, 227; Constitutionality of the act, 224.

Federal Employees and the A. F. of L., 152.

Federal Employees' Union, 188-9.

Federal employment service—Aims and failure, 70; Community labor boards, 73; Development, 72; Farm labor supply, 75; Organiza-

tion, 71; Placements, 71; Placing ex-service men, 74; Post war problems, 73; Reactionary opposition, 73, 75; Subsidiary work, 75; Woman representation, 73.  
Federal suffrage amendment, 292.  
Feigenbaum, William M., 426-9.  
Finnish co-operative movement, 398.  
Finland, Socialist and labor movement, 339-42.  
Food control during the war, 28-39; Compulsory organization of dealers, 31; Cultivation committees and national kitchens, 38; Import and export regulations, 36; Importers' Societies, 31; in England, 31; Licensing of dealers, 30; Price fixing, 32; Rationing, 37; Requisitioning, 31; Summary of, 29.  
Foods, Cost of, 263-4.  
France—Collective contracts, 15; Inter-Union committee on action against exploitation of women, 12; Labor unions and women workers, 12; Minimum wage for women workers, 13; Socialist and labor movement, 342-7; Wages of women workers, 12; Women workers, Statistics of, 11.  
Freedom of speech, press, and assemblage, 89-96; 137.  
Fuel administration, United States, 66.  
Furuseth, Andrew, 154.

G

Gaus, John Merriman, 39-42.  
Germany, Socialist and labor movement, 347-50.  
Germer, Adolph, 97, 402.  
Glassberg, Benjamin, 185-7.  
Goldman, Emma, and Alexander Berkman, 105-7.  
Gompers, Samuel, and the American labor party, 202.  
Government ownership (See Nationalization).  
Great Britain—Coalition government, 7; Cultivation committees and national kitchens, 38; Guild socialist movement, 356; Increase in employment of women, 18; Internationalism, 351; Labor and the coalition, 7; Labor ministers, 9; Political truce, 8; Socialism and labor movement, 351-62; War cabinet, 9; Woman labor, 17; Women in agriculture, 18; Women in transportation, 19; Workshop organization, 359-62.  
Great Madness, The, 108.  
Greece—Socialist and labor movement, 362.  
Guild Socialism, 390-92.  
Guild Socialist movement in Great Britain, 356-9.

H

Hallinan, Charles T., 120-3.  
Halonen, George, 339-42.  
Hanson, Ole, 171.  
Hardiker, N. S., 367-9.  
Haywood, William D., 101.  
Health insurance legislation, Progress toward, 236-40; Endorsements, 240; Labor's attitude 239; New York, 237; State commissions, 236; States rejecting, 237.  
Health, old age, and social insurance, 211, 236.  
Health protection and accident prevention, 130.  
Henry, Alice, 158-61.  
High cost of living, (See Cost of living).  
Hobbs, Margaret A., 17-25.  
Holland—Socialist and labor movement, 363.  
Hours of work, 129, 134, 214, 254.  
Hourwich, I. A., 380-3.  
Housing, 138; for women in war industries, 25.  
Hungary—Socialist and labor movement, 364-7.

I

Immigration, 130, 137; legislation, 112, 221.  
Income and infant mortality, 266-9. (See also under Wealth.)  
Incomes in the U. S., 269-73.  
Income tax returns, 270.  
Independent Labor party—See article on Great Britain, 351-6.  
India—Labor movement, 367-9.  
Industrial Workers of the World, 191-9; Agricultural workers, 191, 195; Bisbee deportations, 192; Constitution, 196; Construction Workers, 191, 193, 195; Convention 1919, 198; Espionage Act, 92; General Recruiting Union, 191, 195, 197; Hotel, Restaurant and Domestic Workers' Union, 196; Immigration Laws, 112; Job delegate, 198; Lumber workers, 191, 195; Marine transport workers, 196; Metal and Machinery Workers, 195; Metal Mine workers, 191, 195; Organization and membership, 195; Persecutions, 192; Principles, Declaration of, 199; Printing and Publishing Workers' Industrial Union, New York, 196; Publications, 194; Railroad Workers' Industrial Union, 195; Shipbuilders' Union on the Pacific coast, 196; Silent defense, 107-8; Textile workers, 196; Trial at Chicago, 100-1, 194.  
Infant mortality—and incomes, 266; and housing conditions, 267.  
Insurance—Health, old age, social,

211, 236-40; War Risk Bureau, 26.

International Association of Machinists, 190.

International labor code—Minimum standards for, 128.

International Labor Conference (League of Nations), 434.

International labor legislation of the peace conference, Report of Commission on, 127.

International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, 174; Educational work, 204-6.

International Socialist Bureau, 311.

International Socialist Conference, 308.

International Socialist, Labor and Cooperative Movements, 308-99.

International Workers' Defense League, 154, 177.

Ireland—Socialist and labor movement, 369-72.

Irish independence, 153.

Italy—Socialist and labor movement, 372-4.

## J

Japan—Socialist and labor movement, 374-6.

Jaures, Jean, 342.

Job delegate, 198.

## K

Katayama, Sen, 374-6.

Kiang Kang Hu, S. C., 337-8.

Kruse, William F., 97.

## L

Labor and co-operation, 397.

Labor and the League of Nations, 128.

Labor Conference—League of Nations, 434.

Labor, Court decisions affecting, 1917, 250-4.

Labor directory, 208-9.

Labor in the British government, 7-11. (See also under Great Britain.)

Labor in the war, 7-140.

Labor laws, Administration of, 222.

Labor laws and the war, 75-79.

Labor legislation, 41, 50, 75-9; and the A. F. of L., 157; for women workers, 23.

Labor Legislation of 1917 and 1918, 210-54; Administration of labor laws, 222; Building construction, 219; Child labor, 216, 224-30; Court decisions, 250-4; Employment, 219; Factories and workshops, 217; Health, old age, and social insurance, 211, 236-40; Hours of labor, 214; Immigra-

tion, 221; Mines and tunnels, 218; Minimum wage, 210, 240-7; Miscellaneous, 222; Prison labor, 220; Trade disputes, 220; Transportation, 218; Vocational re-education, 214; Wage payments and liens, 221; Woman labor, 214; Workmen's compensation, 212, 230-5.

Labor legislation of the Peace Conference, Report of Commission on, 127.

Labor movement and the National War Labor Board, 54.

Labor movement in the United States, 141-209.

Labor movement in various countries, 308-99. (See by countries.)

Labor party, American, 199-203.

Labor standards, 40; for women in industry, 23-25.

Laidler, Harry W., 25-28; 86-9; 250-54.

Land ownership, Regulation of, 136.

Laredo labor conference, 321.

Latin American Countries—Socialist and Labor Movements, 324.

Lathrop, Julia C., 266-9.

Laue, Charles, 141-58; 168-70.

Lawrence textile strike, 172-3.

League of Nations and the A. F. of L., 150, 154.

League of Nations and labor, 128, 308; Labor conference, 434.

Lee, Algernon, 206-8.

Legislation—controlling opinion, 91; on immigration, 122. (See also Labor legislation.)

Levine, Louis, 87.

Lewis, Marx, 421-6.

Library Employees' Union, 187-8.

Liebknicht, Karl, 349.

London, Meyer—Record in Congress, 421-7.

Lovejoy, Owen R., 224-30.

Lucerne conference, 309.

Lumber workers in the Northwest, 191, 195.

Luxemburg, Rosa, 349.

Lynching 1917-18, 302-5.

## M

Manifesto of the Socialist Party, 411.

Martens, L. C. A. K., 383.

"Masses," The, Trial of, 104-5.

Meat packers' profits, 264.

Medical aid (See under Workmen's compensation).

Metal trades federation, 189.

Militarism, 139.

Military training (See Universal military training).

Milk-price fixing in England, 35.

- Millionaires in the U. S., 273.  
 Mines and tunnels, Legislation on, 218.  
 Minimum wage—for women workers in France, 13; in war industries, 49.  
 Minimum wage legislation, 210, 240-7; California, 245; Courts, 242; Fair standard, 242; Foreign countries, 241; Kansas, 247; Massachusetts, 247; Oregon, 246; Washington, 246.  
 Moderwell, Hiram K., 42-54.  
 Mooney Case, The, 175-7.  
 Mooney Case, and the A. F. of L., 154.  
 Morley, Felix, 70-5.  
 Moscow International Communist conference, 311; Manifesto, 312-20.
- N
- Nasmyth, George, 65-70.  
 National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 302.  
 National Guilds, 392.  
 National Guilds League, 356.  
 National Nonpartisan League, 280-9; Administration, 286; Antecedents, 282; Constitution, 285; Electoral results, 283; Membership, 285; Organization, 283; Platform, 285; Political strength, 284; Publications, 286; Referendum, test, 287.  
 National prohibition amendment, 299.  
 National Party, 403.  
 National Security League, 123.  
 National War Labor Board, 42; and the labor movement, 54; Bonus systems, 51. Ceasing to function, 56; Classification, 52; Collective bargaining, 52; Constitution, 45; Corporation finances, 51; Democratization of labor movement, 54; Feudalism in industry, 51; Functions, 45; General character, 43; Length of work-day, 50; Minimum wage, 49; Permanent results, 53; Personnel, 44; Plan of organization, 54; Powers, 44; Principles to govern workers and employers in war industries, 46; Recognition of unions, 49; Right to organize, 55; Summary of decisions, 48; Summary of work, 47; Union discrimination, 48; Wage increases, 50; Women workers, 51.  
 National Women's Trade Union League, 158-61; Affiliations, 159; Convention 1919, 161; Organization, 158 Platform, 158.
- Nationalization—of Coal mines, 68; of Industry, 136; of Railways, 65, 274-80.  
 Navy League, 127.  
 Nearing, Scott, 109; 116-20; 269-73; and the American Socialist Society, 108-9.  
 Negro labor, 60, 64, 154.  
 Negro workers and the A. F. of L., 154.  
 Negroes, Attacks on, 302.  
 Nelles, Walter, 108-9.  
 New York Harbor strike, 168-70.  
 Nonpartisan League (See under National).  
 Norway—Socialist and labor movement, 376-78.  
 Nuorteva, Santeri, 383-6.
- O
- Office workers, Organization of, 188-9.  
 Ogburn, William F., 255-63.  
 O'Hare, Frank, 101-4.  
 O'Hare, Kate Richards, Case of, 101-4.  
 Old age pensions, 248-9.  
 Olds, Leland, 57-65.  
 Oneal, James, 321-3.  
 Organization of labor—Court decisions, 250.
- P
- Pacific Coast award, 59.  
 Pacifists in America during the war, 79-83.  
 Paine Lumber Co. vs. Neil Case, 252.  
 Pan-American labor conferences, 321; socialist and labor conference, 323.  
 Patriotic societies—Industrial affiliations of members, 123-7.  
 Peace conference—Commission on international labor legislation, 127.  
 Peace movement in America during the war, 79-83.  
 People's Council, 81.  
 Petersen, Arnold, 419-21.  
 Physical fitness—United States army, 116-20.  
 Plumb, Glenn E., 65, 276.  
 "Plumb Plan," 65, 276-80.  
 Poland, Socialist and labor movement, 378.  
 Political policy of the A. F. of L., 135.  
 Political prisoners, 89-96; and the A. F. of L., 154.  
 Portugal, Socialist and labor movement, 379.  
 Post office censorship during the war, 94.  
 Potofsky, Joseph, 177-85.

Price fixing, Defects of, 34.  
 Prison labor, 220.  
 Profiteering and high salaries, 264.  
 Profits of the meat packers, 264.  
 Prohibition and labor, 151.  
 Prohibition in the United States, 298-300.  
 Publications, Socialist, 431.  
 Public employees—Right of organization, 134.  
 Public ownership (See Nationalization).  
 Public school teachers, 88.

## Q

Quinlan, Patrick, 369-72.

## R

Railroad administration—Board of railroad wages and conditions, 63; Board of adjustment, 64; Wage commission, 62, 63; Women's service section, 64; Railroad boards of adjustment, 64.  
 Railroad Wage Commission, 62, 256.  
 Railroad Wages and Conditions, Board of, 63.  
 Railroads, Nationalization of, 65.  
 Railroads, Public ownership of, 274-80.  
 Railway brotherhoods, 62.  
 Railway employes, Wages of, 62.  
 Railway labor and government control, 62-5.  
 Rand School of Social Science, 206-8; Attacks upon, 109-12. (See also American Socialist Society, 108.)  
 Rationing in food control, 37.  
 Recht, Charles, 112-3.  
 Right of assemblage, Interference with, 94.  
 Rotzel, Harvell L., 172-3.  
 Routzahn, E. G., 305-7.  
 Rumania, Socialist and labor movement, 379.  
 Russia, 380-3.  
 Russian situation and the A. F. of L., 153.  
 Russian Soldiers' and Workmen's Councils, 80.  
 Russian Soviet bureau in the U. S., 383-6.

## S

Schlossberg, Joseph, 177-85.  
 Seattle general strike, 170-1.  
 Serbia—Socialist and labor movement, 386.  
 Shipbuilding Labor Adjustment Board, The U. S., 57-62.  
 Shipbuilding war industries awards, 59.  
 Shipping agreement, Basic terms of, 58.

Shop committees for adjustment of grievances, 61.  
 Shop stewards, 359.  
 Silent defense at Sacramento, 107-8.  
 Snowden, Philip, 7-11.  
 Social insurance, 131, 211, 236-40.  
 Social service organizations—Partial directory, 305-7.  
 Socialist directory, 433.  
 Socialist movement in the U. S., 400.  
 Socialist Labor Party, 1917-19, 419-21.  
 Socialist Party, during the war, 400-5; emergency convention, 405-14; international relations, 405; majority and minority reports, 410-11; manifesto, 411-3; preamble to constitution, 410; prosecution of officials, 97-100; split, 405-7.  
 Socialists' trial in Chicago, 97-100.  
 Socialists under the Espionage Act, 92.  
 Socialists in New York Assembly, 427-31; in New York Board of Aldermen, 431-3.  
 Socialist Publications, 433.  
 South America—See Latin American countries.  
 Souvarine, Boris, 342-5.  
 Soviet Russia—Artisans, 382; Supreme council of national economy, 382; Cooperative experiments, 381; Industrial nationalization, 381; Land tenure reform, 381; Political power, 381; Population 1919, 380.  
 Spain—Socialist and labor movement, 387.  
 Squires, Tilloah, 187-8.  
 Standard of living, 259-63; Budgetary proportions, 262; Variations, 261.  
 Stone, Peter, 191-7.  
 Strikes.—Women in France, 13-15.  
 Strikes and Lockouts in the United States in 1917-18, 161-75.  
 Strikes and picketing—Court decisions on, 252.  
 Strikes (See under names of organizations and cities).  
 Sweden—Socialist and labor movement, 387.  
 Swiss system of military training, 122.  
 Switzerland—Socialist and labor movement, 389-90.

## T

Taxation, 137.  
 Teachers, Persecution of, 86; in Public schools, 88; in Universities and colleges, 87.

Teachers, American Federation of, 185-7.  
 Teigan, H. G., 280-9.  
 Thomas, Norman, 83-6.  
 Todd, Albert M., 274-6.  
 Todd, Laurence, 54-7.  
 Townley, A. C., 282.  
 Trade disputes, Laws concerning, 220.  
 Trade unionism, Increase in, 55.  
 Transportation workers, Legislation for, 218.  
 Trials—Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, 105; Eugene V. Debs, 101; I. W. W. at Chicago, 100, 194; I. W. W. at Sacramento, 107; Kate Richards O'Hare, 103; The "Masses," 104; Rand School of Social Science, 108; Scott Nearing and the American Socialist Society, 108; Socialist party officials, 97.  
 Tucker, Irwin St. John, 97, 400.

U

Unemployment, 131, 133; in France, 17.  
 Union discrimination in war industries, 48.  
 Unions—Increases in membership, 53; Right of association, 130, 137.  
 United Labor Education Committee, 203-4.  
 United mine workers of America, Report of policy committee, 68.  
 United States—Collectivism during the war, 26; Government control of railroads, 62-5; Conditions for women in war industries, 24; Labor legislation for women, 23; National War Labor Board, 42; War Labor Policies Board, 39; War Risk Insurance Bureau, 26; Women in industry before the war, 19; Women in transportation, 21; Women in war industries, 20-5.  
 United States Army—Caste system, 122; Classification of registrants, 117; Court martial system, 123; Physical standards, 166; Rejections, 118-20; Supplies, 116.  
 United States Employment Service, 40, 70-5; Record by states during 1918, 301.  
 United States Fuel Administration, 65-75.  
 United States Railroad Administration, 27. (See also under Railroad administration.)  
 United States Shipbuilding Labor Adjustment Board, 57-62; Awards, 58; Hours and condi-

tions of labor, 61; Negro labor, 60; Personnel, 58; Seattle unions, 61; Shop committee, 60.  
 Universal military training, 120-3; Bills introduced, 121; Character of, 122; Defeat in Congress, 120; Swiss system, 121.

V

Vocational re-education, 214.

W

Wage increase decisions in war industries, 50.  
 Wage payments and liens, 221.  
 Wage scale for shipyard war workers, 59.  
 Wages, 131, 133; Railroad Wage Commission, 63; Railway employees before the war, 62.  
 Wages of women—in France, 12; in War industries, 25.  
 War statistics, 113-6.  
 War industries in America, 19.  
 War Labor Conference Board, 45. (See also National War Labor Board.)  
 War Labor Policies Board, 40.  
 War risk insurance bureau, 26.  
 War-time collectivism, Collapse of, 25.  
 Warbasse, James Peter, 396-9.  
 Wealth and income in the U. S., 265.  
 Weinberger, Harry, 105-7.  
 Wells, Hulet M., 170-1.  
 Wheeling ironmolders' case, 50, 78.  
 Williams, William E., 109-12.  
 Winnipeg strike, 333.  
 Woman labor, 129; in America—pre-war, 19; during war, 19-25; in France, 11-17; Legislation, 214; Standards in War time, 23.  
 Woman suffrage, Progress of, 290-8.  
 Woman's Peace Party, 79.  
 Women in industry, 12, 21, 22.  
 Women wage earners, 134.  
 Women war workers—American, 20-25; British, 17-19; French, 11-17; Wages and conditions, 51.  
 Women's service section, Railroad administration, 64.  
 Workmen's compensation, 137, 212, 230.  
 Workmens' compensation in the U. S., Standards of, 230-5; Administration, 234; Award, 231; Court decisions, 253; Extent, 230; Insurance fund, 233; Medical Aid, 233; Payments, 232; Summary, 234.  
 Workshop committees in Great Britain, 359-62.

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